

VOLUME IV

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E. J. BRILL'S
FIRST
ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF ISLAM
1913-1936

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LEIDEN • NEW YORK • AMSTERDAM • TOKYO

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M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK,
T. W. ARNOLD, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

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ITK. [See 'ABD, i. 18.]

ITTIHĀD, 'becoming one'. Muslim scholastics distinguish two kinds of *ittiḥād*, 1) 'real' (*ḥaqīqī*); 2) 'metaphorical' (*maǧāzī*). The former class has two subdivisions, according as the term is applied a) to two things which become one, e.g., 'Amr becomes Zaid, or Zaid becomes 'Amr; b) to one thing which becomes another thing that was not existent before, e.g., Zaid becomes some individual who did not previously exist. *Ittiḥād* in this 'real' sense is necessarily impossible; hence the saying, *al-ithnān lā yattahidān*. The 'metaphorical' class has three subdivisions, according as the term denotes a) one thing's becoming another thing by instantaneous or gradual transformation, e.g., water becomes air (in which case the real nature of water is destroyed by the removal of its specific form from its substance, and to this substance the specific form of air is added), or black becomes white (in which case one attribute of an object disappears and is replaced by another attribute); b) one thing's becoming another thing by means of composition, so that a third thing results, e.g., earth becomes clay by the addition of water; c) the appearance of one person in the form of another, e.g., of an angel in the form of a human being. All these three species of 'metaphorical' *ittiḥād* actually occur. In the technical language of the Sūfis, the name *ittiḥād* is given to the mystical union by which the creature is made one with the Creator, or to the theory that such a union is possible. This conception of the unitive state, like the parallel doctrine of *ḥulūl*, i.e. the doctrine that the Creator becomes incarnate in the creature, is generally regarded by the Sūfis as heretical, on the ground that it involves homogeneity and is therefore inconsistent with the true notion of divine unity (*tawḥīd*), which admits no real existence except that of God. *Ittiḥād*, thus understood, presupposes the existence of two beings which are made one, whereas, according to the more orthodox mystics, human individuality is only a phenomenon that passes away in the One Eternal Reality (*fanā fi 'l-Ḥaqq*). Sometimes the term *ittiḥād* is employed like the Sūfistic *waḥdat* or *tawḥīd*, in reference to the doctrine that all things are non-existent in themselves, but derive their existence from God and, in this respect, are one with God ('Abd al-Razzāk al-Kāshī, *al-Istīlāḥāt al-Sūfiyya*, ed. by Sprenger, p. 5). According to 'Alī b. Wafā' (quoted by Sha'rānī in *al-Yawāqūt wa 'l-Djawāhir*, Būlak, 1277 A. H., p. 80, l. 18 sqq.), the meaning of *ittiḥād* in the terminology of the Sūfis is "the passing away of that which is willed by the creature in that which is willed by God".

Bibliography: Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Mussalmans, ed. by Sprenger, p. 1468; Djurdjāni, *Ta'rifāt*, ed. by Fluegel, p. 6; Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, translated by Nicholson, p. 254; Maḥmūd Shabistari, *Gulshan-i Rāz*, ed. by Whinfield, ll. 452—455; Tholuck, *Sufismus*, p. 141 sqq.; Macdonald, *The religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 258. (NICHOLSON.)

IWAD (A.) means in Muslim law all that must be given or done as a guarantee of the fulfilment of what the other party is pledged to, in a contract or sale or other agreement.

(TH. W. JUVENBOLL.)

IYĀD, a great Arab tribe belonging to the

Ma'addī (Ismā'īlī) group. Their genealogy is Iyād b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān. The Rabi'a, Anmār and Muḍar were consanguineous tribes of the Iyād. A section of the Iyād professed Christianity. The poet Abū Dū'ād, famous for his descriptions of the horse, and the celebrated Ḳuss b. Sā'ida were members of the Iyād.

At first they dwelt in Tihāma up to the borders of Naǧrān [q. v.]. In the first half of the iiird century they emigrated in large bodies to Eastern 'Irāk and thence to Mesopotamia. Among their settlements were: Anbār (they are said to have the first to introduce the Arabic characters there), 'Ain Ubāgh (behind Anbār), Sindād, Takrit, Baṭn Iyād (lying towards Kūfa), Bā'idja, Dǧā'iz, al-Djabal (in the 'Irāk), Dǧaww Zuraif, al-Haffa, Khidād, Mawthib (Mawthab), al-Mustarād, al-Salawṭah, Shibāk, al-Shakīka (in the 'Irāk), Suwwa 'l-Adǧdād, al-Tha'labiya (between Mekka and Medina), al-'Udna. Among the waters of the Iyād were Laṣāf and al-Lifāz.

A section of the Iyād, probably before these large emigrations to the 'Irāk, joined the Ḳuḍā'a when the latter migrated from Tihāma to Bahrain; another remained in Wādī Bisha [q. v.]. We also find scattered settlements of the Iyād in Syria, e.g. in Antioch, Ḥimṣ (Emessa), Ḥalab, and in Greek territory at Ancyra (Angora in Asia Minor), Bagras (Πάγραι), etc.

History: Towards the beginning of the iiird century of our era a quarrel arose between the Iyād and Muḍar regarding the possession of the Ka'ba, which also involved dominion over Mecca, after the two tribes in alliance had driven the Dǧurhum from Mecca. The Iyād were defeated and emigrated to the 'Irāk, where they established themselves mainly in 'Ain Ubāgh and in scattered settlements south of al-Hira. During the first period of their sojourn in the 'Irāk the Iyād were exposed to the invasions of Dǧadhima b. Mālik of the Azd, whose rule extended over all the Arabs in the 'Irāk. Dǧadhima demanded from them the surrender of their relative, 'Adī b. Rabi'a; after long hesitation the Iyād submitted and delivered 'Adī up, who then married Rikāsh, sister of Dǧadhima.

In the 'Irāk the Iyād seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Lakhmid princes of al-Hira. During the wars of Mundhir b. Mā 'al-Samā' against the Kinda chief al-Ḥarith b. 'Amr b. Ḥudjr we find them in Mundhir's train. At the beginning of the viith century, the Iyād made inroads into Persian territory. They crossed the Euphrates. A detachment of Persian cavalry sent against them was completely destroyed by them near Kūfa [see DAIR AL-DJAMĀDJIM]. To defend himself against their inroads and to take vengeance on them, Khusrāw (Kisrā) Anūshirwān sent an army against them under Mālik b. Ḥāritha, which is said to have included a detachment of the Bakr b. Wā'il [q. v.]. In spite of the warning given them by their fellow tribesman, the poet Lakīf, the Iyād were surprised and put to flight. The Persians followed them and, according to a tradition, inflicted a considerable defeat on them at the village of al-Ḥuradǧiya. In consequence of their defeat, they are said to have retired into Syria. One section of them reached Byzantine territory at Ancyra, where they found others of their tribe already settled. An isolated tradition mentions a punitive expedition by the Persian king Sapōr (Sabūr) Dhu 'l-Aktāf in the ivth century against the Iyād, but there is probably confu-

sion here between Sabūr and Kisrā. In the battle of Dhū Kār [see BAKR B. WĀ'IL] they fought alongside the Kuḏāfī tribes of Mesopotamia under Khālid b. Yazīd al-Bahrānī on the side of the Persians. A section of the Iyād had made secret arrangements with the Bakr and took to flight during the battle, thereby throwing the Persian lines into disorder. After the battle of Dhū Kār they, like the other Christian Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, remained a few more years under Persian suzerainty. In the battle of 'Ain Tamr (near Anbār) we find them on the side of the Persians along with the Mesopotamian tribes under Mihrān b. Bahrām Djubīn. In the reign of Abū Bakr, in the year 12 (634), a large number of the Iyād, like many of the Tamīm and the Christian Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, joined the false prophetess Sadjāh [q. v.]. In the same year Khālid b. al-Walīd [q. v.] inflicted a serious defeat on them and the Persians, on whose side they fought, at Firād (on the East bank of the Euphrates). In the caliphate of 'Omar, in the spring of the year 17 (638), the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius made the last effort to regain the province of Syria, which had been lost to the Muslims. For this purpose he sent a large army which included Iyād along with the tribes on the Euphrates and Tigris to Hīmṣ, the siege of which was begun. In the meanwhile the Muslims invaded Mesopotamia and conquered Takrīt, secretly supported by the Christian Arab soldiers in the city, among whom were Iyād, who then adopted Islām. When the Mesopotamian tribes besieging Hīmṣ heard of a raid into Mesopotamia and the approach of an army, they abandoned the Byzantine army in order to defend their threatened homes. The Arabs in Kinnasrīn, Ḥalab, and other Syrian cities, who had previously joined the Byzantine army, negotiated secretly with Khālid b. al-Walīd and attacked the Byzantines, who were beaten and had to take to flight. The remnants of the Byzantine troops including Iyād retired to Cilicia, whither they were followed by the Muslims and almost entirely wiped out. When in the following year 18 = 639, Iyād b. Ghanm succeeded Abū 'Ubaida [q. v.] as governor of Hīmṣ, Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, all the Mesopotamian tribes submitted and adopted Islām with the exception of the Iyād, who fled to Cappadocia in Asia Minor. Here, however, they only enjoyed their security for a brief space, for the Caliph 'Omar demanded their extradition from the Emperor Heraclius under a threat of reprisals against the Christians in his provinces, and Heraclius was forced to agree. Four thousand of the Iyād then went to Syria and Mesopotamia and submitted to the Caliph. In later times we hear almost nothing of them.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, see Ind. s. v. and iv. 978; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, see Ind. s. v.; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 685, 752—6, 1032, 1034, 1108—11, 1911, 2061, 2062, 2074—5, and Ind.; Ibn Hishām, *Sira* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 57; *Aghānī*, iv. 75, xiv. 41, 42, xv. 95—99, xx. 23—25; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Historia anteiislamica* (ed. Fleischer), p. 192; Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 164, 283; Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris), Ind. s. v.; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 2nd section: Ismā'īlī tribes, Table A. 4, and *Register*, p. 244; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme* (Paris 1847—8), s. Ind.; Blau, *Arabien in sechsten*

Jahrhundert in Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., xxiii. 567 sq. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

IYĀD B. MUSA, ABU 'L-FADL IYĀD B. MUSA B. IYĀD AL-YAḤṢUBI AL-SABTĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ, known as AL-KĀDĪ IYĀD, a Mālikī jurist, traditionalist, historian, man of letters and poet, born at Ceuta on Sha'bān 15, 476 (Dec. 29, 1083) and died at Marrākūsh, 7 Djumādā II (13 Oct.) or Ramaḍān 11 Dec. 544 (1149).

After studying in his native town he went in 507 (1114) to Cordova where he devoted himself particularly to Ḥadīth and attended the lectures of Abū Muḥammed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Attāb and Abū 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd. His teachers numbered a hundred. He returned to his native town and held the office of Kāḏī where his administration was much appreciated. In 531 (1136-7) he became Kāḏī of Cordova but after a time again became Kāḏī of Ceuta. He was one of the first to welcome the arrival of the Almohads and went to Salā to pay homage to their chiefs, but when he saw in 543 (1148-9) that the Almohad dynasty was weakened by discords he fled from his native town and took refuge in Marrākūsh, where he died and was buried near the Bāb Ailān.

Of the twenty works attributed to him we only know the following: 1^o. *Kitāb al-Shifā bi-Ta'rif Huḥuk al-Muṣṭafā*, apologetic history of the Prophet, publ. at Constantinople, n. d. and in 1329, Cairo, 1276, 1312 and 1327 (voc. ed.); 2^o. *Mashārik al-Anwār fī Iktifā' Ṣaḥīḥ* (var. *'alā Ṣaḥīḥ*) *al-Aḥkār*, dictionary of rare terms found in the *Muwatta'* of Mālik, *Ṣaḥīḥ d'al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Alger, Fagnan, *Cat.*, n^o. 540; Khed. Libr., *Fihrr.*, i. 420; 3^o. *Kit. Ṭarīb al-Madārik wa-Takrīb al-Masālik li-Ma'rifat A'lām Madhhab Mālik*, biographical dictionary of Mālikī scholars, Zaouyah d'al-Hamel, *Giorn. della Soc. asiat. ital.*, x. 56-7; Madrid, Real Academia, Cordera, *Misión hist.*, p. 175, n^o. 35; Part i., stopping at the end of 200, in my possession; extracts with transl. in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, i. 251—276 and 365—384, ii. 133; 4^o. *Kitāb al-Ilmā ilā Ma'rifat Uṣūl al-Riwāya wa-Takrīb al-Samā'*, theory of the transmission of ḥadīth, Aya-Sofya, n^o. 433^{bis}; Casiri, *Bibl. Arab.-Hisp.*, i. n^o. 1567; 5^o. *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Constantinople, Nūrī 'Othmāniya, n^o. 1035 and Rāghib Pasha, n^o. 310; Casiri, i. n^o. 1003—6; 6^o. *al-Tanbihāt al-mustanbata 'ala 'l-Kutub al-mudawwana*, Casiri, i. n^o. 987, cf. n^o. 986; 7^o. *Bughyat al-Rīd ilā mā tadammā nahu Ḥadīth Umm Zar' min al-Fawā'id*, commentary on the story of Umm Zar' related by the Prophet, Berlin, n^o. 1585-6; 8^o. *Kit. al-Ilām bi-Hudūd Kawā'id al-Islām*, exposition the five bases (*kawā'id*) of Islām, probably Casiri, o. c., i. n^o. 1555, i.; with the comment. of al-Kabbāb, Alger, Fagnan, *Cat.*, n^o. 570; 9^o. *Qaṣida* on the five last words of Qur'ān lxx. 7, Berlin, n^o. 7691, i.; 10^o. *Aḳida*, credo, Khed. Libr., *Fihrr.*, vii. 295 (with anonymous commentary).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 322; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamī*, Madrid 1885, p. 325, n^o. 1269; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Sila*, Madrid 1882, p. 446, n^o. 972; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu'djam*, Madrid 1886, p. 294, n^o. 279; al-Fath b. Khāḳān, *Qalā'id al-'Iḳyān*, Paris 1277 A. H., p. 255; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Haidarābād, n. d., iv. 99; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Huffāz*, ed. Wüstenfeld, xvi.

5; Ibn Farhūn, *al-Dibādī*, Fās 1316, p. 177; Ibn al-Kādi, *Djadhwat al-Iktibās*, Fās 1309, p. 277; al-Kattāni, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās 1316, i. 151; al-Makkarī, *Azhār al-Riyād fī Akhbār Iyād*, i. (all publ.), Tunis 1222; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, Göttingen 1882, p. 89, n^o 246; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliografico*, Madrid 1898, p. 218, n^o 174, and p. 505; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 369 sq., ii. 700; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 232; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Et. sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjāza du cheikh Abd el-Qādir al-Fāsī*, n^o 90; T. Andrae, *Die Person Mohammeds*, Upsala 1917, p. 60. 112, 118 q., 147 sqq. (MOH. BEN CHENEb.)

IYAS b. MU'AWIYA was appointed kādi of Baṣra by 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and died at the age of 76 in 121 or 122 (739-740). He has become proverbial in Arabic literature on account of the many examples of ready wit and intuition (*askanu min Iyās*, Freytag, *Prov. Arab.*, i. 593) related of him, which were collected by so early a writer as al-Madā'īnī in a work (*Zakan Iyās*). In this way he has become a familiar figure in literature (cf. R. Basset, *Revue des Traditions populaires*, vi. 67).

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IZMİD (older forms: IZNUKUMİD; IZNIKİMİD; in Ibn Khordādhbeh and Idrīsī: NIKUMİDİYA; in modern times officially written IZMİR), the ancient Nicomedia, capital of the independent *Līvā* (*mutesarrıflık*) of the same name (cf. KÖRJA-İLİ). The town was taken by the Saldjūks on their invasion of Asia Minor at the end of the xith century and belonged to the lands of Sulaimān b. Kutlumush (470—479 = 1078—1085) who had chosen Nicaea as his capital; shortly after his death it was recaptured by Alexius I Comnenus (Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheidt, i. 212, cf. 247, ii. 72) and, apart from the brief period when the Latin Emperors of Constantinople held the town (1204—1207), remained in possession of the Byzantines till it was taken from them by the Ottomans under Örkhan, according to the Turkish sources, in 727 (1325-26) or 726 (1326-7) or 731 (1230-31), according to Byzantine sources, in 1338, cf. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, i. 85 and 580; for the legends associated with the Turkish conquest see Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 186-190; Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 34—37; Christo Papadopoulos, p. 65 sq.). In 1399 Marshal Boucicaud had to turn back from the strong walls of the city (J. Dela-ville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e Siècle*, p. 371); in 1402 it was sacked by a body of Timūr's troops (Ducas, Bonn ed., p. 72). Under Turkish rule Izmid acquired special importance as an arsenal for the navy and as a yard for building small merchant vessels from the wood supplied by the rich forests of the neighbourhood. The arsenal, said to have been founded by the Köprülü's, abandoned since the middle of last century, was to have been restarted again by English engineers. The population of the town may be put at 25 000, of whom the majority are Muslims, and the non-Muhammadian element is represented by a strong Armenian community (which immigrated from Persia at the beginning of the xvith

century), several hundred Greeks, and a small Jewish community. Since 1873 Izmid has been connected by rail with Constantinople (terminal station Haidar Pasha; distance 70 miles) and since 1892 with Angora. — Only insignificant ruins exist of the ancient and mediaeval buildings; the Byzantine fortifications on the hill are better preserved, which Busbecq and Belon still saw in their original form in the xvth century. Of the Turkish buildings we may mention the madrasa founded by Sultān Örkhan in the upper city (originally a church; restored by 'Abd al-Madīd); the mosques of Pertew Pasha, Muḥammad Bey and 'Abd al-Salām Bey, built by the architect Sinān, the baths of Rustam Pasha and the Khān of Pertew Pasha. The pleasure palace with park (*sarāi baghçesi*) built by Murād IV has disappeared; another was built by Maḥmūd II and restored by 'Abd al-'Aziz. Among the Greek churches the oldest is that of St. Panteleimon, said to be also the tomb of this patron of the city; destroyed in the reign of Murād IV, it was rebuilt in 1700 and again restored in 1861. In the neighbourhood of Izmid lay the Champ des Fleurs (*Çiçek Meidāni*), where Emerich Thököly, prince of Transylvania, spent his last years, till his death on Sept. 13, 1705 in a voluntary exile (De la Motraye, *Voyages*, i. 309; Paul Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce, l'Asie Min.*, etc. Amsterdam 1714, i. 49); his remains buried in the Armenian cemetery were brought to Hungary in 1906 with his tombstone (cf. von Hammer, *Umblick*, p. 192).

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(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

IZMİR (SMYRNA), the most important commercial town in Asiatic Turkey and the residence of the Wālī of the province of Aidin. The form Izmir (in Ibn Battūta: Yazmir) corresponds to the form used by Westerners in the middle ages, *Smire*, *Zmirra*, etc. (Tomaschek, p. 28; *Esmira* in Ram Muntaner, c. 202; *Ismira* in Schiltberger). On the incursion of the Saldjūks into Asia Minor at the end of the xith century the Turk Tzachas (TÇAZĀS, only in Anna Comnena), the father-in-law of Kılıdj Arslān I, who lived in Nicaea, established himself in Smyrna and undertook from there his campaigns of conquest against the islands of the Archipelago and the Hellespont; it was only after the Saldjūks were driven from Nicaea (June 1097) that Smyrna was restored to Byzantine rule. John Vatatzes Dukas, emperor of Nicaea (1222—1255), laid out the great system of defences on the Pagus hill (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, N^o 8749), which commands the town. After the dissolution of the Saldjūk king-

dom of Kōnya, Aidin, Amīr of Ephesus, seized the town about 1320, and it once more, as in the days of Tzachas, became the base for piratical raids against the islands of the Archipelago and the merchant ships of the Franks. To put an end to this the naval powers concerned combined under the aegis of the Pope and stormed Smyrna on Oct. 28th 1344 (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 538). The Knights of Rhodes, to whom the defence of the town was entrusted, built at the harbour the fort of St. Peter, near the later customs-house, which survived up till about fifty years ago. The citadel, on the other hand, remained in the hands of the Aidin-oghlu; Bayazid I, who dispossessed them, installed a *sūbāshī* (city governor) there. It was not till January 1403 that Tīmūrlenk stormed the Frankish fort and drove the knights out of Smyrna (Sharaf al-Dīn, *Zafarnāma*, ii. 464—477; Dukas, p. 72 sqq.; Chalkokondylas, p. 161, cf. von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, i. 332 sq. and 626 sq. After the withdrawal of Tīmūrlenk from Asia Minor the adventurer Djunaid [q. v., i. 1063^b sq.] seized the town; on his overthrow, about 1425, the town passed definitely under Ottoman rule.

The further history of the town is of little general interest. On Sept. 13, 1472, Smyrna was attacked by the Venetian fleet under Pietro Mocenigo, plundered and set on fire (Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, p. 207; Cippico, *Delle Guerre de' Veneziani nell' Asia*, p. xxvi sqq.; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, ii. 405). In the later wars of the Turks with the European sea-powers, the latter, in view of the numerous European inhabitants have repeatedly refrained from attacking the town, for example the Venetians in the autumn of 1694, when after the fall of Chios the Turkish fleet had retreated before them into the Gulf of Smyrna (Kantemir, *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, p. 649; Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, v. 175) and the Russians in 1770 after they had destroyed the Turkish fleet near Çeşme (Ypsilanti, *Tà μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσην*, p. 466 sq.; cf. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, viii. 358). As a defence against such attacks from the sea, the Porte after the battle in the Dardanelles (June 26, 1656) in the war with Venice built defences at the narrowest part of the Gulf on Cape Sandjak Burnu, called Sandjak Kal'esi (saluting fort) or Yenikal'e, which was completely destroyed by the earthquake of July 10, 1688 and then imperfectly rebuilt. In modern times the batteries were remounted and mine barriers laid during the recent wars.

From the land Smyrna has been repeatedly ravaged by the turbulent Djalālī and Ra'yā, who were a plague to Anatolia from the beginning of the xviiith century, e.g. in 1600 by the hordes of Kälenderoghlu and Kara Sa'īd (Sandys, *Travailes*, 6th ed., London 1658, p. 12; cf. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, iv. 398), in 1625 by Djennet-oghlu of Karamani (Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 410; Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, iv. 55 sq.), and in 1736 by Şaribey-oghlu of Khōnās (Pococke, ii. 2 p. 38; Ipsilanti, *op. cit.*, p. 334). Equally dreaded were the regular visits of the Barbary corsairs, who till the conquest of Algeria by the French had the permission of the Porte to recruit their crews from Smyrna and the neighbourhood (Dumont, *Voyages*, 1699, iv. 106 sqq.; Tournefort, ii. 198; Djewdet, *Ta'rikh*, iv. 23, vii. 183, x. 233). The Jewish community of Smyrna produced in the xviiith century the Messianic he-

retic Sabbatai Sebi, the founder of the Dönme [q. v.] sect (crypto-Jewish Muslims), which is still represented by a small body (cf. the contemporary narrative of Rycaut, the English consul at Smyrna, in the continuation of Knolles, *History of the Turks*, ii. 174 sqq.).

The town was twice visited by earthquakes and almost destroyed. In the first, that took place in July 10, 1688 (Ramadān 12, 1099), the Sandjak Kal'esi was overwhelmed by the waves, most of the buildings collapsed, and thousands of people — at the lowest estimate 5000 — perished among the ruins (Rāshid, *Ta'rikh*, i. 147^a; Rycaut, *Turkish History*, p. 301 sq.; Carayon, *Relations inédites des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 291 sqq.; Pacificus Smit, *Vier jaren in Turkije*, p. 178 sqq., 246 sq.; De la Motraye, *Voyages*, i. 182 sq.; Slaars, p. 76, 128). The second took place on July 3 and 5, 1778 and did equal damage, chiefly through the conflagration which broke out among the falling buildings (Björnsthål, *Briefe*, iv. 131—147; Slaars, p. 132 sq.). Almost equally dangerous was the rioting which broke out on March 14, 1797 as a result of a quarrel between Cephalonians and Croats, and spread fire and death through the town (Djewdet, *op. cit.*, vi. 220 sq.; Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, vii. 13 sq.). During the war of the Porte with Egypt, on Febr. 19, 1833, emissaries of Ibrāhīm Pasha, after he had defeated the Turks at Kōnya (21 Dec. 1832) and advanced to Kiutāhya, occupied Smyrna for Muḥammad 'Alī but retired again after a few weeks (Rosen, *Gesch. der Türkei*, i. 171).

Smyrna is singularly poor in historical monuments. Nothing worth mentioning is left of the remains of antiquity. The amphitheatre and the circus, in which St. Polycarp, the patron saint of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom, were destroyed in the xviiith century and the materials used to build the Bezestīn and the Wazīrkhan (v. infra). The alleged tomb of Polycarp near the circus was changed into the grave (*türbe*) of a Muslim saint at the beginning of the xviiith century. The Byzantine castle on Mt. Pagus has for years been abandoned and left to decay; the old mosque and the great cistern (*kırk direk*), both presumably of Byzantine origin, are in ruins, and the historical foundation inscription of John Vatatzes, as well as the ancient colossal head of the so-called Amazon, which was formerly built into the wall over the entrance gate of the castle and formed the badge of the town, have in recent times been ruthlessly destroyed. The Turks considered this head to be that of Kaidafā, queen of Saba and therefore called the castle Kaidafā Kal'esi, which in the popular language has been corrupted into Kādifa Kal'esi (Velvet Castle). Among the numerous mosques (ca. 20 large, *djāmi'*, and 46 small, *masjid*) the following are specially mentioned: Hışār Djāmi' (said to be the old Frankish cathedral), Shadrewān Djāmi', Kestāneparāri Djāmi' (traditionally said to have been at one time a Greek church), Kemer-altı Djāmi', Hādjdī Husain Djāmi'; the large Wazīrkhan and the Bezestīn were built in the years 1675—1677 by the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Köprülü. Other old *khan*'s (warehouses) are the Derwishoghlu Khān, Madama Khān, and the Kara 'Oṭmān-zāde Khān. A peculiarity of Smyrna are the numerous arcades of the Frankish quarter, the so called *Ferikhāne*'s (corrupted from *Frenkkhāne*). In the year 1108

(1696—7) a mint was instituted in Smyrna to strike ducats (*ashrafî*) and silver piastres (*ghurush*); it closed after a few years however (Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, i. 226a; cf. Ismā'il Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i Meski'ūkāt-i 'Othmāniye*, n^o. 597—600). Its great importance as a place of export for the products of the soil and industries of the interior (gums, figs, cotton, poppy seeds, opium, valonia, licorice, carpets, etc.) was attained by Smyrna in the xviith century. The goods of more distant lands, e. g. Persian silk and the camelots of Angora in those days and down to modern times found their way to the west via Smyrna. Numerous English and Dutch merchants settled there and the English colony has played a distinguished part in the development of the country, economic and cultural. Trade with Persia and Angora resulted in a considerable immigration of Armenians. The Jews (Sefardim) had the exclusive right to serve as brokers. The Europeans lived in the Frank quarter and conducted themselves there with the same freedom as in their own land. They were later joined by a strong community of trading Greeks, while the Muḥammadan element was gradually driven into the back ground. Gīaur Izmiri ("infidel Smyrna") therefore became a name of the town; the quarter of the town inhabited by the Rhodians was already so called by Timūr's time in contrast to the upper town, which remained in the hands of Muslims (*Izmīr-i Gabrān* in Sharaf al-Dīn). — The present population is estimated at about 300 000, of whom 90 000 are Muslims, 110 000 Greeks, 30 000 Jews, 15 000 Armenians, 55 000 foreigners, including 30 000 Hellenes.

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Protestantsche Gemeente te Smirna, Leiden 1910. — Older views in de Bruyn, Tournefort and the works of Choiseul-Gouffier and de Laborde; plans by Storari (1856) and Lamech Saad (1871). (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

IZNİK, the ancient and Byzantine Nicaea (*Nikiya* in Ibn Khordādhbih and al-Idrīsī), was besieged in vain by the Arabs in their first campaigns against Byzantium in 717 and 725 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i. 397 and 405 sqq.) and fell at the beginning of 1081 into the hands of the Saldjūk Sulaimān, son of Kutlumush, who made his residence there. The first Crusaders under Walther Habenichts were severely defeated before Nicaea in 1096 by Alp Arslān, son and successor of Sulaimān; next year, however, the town could not withstand the onslaught of the Crusaders, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and surrendered on June 19/20, 1097 to the Byzantines in alliance with the Crusaders, in whose possession it remained till the Ottoman invasion. Sultān 'Othmān I is said to have attacked Nicaea, but it was not till the time of Orkhān that it was taken after a prolonged siege in 731 (1331); he moved his capital thither for a time ('Ashīk-pashazāde and Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 195; cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii. 508 sq.). In 1402 the town was taken and devastated by a raiding body of Timūr's troops (Ducas, p. 72; Sheref al-Dīn, *Zafarnāma*, ii. 454), but it soon recovered from this blow, and it is described as flourishing and prosperous at the time of the rebellion of Prince Muṣṭafā (Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 525, l. 46); Bāyazīd II is said to have intended after the death of his father, Muḥammad II, to renounce the throne and retire to Nicaea.

The decline of the town began about the middle of the xviith century; the population then estimated at 10,000 (Grelot) has since sunk to 1500. The once flourishing manufacture of faience tiles (*čini*), which Otter (*Voyage en Turquie*, i. 44) still found working in 1736, has now ceased. Only a slight memory of it, no longer understood, remains in the name Činīzlik (for Činī Iznīk, "faience Iznīk"), which the town popularly bears. The present village occupies a small part of the area surrounded by the town walls and forms with its district a community (*māhiya*) of the Kaḍā of Yenışehir, in the wilāyet of Khudawendīgiar (Brussa), while Iznīk was formerly the capital of a kaḍā of the *eyālet* of Kōdja-eli. The general decay has also affected the ancient buildings. The best preserved are the Roman and Byzantine walls consisting of a double rampart (best described by Prokesch and Texier; cf. thereon Körte, *Mitt. des Deutsch. Arch. Instituts*, Athens, xxiv. 398—409) with their monumental gateways and 238 towers (Texier). The Byzantine part of these defences dates from the time of Leo III the Isaurian, who had them built here after the Arab invasion of 726 (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, n^o. 8864); Michael III in 858, and later Theodore Lascaris (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, n^o. 8745—8747) completed and improved them. Of the foundations of Sultān Orkhān only a madrasa is still in use; the mosque (restored in the xvth century by Sinān for Sulaimān I) has with its 'Imāret been dilapidated for centuries; of the buildings of the family of Djandarālī Khair al-Dīn Pasha, the Yeshil Djāmi' (built in 780—794 A. H.) and the mosque of Mukrime Khātūn, dedicated to Eshref-zāde Rūmī (flourished in the reign of Muḥammad II; cf. *Mitt. d. Seminars f. Or. Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. 2,

p. 164), are tolerably well preserved; the tomb of Eshrefzāde is still a much visited place of pilgrimage. Of the three churches which the Greeks still had at the end of the xvth century (Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 204), those of St. Theodori and of St. George have disappeared; the third, that of the Κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας, restored in 1807, is a Byzantine building of the ixth century with additions of the xth and of interest on account of its old mosaic decorations.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

'IZRĀ'IL (in European literature one also finds 'Azrā'il), the name of the angel of death, one of the four archangels (next to Djibril, Mikhā'il, Isrāfil). The name is perhaps a corruption of עֲסֵרָאֵל, which is given by Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 333, as the name of the prince of Hell. Like Isrāfil, whose office of trumpet-blower at the last judgment is sometimes given to him, he is of cosmic magnitude; if the water of all the seas and rivers were poured on his head, not a drop would reach the earth. He has a seat (*sarīr*) of light in the fourth or seventh heaven, on which one of his feet rests; the other stands on the bridge between paradise and hell. He is however also said to have 70 000 feet.

The description of his appearance agrees almost exactly with that in Jewish literature: he has 4000 wings and his whole body consists of eyes and tongues, the number of which corresponds with that of the living. He however, is also said to have four faces.

At first he was an angel like others. When Allāh wanted to create man, he ordered Djibril to snatch from the earth for this purpose a handful of its main constituents. The earth, however, stirred up by Iblis, offered resistance, so that neither Djibril, nor Mikhā'il nor Isrāfil could carry out the commission. But 'Izrā'il managed to do it. On account of his hard-heartedness (*qillat al-raḥma*) Allāh then appointed him angel of death.

On account of his strength he is also master of death. When Allāh had created Death, he

summoned the angels to look at him. When they saw his astonishing strength, they fell down unconscious and remained lying for thousand years. Then they awakened and said: "Death is the most powerful of creatures". But Allāh said: "I have appointed 'Izrā'il to be lord over him".

Several angels of death are mentioned, as in Jewish literature; and it is said that 'Izrā'il deals with the souls of the prophets while the souls of ordinary men are under his *khālifa*. Special stress is laid on the beginning of Sūra lxxix. as authority for a number of angels of death: "By those who tear forth and by those who draw forth" etc. The former are said to be those angels who drag the souls of the unbelievers by force from their bodies, while by the latter are meant those who have to separate the souls of the believers from their bodies. The explanation of the verse however is not certain. In Sūra xxxii. 11 mention is made of the angel of death (in the singular).

'Izrā'il keeps a roll of mankind. But he does not know the date of death of the individuals. Whether one belongs to the blessed or the damned, he sees from the fact that the names in the first category are surrounded by a bright and those in the second by a dark circle.

When the day of a man's death approaches, Allāh causes to fall from the tree below his throne the leaf on which the man's name is written. 'Izrā'il reads the name and has to separate the person's soul from his body after 40 days.

But there are some people who strive against the separation, and object that the angel of death is acting arbitrarily. The latter then goes back to Allāh and tells him his experience. Allāh then gives him as a credential an apple from Paradise on which the *basmala* [q. v.] is written; when the man sees this, he yields.

Man also has other means of making it difficult for the angel of death to carry out his task. If the latter wants to creep into his throat to fetch out his spirit, the dying man recites a *dhikr* [q. v.] and thus closes the entrance. The angel then returns to Allāh, who advises him to try it with the dying man's hand. If the latter however is just making a *ṣadaqa* [q. v.] the angel's entrance is again impossible. Finally however 'Izrā'il writes the name of God on the man's hand. Then the bitter feeling of separation disappears and the angel can enter to fetch the spirit. — On the other hand, it is also said that he pierces men with a poisoned lance. Another account is as follows: When a believer is on his deathbed, the angel of death stands at his head and draws his soul out as gently as water runs out of a skin. He hands it to his assistants who carry it through the seven heavens up to the highest and then place it with the body in the grave (the soul's journey to heaven; cf. Bousset in *Archiv f. d. Religionswissenschaft*, iv.).

But if an unbeliever die, the angel of death tears the soul out of his body in the roughest fashion. The gate of heaven closes before the soul, as it is carried up, and it is thrown down to earth again.

Characters like Idris, Ilyās, 'Isā and al-Khaḍir [q. v.], as is well known, were not subject to death. As regards Moses the same thing could not be asserted; but the Bible throws a veil over his death. Muslim tradition accordingly says that Moses defended himself against the angel of death, who came with the fatal message to him, and bruised his eye. Allāh said to the angel when he came back:

"If he places his hand on a cow, as many years are to be granted him as his hand covers hairs". "And then?" asked Moses. "Death", said Allāh. — It is also related that the angel of death came to Moses with an apple from Paradise; when he had smelled this, he died.

On an experience of Solomon's with the angel of death, see al-Baidāwī on Sūra xxxi. 34; on his visit to Idris, see that article.

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'IZZ AL-DAWLA, honorific name frequently assumed by Muḥammadan princes, e.g. Bakhtiyār [q.v.].

'IZZ AL-DĪN, honorific name, for princes often combined with the preceding (*'Izz al-Dawla wal-Dīn*). However, not only princes bear this name, but scholars also.

'IZZET MOLLA, KEČEDJİ-ZADE MEHMET, *'Izzet Efendi*, an important Ottoman statesman and poet in the reign of Maḥmūd II. Born in 1200 (1785-6) in Constantinople, the son of the kādī-asker Ṣāliḥ Efendi, he devoted himself to a theological and legal career, following in his father's footsteps. When he had reached the position of Mollā of Galata, he was subsequently involved in the fall of his patron Ḥālet Efendi, as he had written satirical verses on his behalf. He was therefore banished to Keshān near Rodosto. Pardoned a year later he regained Sultān Maḥmūd's favour, who chose him as a companion. 'Izzet received the highest religious offices. In 1245 (1829) he acted as a representative at the peace negotiation with Russia. His openly displayed bias in favour of peace at any price brought upon him the enmity of the war party, whose intrigues succeeded in getting him banished to Siwās. There he died soon after his arrival in 1245 (1829-30), of poison, it is said. One of his sons is the statesman Fu'ād Pasha.

In addition to numerous chronograms he composed two diwāns, *Behār-i Efkār* (Springtime of Thoughts), concluded about 1240 (1824-5), and *Khazān-i Āthār* (Autumn of Actions), only put together after his death. Neither transcends medio-

crity. 'Izzet however won great renown through his two romantic Mathnawī: *Gülshen-i 'Ashk* (Rose-garden of Love), completed 1227 (1812), lithogr. Constantinople 1265, is a short romance on the old Persian model with a strain of Mewlewī mysticism. The subject matter shows a pretty and original imagination. But still more attractive is his thoroughly characteristic Mathnawī composed during his exile in Keshān with the ambiguous title *Mihnet-Keshān* ("The Sufferer" or "Suffering in the place of exile at Keshān"). This is the poetical diary of an exile, in which ghazals, ḳaṣidas and chronograms are scattered through the Mathnawī verses, and it gives an interesting insight into the world of ideas of a highly educated dignitary of the time and at the same time truthfully reflects provincial life in European Turkey at the period of the beginning of Maḥmūd's reforms. The work, the language of which is already remarkably national Turkish and is interspersed with Turkish every-day idioms, secures 'Izzet Mollā a distinguished place among the reformers of the language and the modernists. It was lithographed in 1269 at Constantinople. Ziyā Pasha also published it in his *Kharābāt: Türk Mathnawiyāt* (1292).

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'IZZĪ (WAḲ'A-NÜWĪS SULAIMĀN 'IZZĪ EFENDİ); Turkish historiographer-royal and poet. He was the son of Khalil Agha, commander of the Baltadji Guard, and of Khadidja, daughter of Aḥmad III, and entered the Imperial Diwān as secretary. In 1156 (1743) he was appointed the seventh holder of the office of historiographer-royal (*waḳ'a-nūwis*) in succession to Ṣubḥī. In 1160 he became master of ceremonies (*teshrifātī*). He died in Djumādā II 1160 (March/April 1755) and was buried beside Shaikh Murād-zāde, who had initiated him into the Nakshbandī order. 'Izzī left a *Diwān* and a chronicle covering the years 1157—1165 (1744—1752). It was printed in 1199 (1784) as a continuation of Ṣubḥī's history. 'Izzī's prose is more praised than his poetry. But his style is the most exuberant and to us the most unpleasing of all Ottoman historians. His fondness for chronograms is notorious. He enjoyed a considerable reputation as a calligrapher.

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J.

JACOB. [See ISRĀ'IL.]

JAEN, situated at the foot on the north east of the Iabalcuz (= Djabal Kūz), west of the Guadalbullón, is the capital (1700 feet above sea

level; 30,000 inhabitants) of the Spanish province of the same name (300,000 inhabitants), the area in which the Guadalquivir-Baetis takes its rise in Upper Andalusia; Andalusia in

the narrower use of the word (el Andalucía) comprises the whole basin of the Baetis and its tributaries and from west to east includes the five modern provinces of Huelva, Cádiz, Sevilla, Córdoba and Jaén, while Andalusia in the wider sense includes also the ancient kingdom of Granada, finally reconquered in 1492 by the Reyes Católicos, Ferdinand and Isabel, with the mountainous three modern provinces on the Mediterranean, Málaga, Granada and Almería, so that greater Andalusia corresponded to the ancient classical (Provincia Hispania) Baetica.

The name Jaén is derived from the Arabic *Djajyān* (in Spain pronounced *Djajyēn* with *imāla* [q. v.]), the origin of which is unknown (old Spanish usually *Gien*), as Dozy's derivation from U'-cien-se (Edrisi, *Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, transl., p. 248 sq.) seems impossible to us, especially as the ancient Ucia is rather to be sought on the Baetis itself near Andújar. Jaén is rather the ancient Aurgi or Flavium Aurgitanum, which still survives in Awraba (Yāḡūt, ed. Wüstenfeld. i. 400, ii. 186), if we read Awriya instead of Awraba. Awriya-Jaén is said by Yāḡūt to be the capital of the Kūrat Djajyān, also called simply al-Ḥāḡira, the capital. At the Arab conquest, the province of Jaén was colonized by immigrants from the Syrian Djund [q. v.] of Kinnasrin. The most celebrated among its numerous scholars is the grammarian Ibn Mālik [q. v.].

The history of Jaén is naturally closely bound up with that of the adjacent capital of the western amirate and caliphate of Córdoba, after the fall of which it formed for a time a small kingdom of slight importance until in 1248 it was conquered by the Ferdinand III the Saint, of Castille. In D. Miguel Lafuente Alcántara's *Historia de Granada*, based quite uncritically on Conde, the history of Jaén as well as that of Málaga and Almería is superficially discussed.

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JANINA (Ἰωάννινα, Ἰάνινα, turkish *Yāniya*), a town in lower Albania, on the west bank of the lake of the same name, at the foot of Mount Mitzikélis, 1900 feet above the sea-level. It was formerly the capital of the vilāyet of the same name. The palace of the Pasha and two of its mosques are situated on a peninsula which runs out to the middle of the lake. It was defended by several forts. It replaced the ancient Dodona which had become the see of a bishopric, and the ruins of which are still to be seen 12 miles away; after the invasion of the Goths under Totila in 551, it took the name Joannina, derived from that of St. John (δ Ἰωάνης Ἰωάννης) who had become the patron saint of the town. In the reign of Sultān Murād II, after the capture of Salonika, the deputies of the town offered to surrender Janina to him, if he allowed the inhabitants to enjoy their privileges and liberties. The Sultān accepted their conditions, received the keys of the

town and handed over to the deputies a *ḡanḡ-i-sharīf*, signed with his own hand (1st Šafār 835 = 9 Oct. 1431); it is said that the ceremony took place at a place near Salonika called Klidi (key). Eighteen officers under the charge of Sinān Beg were ordered to take possession of the town and to build outside the walls, in accordance with the treaty, the houses they were to live in; in spite of the pledge, the commissioners had the church of St. Michael in the middle of the town demolished and the fortifications dismantled; taking advantage of a festival celebrated in the church of the Pantokrator, they attacked the crowd and carried off the daughters of the best families. Janina had no particular history till the time when 'Alī Pasha of Tepe-Dilen [see 'ALĪ TEPEDILENLI], desiring to escape from the yoke of the Sublime Porte, made it his capital. He brought prosperity and life to the town, protecting agriculture and commerce. The siege of 1236 (1820) ruined the town. Of the 16 churches which formerly existed only six are left. The mosque of Arslān Agha was built in 1712 on the site of the ancient basilika of St. John; many ancient columns are still found there. Other noteworthy buildings are the Bairaḡly Djāmi' (the "mosque of the standard"), built by Bāyazīd II, and that of Muḡtafī Efendi. Besieged by the Greeks at the end of 1912 it capitulated on March 6, 1913, and was definitely ceded to Greece by the Turkish Empire (Treaty of Athens, Nov. 14, 1913).

Local industries include the manufacture of blankets called *valensa*, fine carpets, a serge called *shayaḡ*, slippers called *yāniya ḡaryḡy*, mirrors, gold and silver thread, and garments embroidered with gold for the use of the Albanians. The population was given as 16,230 in 1874 by L. Moreau, French vice-consul in *Ann. de la Société Soc. de Géogr.*, 6th Ser., xii. (1876), 543 sqq., cf. *Péterm. Mitt.*, suppl. Vol. xxii. 42 sq. and *supra* i. 451a).

The former province of Janina comprised the *sandjaḡ* of Yāniya, of Ergeri (Argyrokastro), of Preveza and of Berat, and also, before the cession of Thessaly to Greece, that of Triḡāla (Trikkala).

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(CL. HUART.)

JANISSARIES (Turkish *yāni-ḡarī* [ḡ], "new troops"), the name given to the regular infantry created by the Ottoman Turks in the xvth century, which became their principal force and rendered possible the vast conquests made in this and the following centuries. Their organisation goes back to Sultān Orḡhān (726 = 1326), son and successor of 'Oḡmān, his brother and prime minister 'Alā' al-Dīn, and Kara Khalīl Čendereli [see ČENDERELI], brother-in-law of Shaikh Edebalī. Before this time the chief Ottoman troops were, as in the Persian armies, bodies of horsemen called *aḡyndji* (light cavalry); they were supported by infantry called in Persian *pāwāz* and in Turkish *yaya* (foot-soldiers) who, although organised in companies of ten, a hundred, and a thousand men were in reality mere levies without any

great cohesion. It is Kara-Çendereli's merit that he created regular regiments of infantry at an age when mediaeval Europe was still at the stage of armed bands, before the organisation of the companies of archers in England, and a century before the first standing armies in France under Charles VII. It was very probably the contact with the legions of the Byzantines, although far sunk from their former glory, that gave the Turks the idea of supporting the Turkoman cavalry with well-trained infantry. But recruiting for the latter was carried out on entirely different lines, of which, moreover, the Janissaries are the only example in history.

In the article DEWŞHİRME [q. v.], it has been explained how the Ottoman government used to levy from Christian peoples conquered by them a tribute of children, who were converted to Islām and educated in special schools and continued to be regarded as slaves of the sovereign (*kul*); the children of Janissaries married to native women in the Barbary regencies and their descendants are called *kul oğlu* "sons of slaves" [cf. i. 260b, 271a]. An institution of this kind was contrary to Muslim law which does not allow a sovereign to force the *dhimmi* [v. DHIMMA] to give their children into slavery; the Turks who were in the service of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs came from captures made on enemy territory (*dār ḥarb*) and not from conquered territory (*dār islām*); it was only possible to form the Janissaries by an act of the ruler (*urf*), in disregard of canon law (*shari'at*).

From the first the new troops were under the patronage of the dervish Hādjdjī Bektāsh and regarded as affiliated to the religious order which he had founded. (cf. BEKTĀSH and HURŪFİS); as headgear they were given a bonnet of white felt, to which there was attached behind a piece of cloth in memory of the benediction, during which the saint had left his sleeve hanging on the back of his flock. This bonnet had a wooden spoon as a badge. The names of the officers were taken from various departments of the kitchen: *çorbacı-başı* (chief soup-maker), *aşçı-başı* (chief cook), as we shall see later. The most sacred object in the regiment was the great cauldron of bronze (*kazan*) around which they assembled not only at meals but also to take counsel. Upsetting the cauldron was a sign of revolt, which became more frequent in course of time when, from the reign of Sultān Muḥammad IV (1051—99 = 1641—87), the ancient practice of *dewşirme* fell into disuse.

The corps of Janissaries was called *odjak*, "hearth"; it was divided into several tactical units called *orta*, "regiment", fixed in number and of varying strength (according to the period, 100, 500 and up to 3000 men); these *orta* were lodged in barracks called *oda* "rooms" (East Turk. *otak*). In the field the regiments encamped under huge round tents on which were embroidered their distinctive emblems. Numbering 165 at first, the *orta* were increased in number to 196, not including 59 *orta* formed by the 'Adjemi-oghlan [q. v.] and divided into three classes: *djemā'at*, "reunion, assembly" comprising 101 *orta*; 2. *bölük*, "division", comprising 61 *orta*; 3. *segbān*, "huntsmen, hound-keepers", popularly called *seimen*, to the number of 34 *orta*.

This corps was commanded by a general with the title *yeni-çeri-aghasy*, "*agha* [q. v.] of the Janissaries", who had a special residence in the

capital and offices where the business of the corps was conducted. The Sultān was not obliged to choose him from among the officers of the *odjak*. He was also in control of the police and of the maintenance of order in the capital; he was always followed by aides-de-camp carrying the *fa-laka* (see FELEKE). In war this general was preceded by a white standard surmounted by a horse-tail (*tugh*) and followed by footmen (*shāfir*) having the tails of their robes tucked up and fastened in their girdles. — The *segbān-başı* was originally, as his name indicates, the chief of the *segbān*; but as, in time, the *orta* of the *segbān* were placed under the direct command of the *agha*, this post lost some of its importance; however when the *agha* set out for war at the head of the *odjak*, the *segbān-başı* acted as his deputy in the capital with the title of *kāim-makām*. The *kul-kıya*, "superintendent of the slaves", commanding the *bölük*, was also adjutant to the *agha*; in war he was chief of staff of the corps; he enjoyed great influence, being chosen for the post by the Janissaries themselves and having the right, after reporting the matter to the *agha*, to appoint subalterns of a rank lower than that of the *çorbacı*. The other general officers of the corps were in order of precedence, the *zagharcı-başı*, "chief of the bloodhound-keepers", commanding the 64th *orta*; the *muhgir-agha*, "chief of the ushers", who represented the interests of the corps with the Grand Vizier; the senior and junior *khaşşekî*, "charged with special duties", who were sent into the provinces to settle questions concerning the *odjak* there; the *baş-çausk*, chief of the sergeants", commanding the 5th *orta*, the crier of the council, who carried out its decisions and enrolled the recruits; the *kıyayeri*, "the lieutenant of the intendant", representing the *kul-kıya* with the *agha*, who transmitted the latter's orders to the provinces; the *kıatib*, "secretary", who had to keep the registers called *kütük*, "tree-trunk".

The officers of each *orta* were 1. the *çorbacı*, colonel of the regiment, an expression which has survived in vulgar Turkish with the meaning "notable of a village". 2. the *oda-başı*, "chief of the barrack-room", adjutant to the preceding, who kept order on parade and saw that the rules were obeyed; 3. the *wakil-kharāj*, "controller of expenditure", who looked after the rations; 4. the *bairakdār*, "standard-bearer"; 5. the *baş-eski*, "chief of the veterans", the oldest soldier in the *orta*, who enjoyed great consideration on account of this title; as he was in command of the *kara-kol*, "guards", he was also called *baş-kara-kollukçı*; 6. the *aşçı-başı*, "chief cook", the quarter-master of the regiment, having under his command the *yamak*, "assistants", who was also head of the guard-room and of the prison of the regiment: his sign of office was a large knife; 7. the *sakke-başı*, "chief water-carrier".

The offensive and defensive weapons of the Janissaries varied at different epochs; we shall give here a few indications of their nature taken from Djewād, from a stock-taking made in the depot for old arms (Museum of St. Irene) in Constantinople; sling, bow and arrows (employed alongside of fire-arms until 955 (1548), according to Şolak-zade, *Ta'rikh*, p. 396, 429, 510, but kept as a sport down to our own times in the clubs of the archers called *kémān-keş*; at the old exercise ground at the Oğ-Meidān marble pillars mark the

distance of the Sultān Maḥmūd II's shot); claw-footed and screw-jack and winding arbalests (*tatār-oky*), javelin (*djerid*), matchlock, flint-lock, blunderbuss (cf. Montecuculli, *Mémoires*, Bk. II), pistol, bayonet (introduced in 1151 = 1738, then dropped and taken up again in 1168 = 1755), maces (*gürz*, *sheshpēr*, *topūz*), whips, flails, axes, scythes, halberds, bills, straight swords, for one or two hands, sabres (*kylyç*, *pāla*, *yataghan*), daggers (*kama*), lances, bucklers, coats-of-mail covered in places with metal plates, helmets of copper or steel (the peak in imitation of the shape of a fez, terminating in a sharp point).

Each *orta* had an emblem which was placed upon its flags as well as upon the doors of the barracks; the Janissaries also had a habit of tattooing it on their arms and legs. Promotions in rank were always made by seniority. The Janissaries were only punished by their own officers; the punishments were imprisonment, the bastinado and death; in the last case the execution took place secretly at night at Rümili-ḥişār and the body was thrown into the Bosphorus with a cannon ball at its feet; a cannon shot however announced the execution of the sentence. Soldiers who became old and infirm or disabled, were retired with a pension; they were called *oturak*.

The admission of foreign elements, outside of the recruits from the ranks of the *ʿadjemî-oghlan* [q. v.], gradually caused the corps of Janissaries to lose its value; the origin of these abuses dates back to the Sultān Murād III, who in 990 (1582) forced the *odjak*, in spite of the regulations and in spite of the resignation of the agha Ferhād, to receive into their ranks acrobats and wrestlers who had amused the people at the festivals on the circumcision of the prince who was later to become Sultān Muḥammad III. Since then individuals of every kind, to gain the privileges of the corps succeeded in gaining admission to it by patronage or purchase. In 1153 (1740) the authority to deal in salaried offices (*ʿulūfe*) which anyone could buy or sell, completed the ruin of the Janissaries as a military force. Those who were really soldiers no longer drew their pay but lived by exactions; soon hardly a dozen were found in every body of police to keep order in the streets and take their pay from the passers by.

Mutinies were frequent under the pretext of claiming an accession gift (*bakhshish*) which the Sultān used to distribute to the troops on his enthronement, since the abortive attempt, energetically suppressed, which the Janissaries made against Sultān Muḥammad II, on the occasion of his second reign (885 = 1451). From the time of the assassination of Sultān ʿOthmān II (1031 = 1622) the Janissaries played a part in politics, terrorised sovereigns, made and unmade grand viziers. They served as the tools of the factious, who remained in the background, escaping responsibility. The only exception was the glorious reign of Murād IV (1032—49 = 1623—40) who restored their discipline. The unfortunate wars against Russia at the end of the xviiith century persuaded the authorities that they ought to replace this obsolete and degenerate institution, incapable of reforming itself and ready to impede all progress, by new military formations. Sultān Selim III, acting on the decisions of a grand council, decided to form a regular army on the estate of Lévend-Çiftlik, lying on the heights of Orta-kîoi and Arnaut-kîoi

(Bosphorus, on the European side) under the name of *niḡam-i-djedid* (new organisation). This attempt at reform, unpopular and opposed by the Janissaries, who did not wish to submit to military drill, led to the rebellion of Kaḇaḳçî and the imprisonment of Selim III in the Serāi, where he was not long in being assassinated. Bairakdār Paşa in vain gave the name *seḡbān* to the new militia, he had resolved to form, for it did not survive its creator.

Sultān Maḥmūd II finding himself pressed by the Russians, Egyptians and revolted Greeks, resolved to take up his brother's plans again; he created a body of regular soldiers who were called *eshkendjî* "active soldiers", reviving an old designation given to the Janissaries when on active service; but the announcement of the beginning of regular drill provoked a mutiny (9th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, 1241 = 10th June 1826) on the Et-Maidān (the meat-square) in the centre of the barracks. The Sultān at once went in a caïque to the Serāi, consulted the ʿulemā, brought out the standard of the Prophet and summoned the Muslim population, victims of the exactions of the Janissaries, to come and fight them. The gunners and marines of the navy, formed one column, the bombardiers and sappers formed a second and marched on the Et-Maidān. The great gate was barricaded but soon fell before the canon; the barracks were set on fire and the rebels overwhelmed. A great assembly, whose decision was ratified by an imperial firman, pronounced the complete suppression of the Janissaries. Since then the Ottoman empire has been able to create a regular army modelled on those of Europe.

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JAPHET. [See YAFITH.]

JAVA, the most important island in the Malay Archipelago, 2390 geographical square miles in area, in 5° south. Lat. is oblong in form, as it lies with Sumatra and the Little Sunda Islands on the southern Sunda fold mountains [see INDIES (DUTCH)]. In contrast to the western (Sumatra) and the eastern (Timor) end, the oldest rocks on the island of Java are entirely covered by tertiary and later volcanic products and coral limestones. The latter show that the island was at one time for the most part sunk below the sea-level and was afterwards raised at least 4000 feet; the former come from the 109 volcanoes of the island of which 13 are still ac-

tive, and cause by their weathering the great fertility of the plains and of the slopes of the volcanoes. The two groups of rock are fairly equally distributed in the mountains of the island. Flat country is found almost only along the north coast as the swell and the depth of the Indian Ocean prevents its formation in the south. The rivers are very numerous, almost all flow north and are of no great length. They are therefore of no importance for navigation except the largest, such as the Solo or Bëngawan and the Brantas in Eastern Java. But they give the water to irrigate the ricefields and are therefore of economic importance.

The oblong shape, the fertility and the excellent climate of the island have all contributed much to its great economic development. As early as the beginning of the xixth century a road was made along the north coast for military purposes by Governor-General Daendels. Since then there has developed the system of roads between the chief towns of the interior, which has been supplemented in the last quarter of last century by railways. At the end of 1917, the state railways in the west amounted in length to 1240 kilometres, in the east to 989, and in Central Java there is a privately owned line 262 kilometres long. The tram-lines of the whole island measure 2135 km. (1 km. to each 28.4 sq. km. and to 7350 inhabitants). On the north coast there are harbours at Tandjong Priok near Batavia and at Surabaya and in the south at Tjilatjap. Other trading centres like Tjirebon and Sëmarang in the north and Patjitan in the south have only natural roadsteads.

The island of Java enjoys a very favourable tropical climate without excessive heat or drought. The average temperature of the coast towns is 26°—27° C., the daily and annual variation does not exceed 5° C. The monsoon climate of the Dutch Indies [q. v.] prevails here only in a modified form; as it becomes narrower towards the west, Western Java enjoys a more regular rainfall than Eastern Java, where during our summer months little rain falls in the plains. The annual rainfall amounts in low-lying districts like Batavia to at least 80 inches and rises to 178 inches at a height of 875 feet at Buitenzorg, while in isolated estates in the northern mountains of Central Java up to 360 inches is recorded. Its climate and fertility give Java a luxuriant vegetation which in the west displays the character of the tropical rain forests and towards the east with trees like *Tectona grandis* (teak) and, in the cool zone, with pines like *Casuarina*, approximates to the monsoon forests. In consequence of the dense population and the European settlements these forests have been almost entirely uprooted except in the southwest and east, and therefore great floods occur in the rainy season. The high slopes of the mountains are well fitted for intensive agriculture, of which the tropical zone (in West Java up to 2100 feet and 27°—23° C. temp.) bears plants like rice, sugar-cane, tobacco, coffee, indigo, rubber, sweet potatoes, palms, screw-pines and mangrove forests, the subtropical (up to 5000 feet and 23°—18° C.) plants like tea, coffee and cinchona, European potatoes and vegetables, the cool (up to 8200 feet and 18°—13° C.) coffee, oaks and other trees of temperate climates. Above 8200 feet, mosses and lichens are found. The fauna of Java belongs to the Asiatic zone of India [v. INDIES]. Among

the larger kinds are apes, tigers, panthers, rhinoceros, wild cattle, deer and wild boar.

The earliest mention of the name Java is found in a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which Kern dates about 150. There Yavadvīpa appears as the island of gold. About the same time Ptolemy (vii. 2, 29) mentions the island of Iabadiu as very fertile and yielding much gold. He interprets the name as barley-island, which is literally correct, but as barley does not grow on Java, the equally possible interpretation millet island may be more appropriate. How far these names agree with the modern geographical denotation is not clear. Java and Sumatra or a part of it are apparently regarded as a whole. (Cf. H. Kern, *Java en het Goudeiland volgens de oudste berichten*, and *De naamsoorsprong van Java*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. [The Hague 1916], 303—21.) In the old Javanese inscriptions of King Er-Laṅga of the 1031 the name is Yawa and in the Kavi poem *Nagarakrītāgama* (1365) Java alternates with Yawa as the name of the island.

The oldest Arabic source in which we find the name Djāwa seems to be Vākūt's (d. 676 = 1228) *Muḍjam*. But here as in some other sources it is not quite clear, what is to be understood by it, as the mention of an article of export like camphor points to Sumatra. From the time of Ibn Saʿīd (viiith—xiiith century) Djāwa is usual as a name for Sumatra (Rashīd al-Dīn, Abu 'l-Fida', Ibn Baṭṭūṭa), but in 'Alī Ra'īs (1554) we find Djāwa for Java. But so early a writer as Ibn Khordādhbih (272 = 885/6) gives Djāba as the name for the island of Java (ed. de Goeje, trans. p. 46) and it is found in several later works (Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, al-Idrīsī, al-Kazwīnī, Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn Khaldūn). The name Java is also concealed in the name Zabaḍj, which most probably arose out of Djāwaga (Jāvaga) and means Javanese (Malay) (see H. Kern *Verspr. Geschriften*, iii. [The Hague 1915], 283 sq., and *Iabadiu* in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië*, 7th Ser. iv [1905], 365 sq., cf. thereon C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Een miskende Arabische palataal*, in *Tijdschr. voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xlviii [1906], 85 sqq.). Al-Zabādj however refers sometimes to Central and South Sumatra and sometimes to Java and occasionally comprises the whole archipelago. Cf. on the above: *Relations de Voyages et Textes géogr. arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, trans. by G. Ferrand, i, ii, Paris 1913—14; G. P. Rouffaer, Article *Tochten* (*Oudste Ontdekkings-*) in *Encycl. van Nederl.-Indië*, 1st ed., iv. 363 sqq.). See also the article DJĀWA.

The trading journeys made by the Hindus along the coast, in dependence on the monsoon, to the Malay archipelago on the way to the Spice Islands, touched at this island also, which soon came to bear their most important colonies, presumably because of its fertility and the shelter offered by its north coast. The great accessibility of the interior enabled the Hindu peoples to settle here also, and thus their power and culture expanded quite early over this Malay island. A Chinese source mentions the presence of Hindus on the island of Java in the year 132 A. D. (cf. G. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-Louen* etc., *Journ. Asiatique*, 11th Ser., xiii. 155 sq.). At a later period the Chinese Buddhist Monk Fa Hian says that in 414 A. D. he found many Hindus but few Buddhists on

this island, which he calls Ya-va-di. This Hindu period comes down to Portuguese times but offers great difficulty to the historian as literary and oral traditions have been distorted almost to unintelligibility by fantastic additions. The best data are afforded by the numerous ruins of temples, statues, copper plates (often charters of endowment) and bronze objects with inscriptions and dates, which are found principally in central and eastern Java. They are even sufficient to enable us to sketch the changing political conditions in this Hindu period. Only a few engraved stones are older than 760 A. D., and some copper-plates from Central and Eastern Java, of which the oldest are one of the year 732 from Central Java and another of 760 from Eastern Java.

Numerous inscriptions dated later than 760 exist and are evidence of a flourishing state of Hindu civilisation in Central Java which lasted to the year 860. Eastern Java then came into prominence. It has been established that the celebrated kings Sindok, Airlangga and Djāyā-Bāyā ruled here in the xth, xith and xiith centuries. In 1222 the kingdom of Singasari in Pasuruan gained the ascendancy over that of Daha in Kêdiri. In 1294 arose the kingdom of Mâdjâpahit in Surabaya, which afterwards became a great power in the Archipelago. The latter existed down to the beginning of the xvth century.

The temple ruins by their situation and architecture considerably increase the importance of these facts. They may be divided into two groups, an older in Central Java and a younger in East Java. Both are rich in marvellous buildings, which however are executed in different styles. In Central Java they are built of tufa and are closely related to Hindu architecture in British India; in Eastern Java, on the other hand, they are mainly of bricks, and here a more independent Javanese style has developed, which shows Chinese influence. Of the latter we only know that the Emperor Khubilai of China in 1293 sent a military expedition to Eastern Java, which was only partially successful. We have only a few small antiquities from Western Java.

In Central Java are the ruins of the Buddhist temples of Bârâ Budur, Tjandi Mëndut, Tjandi Kalasan, Tjandi Sari, Tjandi Sewu and the Siwaite Tjandi Prambanan. In Eastern Java the most important are Tjandi Panataran, Tjandi Singasari and Tjandi Tumpang or Djâgâ.

Ruins like those of Bârâ Budur are among the most beautiful Buddhist ones. From the mixed character of their very numerous statues of gods and religious and profane reliefs it is clear that, as still the case on the island of Bali [q. v.], Brahmanism and Buddhism on Java were closely connected and existed side by side. The Buddhism of the Javanese at that time was of the Mahâyâna school.

In addition to these remains in stone, numerous objects in bronze, gold and silver, such as statues of deities, temple bells, plates etc., are found buried in the ground. Only few remains of secular buildings, even of royal palaces, have been discovered; probably these were of wood and other perishable material. (Cf. on archaeology and epigraphy, the works of Cohen Stuart, H. Kern, J. Brandes and N. J. Krom).

The above remarks show us how highly developed must have been the civilization and how flourishing the prosperity of the island to enable so

many costly works to be erected. In view of the lengthy period of their existence in Java it is not surprising that these Hindu kingdoms exercised a transforming influence on the Javanese culture. We shall probably not be wrong if we assume that the Javanese at the beginning of the Hindu period were probably in about the same stage of culture as the modern Dayaks or Toradja. It seems however certain that even then they knew how to grow rice on irrigated fields, as the technical terms used in this connection are not of Sanskrit but of Indonesian origin. But it must have been considerably advanced by the Hindus.

The formation of despotic Hindu kingdoms among Indonesian tribes organized on a patriarchal system was also of economic importance, as on the one hand it abolished the great insecurity and seclusion of these tribes and secondly brought the masses of the people under the rule of their kings and nobles. The latter brought about the development of native arts and crafts whose ornamental motifs are still Hinduistic. That architecture and sculpture were greatly stimulated is shown by their products, temples and statues, and their disappearance after the introduction of Islâm. Foreign trade arose through connections with the outer world in the West, and Java became the centre of the wholesale trade in spices, precious stones, timbers, resins, etc. The Javanese still use an Indian alphabet and the vocabulary of their language contains a large number of Hindu words and expressions. The introduction of writing was of the greatest importance for the advancement of civilization and on it is based the literary development of the modern Javanese.

When the Brahman sects finally attained preponderance in the island of Java, they gradually introduced the caste system in the form in which it is still found on the island of Bali. With the introduction of Islâm this distinction of the classes disappeared. The gulf that exists between the common people and the nobility and official classes with the princes at their head and the submissiveness of the former must be regarded as consequences of the caste system. They are foreign to the aboriginal Indonesians.

Islâm spread to Java from Malacca, into which it had been introduced by merchants from India (such as Persians and Gujaratis), and was predominant in the beginning of the xvth century. Besides the Indians, after the rise of Malacca, Malay traders also by their residence in Java created an opening for Islâm. Around the families founded by such merchants at the ports, communities of native believers gradually grew up, which finally developed into small states. Influential traders no doubt succeeded in entering into close relations with princes of the seaports through marriage, whereby Islâm could gain influence in the upper circles. The relations of the Mâdjâpahit kingdom to its vassal states also gave occasions for the advance of Islâm: it is often reported that princes of Mâdjâpahit married Muslim princesses of conquered or allied states. At the same time commerce between Java and the states dependent on the island (Pasei) and an important commercial town like Malacca contributed in no small degree to the spread of Islâm. In the last named place there was about 1500 large settlements of Javanese who were for the most part Muslims, according to Portuguese accounts. The latter no

doubt influenced their mother country in religious matters. Influences like the above were of all the more effect in a period when there was no strong central authority in the kingdom of Mādġāpahit.

Following the trade route Islām first gained a footing on the coast of Eastern Java. There, in the xvth century, Tuban was the most important harbour of Mādġāpahit and in the following century the most important commercial town next to Grēsik. The oldest relic of the Muslim settlement in Java is the tomb of a certain Fāṭima bint Maimūn, d. 475 or 495 (1082/3 or 1101/2), in Leran. The tomb of Mālik Ibrāhīm in Grēsik dates from 822 (1419); according to native tradition, he was a merchant. According to a statement of a Chinese Muslim, there were in 1416 not yet any native Muhammadans, but a settlement of Muslims who had come from the West and a group of Chinese, some of whom were converts to Islām. In view of the position of Islām in the Moluccas about 1450, it is very probable that about the same time the Muslims "were beginning to assert their influence in Java also in the coast region from Djapara(?) to Surabaya, Tuban and Grēsik particularly". In the course of the next fifty years the communities of native Muslims with the support of immigrant Muhammadans developed into small states on the coast, which soon endeavoured to assume authority over Eastern Java. (On the above cf. B. J. O. Schrieke, *Het Boek van Bonang*, Leiden dissertation, Utrecht 1916, p. 1—39 and the literature there quoted; H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, Leiden diss. 1921).

Legend ascribes the conversion of Java to Islām to the joint activity of eight or nine *wālis*. The names of these saints who are called by the honorific title *sunan* (*susuhunan*) and are usually named after their place of burial or activity, are as follows: (1) The already mentioned Mālik Ibrāhīm (also called Mawlānā Maghrabī) who died in 1419. (2) Sunan Ngampel (Raden Rahmat) who about 1450 married a princess of the family ruling at Tuban and died about 1470. His tomb is in Ngampel (Surabaya). (3) Sunan Bonang, son of Sunan Ngampel's marriage with the Tuban princess and born probably about 1465. His activity in Tuban, probably as head of the Muslim community there, must fall between 1475 and 1500. He perhaps lived to about 1525. His tomb is shown in two different places (cf. Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff.). (4) Sunan Giri (Raden Paku), who is considered the ancestor of the so-called priest-kings of Giri and whose tomb is on the hill of Giri near Grēsik. (5) Sunan Gunung Djati, who left his native place Pasei in 1521 and after his studies in Mecca came to Djapara and probably also to Dēmak; he had great success with his religious teaching and he married a sister of the king of Dēmak. He then went to Bantēn, where with the help of his brother-in-law he succeeded in gaining power. In 1527 he took Sunda Kalapa from the king of Padjadjaran, at whose expense he gradually extended his power. He finally settled in Tjirēbon where he died about 1570; his tomb is to be seen near by on the hill called Gunung Djati. (See Hoesain Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten*, Leiden Diss. 1913, Haarlem 1913, Index s. v. Goenoeng Djati). 6. Sunan Kudus, buried in Kudus (Res. Sēmarang). 7. Sunan Muria, called after his

tomb in the Muria Hills (Djapara). 8. Sunan Dradjat, a second son of Sunan Ngampel; his tomb is in the desa Dradjat on the road from Tuban to Sedayu. 9. Sunan Kali Djaga, whose tomb is in Kadilangu (Sēmarang) (on him cf. Hoesain Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*, Index). — These nine, it should be noted, are also given with partly varying names (cf. the article *Heiligen* in *Encyclop. van Nederlandsch-Indië*², ii., and the literature quoted there).

About 1520 a coalition of Muslim kings of the coast states under the leadership of the king of Dēmak, Raden Patah, destroyed the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Mādġāpahit. An attempt made about 1546 to conquer Pasuruan did not succeed. It appears certain also that the kingdom of Dēmak was overthrown by that of Padjang (c. 1568) and the latter again by that of Mataram (c. 1586), out of which the present "Vorstenlanden" of Central Java have arisen.

For the development of political and religious conditions among the Javanese of the xvth and xviih centuries Mataram has undoubtedly been the most important sultanate. It was brought to its greatest prosperity by Tjākrā Kusumā (1618—1646), also called Sultan Agung after 1641, and extended its rule over almost the whole of Java. During his reign there existed in the West the independent sultanate (since 1631) of Bantēn and the sultanate of Tjirēbon dependent on him. The kings of Giri-Grēsik at this time had great religious prestige.

By Agung's conquest of the Northern ports of Lasēm (1616), Tuban (1618), Grēsik (1622), Surabaya (1625), and Madura (1627), and by their destruction, the foreign commerce and the shipping of Java received a severe blow, which was not repaired by the foundation of the state harbour of Djapara.

The European competition of the Dutch, English, Danes etc. was thereby much encouraged. By the foundation of the town of Batavia in 1619 on the site of the former Sunda Kalapa or Djakatra the former obtained a commercial and political centre in the sphere of the despot of Mataram, who had as little success in driving them out by a siege in 1628/1629, as had the Bantēnese of the West.

The histories of the Javanese kingdoms of Mataram, Tjirēbon and Bantēn since that date show us classical examples of the destructive influence of the unbridled passions of their rulers and the latter's officials. Agung's kingdom suffered already from his many costly conquests, his successors and their relations only reigned to increase their revenues and gratify their lusts. Domestic conflicts in the royal house itself and several wars with enemies outside, incited thereby, weakened the kingdom more and more.

These circumstances had consequences which were of interest to the "Nederlandsche Generale Geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie", founded for trading purposes only and managed from Holland, and were important for the development of modern Java. These and the endeavour to maintain a monopoly drove it to a policy of conquest, which became one of the main causes of its decline at the end of the sixth century. As early as Sultān Agung's death in 1646, the Company made a treaty of mutual support with his successor Amangkura I. The latter in 1677 found himself forced

to call for the Company's help when pressed by the Madurese and Macassarrese. He died a fugitive and his son Amangkurat II was only able to ascend the throne with the help of the Dutch Company. The kingdom was next shaken by two wars of succession (1704—1706 and 1746—1755). When the three claimants to the throne were all maintaining their position in the field during the latter of these wars, the Company found itself forced to divide the kingdom of Mataram between two of them in 1755. Thus arose the kingdom of the Susuhunans of Surakarta and of the Sultāns of Djokyakarta. In 1758 the third pretender had to be pacified, by granting him the semi-independent position of a prince Mangku Negārā. At that time the Dutch East India Company already possessed the North coast of the Mataram kingdom and the central part of the West down to the South coast. Up to the end of the xviiith century the influence of this trading company on native culture remained relatively small, as their officials only dealt with the natives as far as was necessary for the compulsory deliveries of agricultural products by the kings and the monopoly of imports of clothes, opium, etc.

In the course of the xixth century, when the kingdom of the Netherlands had assumed the suzerainty in the Indian Empire of the East Indian Company, the conditions of life among the Javanese population have altered very much. During English rule (1811—1816), the sultanates of Bantēn and Tjirēbon in the West were completely incorporated in the territory of the Indian government and considerable stretches in Central and East Java. The foundation of the independent kingdom of Paku Alam (1813) also broke the resistance of the Sultān of Djokya. When, after the rising of 1825—1830, the present residencies of Banyumas, Bagēlèn, Madiun and Kēdiri were incorporated by the Dutch in their territories as a war indemnity, only 7% of the surface of the island remained to native princes. As they have since then been still further restricted in their powers, the situation of the masses of the people has been much improved. Before this can be judged, we must deal with the population. It consists of 33,000,000 natives, 318,700 Chinese, 72,700 Europeans, 20,370 Arabs and 3000 other foreigners; with a population of 254 to the square kilometre it is therefore one of the most thickly populated parts of the earth's surface. If we consider that in the first and second decade of the xixth century, the Governor-Generals Daendels and Raffles estimated the native population at four and five millions and that this enormous increase has taken place without immigration, its explanation certainly appears desirable.

The foreign inhabitants of Java, if we except those only temporarily settled there, are for the most part half-breeds, sprung from intermarriages with native women. The Japanese are included with the Europeans. The Chinese, whose families in many cases have been living for centuries in Java, come from the South Chinese province of Kwan-Tung, the Arabs from South Arabia (Ḥaḍramawt) and the other foreigners from British India. With a very few exceptions, these all came with the object of earning a living by commerce or industry, and they often succeed very well.

The natives with few exceptions (Baduy in the West, the majority of the Tēnggērrese in the

East and the Christian Javanese) are all Muslims. Their languages, customs and physique divide them into three groups: in the West the Sundanese, in the Centre the Javanese, in the East the Madurese. The differences are to be ascribed more to the influences of foreigners (Hindus) and surroundings, than to race. They all belong to the Malays of the Archipelago, but those in the West were less exposed to these influences than those in the East and Centre. The Sundanese therefore remained truer to the original type and more accessible to Islām. The Madurese on their relatively less fertile island have devoted themselves less to agriculture than to cattle-rearing and fishing and formerly to piracy, and thus became more energetic, vigorous and ruder than the Hinduised Javanese. In Western Java the latter only spread along the North and East coasts, while the Madurese are found in East Java in the residencies of Besuki, North Pasuruan and East Surabaya also. The native populations of the large towns like Batavia and Surabaya deserve special mention; in these commercial and administrative centres of the Dutch the native population arose out of traders, slaves, soldiers, political interneers of the most varied origins in the course of the last three centuries. As the language formed here has become the *lingua franca* (Malay) of Europeans and natives for the whole archipelago, these conditions are of special importance.

The natives are an intelligent, circumspect, easily contented, agricultural people who cling firmly to their traditions. They are fond of festivals, games and the use of opium, which sometimes are lead to abuses. The long period of despotic rule has divided the people into two classes, the princes with the nobility and officials on one side and the bulk of the people on the other, and has caused a very complicated system of ceremonial to grow up, which has laid a firm hold on all their customs and also finds expression in their language. The subservience of the masses to their superiors is a further result of these political conditions. In keeping with their geographical situation the Javanese are more submissive than the Madurese and Sundanese. The awakening of Eastern Asia is now being felt even in Java.

The despot was possessor of the soil, granted it to the peasants in return for half the produce in kind and in addition levied taxes in labour and produce on his people regularly and irregularly. His relations and officials were granted lands, and in the "Vorstenlanden", where this system still prevails, these have since the beginning of the xixth century been let more and more to European planters. Outside these principalities, the possession of land is private among the Madurese and Sundanese and partly communal among the Javanese. The most popular crop is rice, grown on inundated fields; other food-stuffs are sweet potatoes, beans, spices and fruits; for export tobacco, coco-nuts (copra), cotton and capok are grown. Of all these a number of varieties are known. The rearing of cattle and buffaloes is only subsidiary to agriculture. The horse is used for riding and as a beast of burden but is also eaten like the sheep and the goat. All these domestic animals except cattle were imported from Asia. Hunting as a means of livelihood is of very subordinate importance. The same applies to fishing in the rivers and in the sea. Many fish are reared in artificial ponds of fresh

water or on the seashore. The wholesale traffic of the island is in the hands of Europeans and Chinese, the retail is mainly carried on by Chinese and a few natives, and the huckstering in the markets is mainly in the hands of native women.

Javanese industries consist of handicrafts almost exclusively concerned with supplying local needs. Weaving and iron-smelting have decreased very much owing to the large imports of clothes, raw iron, and articles of iron. A few genuine Javanese arts like the making of *krises* (daggers), the manufacture of copper musical instruments and ornamental articles of copper, wood carving and batikting of cotton clothes are still practised. Only a few of their products such as brass gongs and batik clothes are exported. They bear witness to the abilities of the Javanese in these fields.

The language of the Javanese has developed out of the Old Javanese (Kawi) of the pre-Mādjāpahit period and the Middle Javanese current down to the new Kingdom of Mataram. At the courts of the Hinduistic princes the vernacular was frequently used for the adaptation of Indian and indigenous legends; when poets and men of letters of the Muhammadan kingdom of Mataram continued in this way, the contents of those literary products became modified, but the language remained Indonesian under these Hinduistic and Muhammadan influences. Both in vocabulary and subject matter, the very rich Javanese literature has adopted much from Hindus and Muhammadans. Javanese literature contains the modern Javanese recensions of the products of three periods. From the first came Kawi poems like the *Arjunawiwaha*, *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, *Bhāratayuddha* (an adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*) and *Rāmāyaṇa* in addition to mythological poems like the *Manik-Maya* on creation and mythology, and *Bandung* and *Aji Saka* which contain the mythical history of old Java. The versions of the *Mahābhārata* are prose works from this period. From the second period comes the *Pandji* cycle which celebrates the chivalrous, sentimental love of the Javanese prince Pandji for the princess Angreni and his adventures. To the third period belongs the *Menak Hamzah* of Muhammadan Malay origin, which deals with a Muslim hero endowed with supernatural powers who only achieves his wonderful deeds through his belief in Allāh. The Javanese chronicles or *Babad's* are in rhyme but are of no poetical value, and they are only of historical value when their writers are describing their own experiences. *Anbiya* contains the Javanese recension of the Muslim legends of prophets. The history of Moses is given in a prose work *Radja Pirangon*. In addition to the epic the Javanese have also didactic poetry (*Wulang Reh*; also the beast fable with the dwarf deer, *kantjil*, as the main character). Poetry is principally cultivated at the Javanese courts, but a good deal is composed elsewhere also. The lack of Javanese prose works is striking. (Cf. also under INDIES (DUTCH), p. 493 sqq. and MALAY).

In the West of the island the language is Sunda and in the East Madura, both languages closely connected with Javanese and having a similar literature, which however in keeping with the less refined civilisation of the Madurese and Sundanese shows a simpler character as regards form and matter. On account of its general interest the language

of the town of Batavia and the surrounding district deserves special mention.

The Islām of the native population possesses the same character as has already been described under INDIES (DUTCH) and indicated in its most important features for the island of Java. It is so important in the lives of the natives up to the highest classes of society that the prevailing political and economic conditions can only be understood if full account is taken of it. This Muhammadanism is grafted upon animism which often appears under Hinduistic forms.

From the economic point of view, agriculture, by far the most important industry, shows most significantly how powerfully the animistic mental attitude makes itself felt. As a result of lack of knowledge of the real conditions of growth, it causes and maintains the neglect of good tillage, of careful choice of plants, of care during growth and precautions at harvest time. Agriculture also labours under the burden of the many animistic sacrificial festivals and ceremonies, which are given a Muslim significance for the people, because a religious person prays for Allāh's blessing at them. The yield of all native crops is therefore much smaller than it would be under European management. It is the religious significance of agricultural customs to the natives that forms a great obstacle to their improvement under European guidance. The government has seriously attacked the question of the study and advance of it. It is similar with cattle-rearing; with the help of the ruling and other native chiefs, very satisfactory results have been obtained in Central Java in improving the breed of cattle and their care.

Politically Islām is only of importance so far as its teaching regarding infidel rulers makes it appear a subsidiary factor in all troubles which arise out of economic or political grounds. Further, the belief in the personal help of the Almighty and his saints, in amulets, in invulnerability etc. leads in local disturbances to the phenomenon so inexplicable to Europeans, that sometimes a very small number of people, often lead by a *guru*, vigorously resist the authorities.

The rule of the Dutch is to the advantage of the natives of the Archipelago in several respects, as has already been mentioned at the end of the article INDIES (DUTCH), and on p. 578^a. As regards the island of Java, in the last fifty years, economic conditions have largely contributed to this result. The very dense population of the island could not possibly support itself on the yield of their fields and other sources. But in addition there have arisen the constantly increasing sources of revenue which the natives owe to the plantations of tropical products of the Europeans. What huge sums are involved may be gathered from the amounts paid out in wages and rent to the natives by the sugar industry, which moreover is the most highly developed one.

If we consider all these facts together with what has already been said under INDIES (DUTCH), the astounding increase of the population of Java in the last century will be understood. It could only have been attained however by the fact that marriages are general and early among the natives.

As regards administration, the islands of Java and Madura differ from the other islands (*Buitenbezittingen*); the civil officials are accordingly divided into two classes. There are 17 residencies in Java and

Madura and in districts under European residents and assistant-residents who have controllers under them. Alongside of these, the native officials with the regents at their head form the link with the people. The often peculiar organisation of the 32,000 native villages has been left untouched as far as possible.

The native princes occupy a special position. The four kingdoms arose out of that of Mataram, as was briefly outlined above. The residency of Solo or Surakarta contains the kingdom of the Susuhunan of Surakarta and in the South that of the Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangku Negara; the residency of Djokyakarta contains the kingdoms of Djokya or Djokyakarta and of Pangeran Arya Paku Alam in the South-West.

Justice is administered with slight exceptions, in the native states as well as in Java and Madura, by jurists trained in Holland.

Public instruction in the present century is being continually extended by the government, missions and private persons. In the larger places, Dutch is often the language of instruction (at the end of 1917 in 5 secondary boys' schools and two secondary girls' schools and in 198 elementary schools with European teachers). The education of the natives was conducted in 130 schools in seven year courses with Dutch, and in 991 schools in four year courses. There were 4815 village schools with three year courses, 183 schools for Chinese and 30 for Arabs.

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Art. INDIES (DUTCH), p. 501. See also *Encycl. van Nederlandsch-Indië*², Art. Java and Islām. (A. W. NIEUWENHUIS.)

JEREMIAH, the prophet. His name is vocalised in Arabic IRMIYĀ, ARMIYĀ or ŪRMIYĀ (see *Tādī al-ʿArūs*, x. 157) and these forms are occasionally given with *madd* also (*Irmīyā*).

Wabḥ b. Munabbih gives an account of him which turns upon the main points of the Old Testament story of Jeremiah: his call to be a prophet, his mission to the king of Judah, his mission to the people and his reluctance, the announcement of a foreign tyrant who is to rule over Judah. Jeremiah then rends his garments and curses the day on which he was born; he would rather die than live to see this. God then gives him the promise that Jerusalem shall not be destroyed except at Jeremiah's own request.

Bukht Naṣṣar then attacks the city on account of the increasing sinfulness of the people. God sent an angel in the form of an ordinary Israelite to Jeremiah to find out his opinion on the fall of Jerusalem. He twice sent the angel away to enquire how the people were behaving. The latter returned with the worst reports and communicated them to Jeremiah who was sitting on the wall; the prophet called out: O 'Lord, if they are on the right path, let them live, but if they are on the path of evil, destroy them! Hardly had he spoken these words than God sent a thunderbolt (*ṣā'ika*) from heaven which laid the altar and part of the city in ruins. In despair Jeremiah rent his garments, but God said: 'You yourself gave the word'. He then realised that his companion was an angel in disguise. He fled into the desert (Ṭabarī, i. 658 sqq.). — The second episode in the Muslim legend of Jeremiah refers to his meeting with Bukht Naṣṣar. The king found the prophet in prison in Jerusalem, where he had been interned on account of his prophesies of ill fortune. Bukht Naṣṣar at once released him and showed him honour. He thereafter remained in Jerusalem with the miserable remnants of the population. When the latter besought Jeremiah to implore God to accept their repentance, God said to the Prophet. 'Tell them only that they are to remain here'. They refused to do this and took Jeremiah with them into Egypt (Ṭabarī, i. 646 sq.). According to Ya'qūbī, Jeremiah had hidden the ark in a cave before Nebuchadnezzar's entry into the city. — The third episode runs as follows. When Jerusalem was destroyed and the army had retired, Jeremiah came back riding on an ass. In his hand he carried a bowl of grape-juice and a basket of figs. When he stopped at the ruins of ʿIlyā (Aelia), he became irresolute and said: "How can God call all this to life again?" God thereupon deprived him and his ass of life. After a hundred years had passed, God awakened him and said: "How long hast thou slept?" He replied: "A day". God then told him what had happened and brought his ass to life again before his eyes; the grape-juice and the figs had remained fresh. God then granted him long life; he appeared to men in the city and in the desert (Ṭabarī, i. 666).

Of the first two episodes one can say that they are a development of Biblical statements. The third however is based on an misunderstanding connected with Sūra ii. 261: ... "like him who passed by a city which had been laid in ruins; then he said: How could God revive this after its death? Then God caused him to die for a hundred years; He

then wakened him and said: "How long wast thou dead?" He said: "A day or so". He replied, "Nay, a hundred years; look on thy food and thy drink; they are not corrupted; and look on thine ass: we will make thee a sign unto men: And look on the bones, how we will join them together, then clothe them with flesh".

The commentaries on the *Qur'an* identify this doubting man with various Old Testament figures, including Jeremiah. But we know that the story in Oriental legend was associated with 'Ebed Melek, who appears in the story of Jeremiah (Jeremiah, xxxix. 16 sqq.; cf. *The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah the Prophet*, ed. Rendel Harris). The confusion of Jeremiah with 'Ebed Melek has apparently given rise to another one. 'Ebed Melek, according to the Jewish view, is one of the immortals who never saw death. In Muslim legend al-Khaḍir is one of the immortals. This is probably why Wabḥ b. Munabbih explains al-Khaḍir, "the green", as an epithet of the prophet Jeremiah. This also explains the emphasis laid on his retirement

to the desert where, as in the towns, he sometimes meets men; for this is a statement which elsewhere refers to al-Khaḍir in contrast to Ilyās [q. v.] who is the patron saint on the sea.

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(A. J. WENSINCK.)

JERUSALEM. [See AL-ḲUDS.]

JESUS. [See 'ISĀ.]

JETHRO. [See SHU'AIB.]

JEWS. [See YAHŪDĪ.]

JOHN THE BAPTIST. [See YAHYĀ.]

JONAH. [See YŪNUS.]

JOSEPH. [See YŪSUF.]

JOSUA. [See YŪSHA'.]

(For other words generally written in English with J (e. g. Jahāngir), see under DJ.)

K.

KA'ĀNĪ, ḤABĪB ALLĀH, a modern Persian poet, son of the versifier Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Gulshan, born at Shirāz, was court poet to Muḥammad Shāh, successor to Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (1250—64 = 1834—48) and to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. He was very precocious and attracted attention from the age of eight. His father died when he was eleven (*Perishān*, Bombay, 1277, p. 19) and he had to go to Khorāsān to complete his studies. Prince Shudjā' al-Saltāna Ḥasan 'Alī Mīrzā, governor of Maṣḥad, took him under his protection. This was the beginning of his good fortune. In addition to the three classical Muslim languages, he learned French. He was addicted to opium but was not guilty of debauchery. He died at Ṭeherān in 1270 (1854). He left a collection of anecdotes in prose and verse entitled *Kitāb-i Perishān*, "Book of Scattered Leaves", a parody of the *Gulistān* of Sa'di (lithographed at the top of an edition of the *Diwān*, Bombay 1277, and separately at Ṭeherān in 1302), and a *Diwān* containing his collected poems (lithographed at Bombay 1277, 1298, 1306 and at Ṭeherān in 1277).

He is incontestably the greatest of the modern poets of Persia, and is perhaps the most witty of all Persian poets. His irony is deep and biting, unfortunately it is often coarse.

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(CL. HUART.)

KAARTA, the region of the French Sudan between the upper waters of the Senegal and the Sahara. The boundaries of Kaarta are

in the north the land of the Dowaish Moors and the Hōdh [q. v.], in the east Bakhunu, in the south Beledugu and Fuladugu, and in the west the Senegal from the western branch of the Kulu pool to the confluence with the Baulé. It is a vast schistose plateau inclining towards the S. E. so that the majority of its rivers run towards the Senegal. The climate is that of the Sahelian zone: a very short rainy season followed by long periods of drought; the showers are not abundant. Surface water is rare, hence the settlements have clustered round wells which serve to irrigate gardens, planted with millet and vegetables. Although the country is steppelike in character, it is not yet unsuited to agriculture. Stretches of soil on the banks of the rivers and areas uncovered when the streams are low are especially fertile and yield two crops a year. The principal products are rice, maize, millet, earthnuts, cotton and indigo. Cattle and horse-rearing are fairly well developed. The population is not a dense one. Before the conquest of the country by the Tukulor, Faïdherbe estimated the population at 300 000 and the area at 20 700 square miles. To-day it does not seem to exceed 5 to 6 inhabitants to the square mile. This very mixed population comprises Khassonké, Peuhl and Moors in addition to the Bambara [s. d.] and Soninké, who form the most important element. Islām is observed by the Moors and Peuhl, while the Bambara refuse to have anything to do with it. The principal subdivisions of Kaarta are: — Diafunu (Tambaraka) and Diomboko (Koniakari) on the right bank of the Senegal, the Giudiumé (Niogomera) to the north of Diafunu, Tomora (Diala) in the centre; Baghé and Kaarta-Biné to the north of Fuladugu; Dianghirté in the east; Kingui (Nioro) on the Moorish borders. Adjoining the French possessions in Senegal, Kaarta was traversed at the end of the xviiith century by Houghton and Mungo Park (1795) and visited in the xixth by Duranton (1828), Raffanel (1846),

Mage and Quintin (1863), and Lenz (1880).

History. Kaarta after being included in the empire of Ghāna [s. d.] and in the Mandingo empire broke up into several small kingdoms on the dissolution of the empire of Malli, which at the end of the xviith century were conquered by the Bambara Massassi who came from Segou under a chief named Sunsa. The latter conquered Fula-dugu, Kaarta, and Bambuk and took up his residence in a place called Sontanian. His successors had to wage continual war against the Bambara of Segou. Conquered at first, they regained the advantage under the direction of Sié Banmana (1709—1760) who collected the remnants of the Massassi and reconstituted their empire with Guemu as capital. He annexed Dianghirté, Diara, Diomboko and Bambuk. Towards the end of the xviiith century, the Massassi were again overwhelmed by the people of Segou, but their chief Dassé reconstituted his army by means of slaves taken from the merchants. His successor Musa Kurabo recaptured the lost territories and added Koniakari to them. The rulers who reigned after him, suppressed the rebellions which broke out in various provinces. The last of them, Kandia (1844—54), took Nioro as his capital and after seven years of war conquered the Diawara and forced them to migrate to the Sahara. Kaarta was then a powerful state measuring 190 miles from E. to W. and 110 from N. to S. (Raffenel). Power was exercised by a chief belonging to the family of Kulubari. He bore the title of *fama* and his dignity was hereditary in the collateral line. His authority was absolute but in matters of importance he summoned a council formed of the Kulubari, representatives of certain tribes, and the „chiefs of the captives”.

The Kaarta kingdom fell before the blows of the Tuculor. Kandia having put to death an envoy from al-Ḥādī ‘Omar, Kaarta was invaded by the bands of this marabout. The *fama*’s army which took the field against the enemy was routed and the *fama* himself obliged to submit. The town of Nioro was occupied by the Tuculor and the members of the royal family massacred. Kandia, spared at first, was not long in suffering the same fate. Kaarta henceforth formed a province in the Tuculor kingdom and was administered by a vice-roy until 1894. At this date the Sultān of Segou, Aḥmadu, disturbed by the power of his brother Montaga to whom he had confided the government of Kaarta, decided to dispossess him of it. Montaga besieged in Nioro blew himself up rather than capitulate. Aḥmadu then installed himself at Nioro and lived there till the French undertook the conquest of the Tuculor empire. In 1890, the troops of Colonel Galliéni entered Kaarta and seized Koniakari. On Jan. 1, 1891, they took Nioro and completed the subjection of the country. Aḥmadu had to take refuge in Macina. Kaarta was incorporated in the French possessions and divided into the administrative districts of Nioro, Kitā and Kayes.

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(G. YVER.)

KA'B AL-AḤBĀR, ABŪ IṢḤĀK KA'B B. MATĪC B. HAIṢO⁶, the oldest authority for the Jewish-Muslim traditions among the Arabs, a Jew of Yemen who became a convert to Islām in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr or ‘Omar and was called KA'B AL-AḤBĀR or KA'B AL-ḤABR, “the rabbi Ka'b”, on account of his wealth of theological, particularly Biblical, knowledge. Lidzbarski (*De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, Berlin diss., Leipzig 1893, p. 34 sq.) supposes that his name was originally Hebrew, ‘Aḳibā or Ya'qōb, and was afterwards changed into the Arabic name Ka'b. *Ḥabr* or *hibr* (plur. *aḥbār*) is taken from the Hebrew *ḥābēr*, a title of scholarship among the Babylonian Jews, lower than that of *rabbī*. Al-Khwarizmi also describes it as a Jewish title equivalent to the Arabic *‘ālim* (*Maḡāṭiḥ al-‘Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 35). We have very little information regarding Ka'b's life and work. According to al-Ṭabarī, he was on intimate terms with the Caliph ‘Omar; he was in his retinue when ‘Omar entered Jerusalem in 15 (636) (*Annales*, i. 2408), became a Muslim in 17 (638) (*ibid.*, p. 2514) and is said to have prophesied the death of ‘Omar to him in 23 (644) three days before it happened (*ibid.* p. 2792). According to al-Nawawī (*Taḥdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 523), he was alive in the time of the Prophet, but never saw him. The Anṣārī Abu ‘l-Dardā³ [q. v.] said of him that he possessed great knowledge and that there was only one opinion regarding the vastness of his learning and his reliability (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*). From Yemen he moved to Medina in the reign of ‘Omar and then from there to Ḥimṣ in Syria. The Omayyad Mu‘āwiya, then governor of the province of Syria, is said to have taken Ka'b as teacher and councillor to his court. In the conflict between ‘Othmān and his opponents Ka'b vigorously championed the Caliph, which on one occasion brought upon him corporal chastisement by the pious Abū Dharr [q. v.] (Ṭab., i. 2946 sq.). He died under ‘Othmān in the year 32 or 34 (652 or 654; Ṭab., iii. 2474 sq.) at Ḥimṣ and was buried there or, as others say (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, i. 222; Yāqūt, *Mu‘djam*, ii. 595), in Damascus. His most important pupils were ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās [q. v.], one of the earliest expositors of the Qur‘ān, and Abū Huraira [q. v.].

Ka'b's teaching was given orally only; that he ever wrote a book, is, at least, nowhere stated. Many sayings seem to be credited to him; in many, notably those given by al-Ṭabarī, an older origin can be proved from rabbinical or church-patriarchal traditions (for examples see Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 38 sq.). Reliable historians like Ibn Ḳutaiba and al-Nawawī do not quote him at all or, like al-Ṭabarī, only rarely; on the other hand, he is all the more frequently quoted as an authority by story-tellers like al-Tha‘labī and al-Kisā‘ī. In almost uninterrupted succession however he appears as narrator in the aljamiadic *Leyenda de José* (edited in Spanish transcription by F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de*

Alejandro Magno, Zaragoza 1888) so that it almost seems as if this *Leyenda* was in its whole substance a tradition descending from Ka'b. The editor translates Ka'b al-Aḥbār (in Spanish transcription *Cab Alajbar*, p. 4 note 2) by *Caab el historiador*, as he — like formerly von Hammer (cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 26 note 4) — confuses Aḥbār with Aḥbār and calls him *el narrador* or *el cronista*. This Moresco legend is however for the most part, especially the first chapter, a literal translation of al-Tha'labī's Yūsuf legend, and also where al-Tha'labī mentions other traditionists or none at all, refers to Ka'b, who is mentioned as an authority only five times in al-Tha'labī's story, the first time in his introductory description of the creation and beauty of Joseph (*Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, p. 61, l. 4 *infra*). This passage is lacking in the *Leyenda*, as the first page of the MS is lost. The agreement with al-Tha'labī begins in the former at the very beginning, p. 3 l. 4 *infra*: *Y despues fizo Allah nacer etc.*, in al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, p. 62, l. 23: *ann Allāha ta'ālā anbatā etc.*, where it is related that God made a tree grow up for Jacob in the courtyard of his house and whenever a son was born to him, made a branch sprout from the tree. As the boy grew, so did the branch and when the boy attained manhood, Jacob cut off the branch and gave it to his son. While al-Tha'labī here gives a quite general reference to the statements of people "who know the legends of the prophets and the history of past ages", the *Leyenda* as early as p. 4 and on almost every other page gives Ka'b as the narrator. This frequent reference to Ka'b is however, as a further comparison with al-Tha'labī's story shows, quite arbitrary in the *Leyenda*. Al-Kisā'ī in his legend of Yūsuf (*Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cod. Bonn So 7, p. 315—382) quotes Ka'b once as an authority viz. at the beginning, where it is related that God gave Abraham five precious gifts, which afterwards all passed into Joseph's possession and that this aroused the envy of his brothers; then follows the story of Joseph and Jacob's dream (cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 101). We find Ka'b as narrator in one passage in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u Zalikhā* (ed. Ethé, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Ser., Part vi., Vol. i., Oxford 1908, p. 258, l. 2599) where he says: Ka'b-i Aḥbār was the first to say this, from Ka'b I have the following true tradition"; here follows the description of the ruler of Egypt (here called Khaṭrūs or Khaṭrūsh with the kunya Abu 'l-Ḥasan) and of his vizier Raiyān b. al-Walid (the Potiphar of the Bible) and his wife Zalikhā and of the preparation for the sale of Joseph by public auction. The fact that al-Ṭabarī in his story of Joseph (i. 371—413) does not mention Ka'b at all, and al-Tha'labī, al-Kisā'ī and Firdawsī, on the other hand, in the same story quote Ka'b as authority in different, never in parallel passages, strengthens the hypothesis that this name is a late invention not only in the Moresco legend but also in the three authors last named.

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KA'B B. AL-ASHRAF, a Medina opponent of Muḥammad, according to one statement a Naǧīrī, according to another, a member of the Taiyī'ī family of Nalbān but the son of a Naǧīrī woman. In any case, he was an ardent champion of Judaism (cf. the expression *saiyid al-aḥbār*, Ibn Hishām, p. 659, 12). Aroused by the result of the battle of Badr, he went to Mecca where he used his considerable poetic gifts (in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* he is called *jaḥl faṣīḥ*) to incite the Kuraish to fight against the victor. He then returned to Medina, where he is said to have compromised the wives of the Muslims by love-songs. After the prophet had uttered his fateful "Who will rid me of this man?", Muḥammad b. Maslama offered to do so and he with several others including Ka'b's foster-brother succeeded by a despicable intrigue in enticing him out of the house on a bright moonlight night and killing him in spite of his valiant resistance: cf. the confirmatory allusions in Ka'b b. Mālik's poem, Ibn Hishām, p. 658 sq., while Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit (ed. Hirschfeld, n^o. 97) gives an account of this murder and its counterpart, the assassination of Ibn al-Ḥuḳaik, with startling frankness. According to al-Wāḳidī, the murder took place on the night of the 14 Rabī' I of the year 3 A. H., but this date, which is in contradiction to his own dating of the raid against Dhū Amarr, is probably due to the events being all compressed within the same period in the source he followed (cf. Ibn Hishām), which might make it appear that Ka'b was murdered soon after his return from Mecca. It is however clear from the poem (Ibn Hishām, p. 658, 18, 659, 12), as well as from a tradition in al-Ḥalabī according to which the Naǧīrī's were in deep mourning for Ka'b's death, when Muḥammad began to attack them, that his murder did not take place till the year 4 as a kind of prelude to the attack on his kinsmen. It is also natural that punishment only overtook him after the battle of Uhud to which he had contributed by his instigations.

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KA'B B. MĀLIK, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH, a native of Medina of the Khazraǧī tribe of Salima. After taking an active part in the sanguinary tribal

battles in Medina, he was won over to Islām even before the Hidjra and took part in the momentous second meeting at the 'Aḳaba [q. v.]. He was a poet and along with Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.] and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [q. v.] was employed by Muḥammad to glorify his military exploits and answer the polemical poems of the enemies. He did not fight at Badr [q. v.] but was in most of the other battles. At Uhud, wounded himself, he found the wounded Prophet, who was thought to be slain. On the other hand, he was one of the few followers of Muḥammad who, in spite of their devotion to him, could not bring themselves to take part in the difficult campaign against Tabūk. But he later regretted it and after severe penance received the forgiveness of the Prophet (cf. Sūra, ix. 103, 107, 118 sq.). It is noteworthy that he who is fond of emphasising the connection of his tribe with the Ghassānids [q. v.], was at that time summoned by a Ghassānī chief to abandon Medīna and Muḥammad. In the caliphate of 'Othmān we again hear of him when he with Ḥassān and Zaid b. Thābit vigorously championed the Caliph, when he was assailed; after 'Othmān's death he wrote an elegy on him and declined to pay homage to 'Alī. He died blind in 53 (673); according to others, as early as 50 A. H. His poems have a somewhat nobler tone than those of Ḥassān and show a real enthusiasm for the religion of Muḥammad besides a strong local patriotism.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, p. 294—301, 310, 575, 896, 907—13 (the poems, p. 520—871 passim, vgl. al-Mubarrad, *al-Ḳāmil*, p. 66, and on the other side Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 180); al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1217—1225, 1406, 1695, 1705, 2937, 3049, 3062, 3070; al-Wāḳidī, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 113, 123, 136, 169, 326, 393, 411—4; *al-Aghāni*, xv. 26—32; al-Nawawī, *Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 23 sq.; *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 224. (FR. BUHL.)

KA'BA B. ZUHAIR, son of the celebrated poet and author of a *Mu'allaka*, Zuhair b. Abī Salmā, and of Kabsha bint 'Ammār. Poetic talent seems to have been one of the privileges of the family, for, not to speak of Ka'b and his father, we have verses by eleven of its members, including the famous Tumādhir (al-Ḳhansā). We do not know the date of his birth; he was the eldest of three brothers, the other two being Budjair and Sālim. Traditions, more than suspicious, report that he early gave proof of his poetic talents, in spite of the opposition of his father who ended in being convinced after a decisive test. He was involved in the wars of his tribe against the Taiyī, the Ḳuraish and the Ḳhazraj, as we see from various poems in his *Diwān*. At the time of Muḥammad's mission, Budjair was converted shortly before the year 7, but Ka'b refused vigorously to imitate him and launched satirical verses against the Prophet. The latter solemnly authorised his assassination. Henceforth "the earth became too narrow for Ka'b" and he resolved to submit. He appeared unexpectedly in the year 9 in a mosque of Medina where Muḥammad was and recited to him his famous poem known as *Bānat Su'ād* (Su'ād has gone). The Prophet was overcome with admiration on hearing this eulogy of himself and the Ḳuraish and threw on his shoulders his own striped Yemen cloak, the *burda*, whence the name often given to this *Ḳaṣida*. The date of Ka'b's

death is unknown, but he seems to have reached an advanced age. The *Bānat Su'ād* has nothing of a religious poem; it is inspired with the sentiments of pagan poetry and begins with such a commonplace that Ḥammād al-Rāwīya [q. v.] claimed to know 700 poems with the same opening. It was frequently reproduced in the form of *tashṭir* and *takhmīs*. Its commentators are numerous. The best known are: Thā'lab, Ibn Duraid, al-Tibrizī (published by Krenkow, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxx. 241—279), Ibn Hishām (of which the best edition is that of Guidi, Leipzig 1871), Ibn Hūdjdja, al-Suyūṭī, al-Bādjūrī. It was first published by Lette (Leiden 1740); of later editions we may mention those of Freytag with a Latin translation (1823), Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, Berlin 1840, p. 110—114). I have given an edition with a French translation and two unpublished commentaries (Algiers 1910): *The Diwān* is not yet published.

Bibliography: R. Basset: *La Bānat So'ād*; Introduction, p. 14—82, and the authors quoted, p. 9—13; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell (Leiden 1916), p. 20—26 (R. BASSET.)

KA'BA, the palladium of Islām, situated almost in the centre of the great mosque in Mecca.

I. The Ka'ba and its immediate neighbourhood.

The name, not originally a proper name, is connected with the cube-like appearance of the building. It is however only like a cube at the first impression; in reality the plan is that of an irregular rectangle. The wall facing northeast, in which the door is (the front of the Ka'ba) and the opposite wall (back) are 40 feet long; the two other are about 35 feet long. The height is 50 feet.

The Ka'ba is built of layers of the grey stone produced by the hills surrounding Mecca. It stands on a marble base 10 inches high, projecting about a foot (*shādhawān*). Four lines drawn from the centre through the four corners (*rukn* pl. *arkān*) would roughly indicate the four points of the compass. Four perpendiculars from the centres of the four walls would run north-east, north-west, south-west and south-east. The north corner is called *al-rukn al-'irāqī*, the western *al-rukn al-shā'ami*, the southern *al-rukn al-yamānī*, and the eastern *al-rukn al-aswad* (after the Black Stone).

The four walls of the Ka'ba are covered with a black curtain (*kiswa*) which reaches to the ground and is fastened there with copper rings, which are fastened in the *shādhawān*. Gaps are left in only for the water-spout and the door. The *kiswa* is prepared in Egypt every year and brought to Mecca by the pilgrim caravan. The old covering is taken down on the 25th (or according to al-Batānūnī, the 28th) Dhū 'l-Ḳāda, and the Ka'ba temporarily covered with a white covering which hangs down to within 6 feet of the ground; the Ka'ba is then said to have put on the *iḥrām* [q. v.]. At the end of the Ḥajj it is covered with the new cloth. The door is covered by a separate covering also of Egyptian manufacture, which in Egypt is called *al-burḳū'* (the veil).

The *kiswa* consists of black brocade, into which the *shahāda* is woven (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilderatlas zu Mekka*, n^o. xvii). At two-thirds of its height a gold embroidered band (*ḥisām*) runs round, which is covered with verses from the Ḳur'ān

in fine calligraphy. Every inch of the garment, which is taken down each year, is of course regarded as a relic and small pieces are sold by the Banū Shaiba, the door-keepers of the Ka'ba, as amulets.

In the north-east wall, about 7 feet from the ground, is the door, parts of which have mountings of silver-gilt. In Burckhardt's and Ali Bey's times the threshold was lit up every night by a row of candles. When the Ka'ba is opened, a wooden staircase (*daradjī*, *madradjī*) running on wheels is pushed up to the door; when not in use, it is kept between the Zamzam building and the Gate of the Banū Shaiba (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-atlas zu Mekka*, n^o. ii.). For a picture of the staircase, see Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii. 80.

In the interior of the Ka'ba are three wooden pillars, which support the roof, to which a ladder leads up. The only furnishing is the numerous golden and silver lamps suspended. On the inner walls there are many building inscriptions. The floor is covered with slabs of marble.

In the eastern corner, about 5 feet above ground, not far from the door, the Black Stone (*al-haḍjar al-aswad*) is built into the wall; it now consists of three large pieces and several small fragments stuck together and surrounded by a ring of stone, which in turn is held together by a silver band. The stone is sometimes described as lava and sometimes as basalt; its real nature is difficult to determine, because its visible surface is worn smooth by hand touching and kissing. Ali Bey (ii. 76) gives a profile sketch of it which clearly shows the surface hollowed out in undulations. Its diameter is estimated by al-Batanūnī (p. 105) at 12 inches. The colour is reddish black with red and yellow particles.

The part of the wall between the Black Stone and the door is called *al-multazam*, because the visitors press their breasts against it while praying fervently.

In the east corner too, about five feet above the ground, another stone (*al-haḍjar al-as'ad*), the "lucky", is built into wall. It is only touched and not kissed during the perambulation.

Outside the building there is still to be mentioned the gilt water-spout (*mizāb*), which juts out below the top of the north-west wall, and has an appendage which is called the "beard of the *mizāb*". The spout is called *mizāb al-rahma*, "spout of mercy" (on it cf. Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. 75); the part between it and the west corner is the exact *qibla* [q. v.]. The rain water falls through the spout on the pavement below which here is inlaid with designs in mosaic. The ground all round the Ka'ba is covered with marble slabs.

Opposite the north-west wall, but not connected with it, is a semi-circular wall (*al-ḥaṭīm*) of white marble. It is three feet high and about five feet thick; its ends are almost six feet from the north and west corners of the Ka'ba. The semi-circular space between the *ḥaṭīm* and the Ka'ba enjoys an especial consideration, because for a time it belonged to the Ka'ba [see ii.]; in the perambulation therefore it is not entered; the *ṭawāf* goes as close as possible along the outer side of the *ḥaṭīm*. The space bears the name *al-ḥidjir* or *ḥidjir Ismā'il*. Here are said to be the graves of the patriarch and his mother Hagar. The pavement on which the *ṭawāf* is performed is called *maṭāf*; a depression in it just opposite the door has still to be mentioned; it is called *al-nu'djān* "the trough"; according to

legend, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il [q. v.] here mixed the mortar used in building the Ka'ba.

Around the *maṭāf*, and a little higher than it, runs a paved border, a few paces broad, on which stand 31 or 32 slender pillars. Between every two pillars hang seven lamps, which are lit every evening — to make the darkness visible, as Burton says. The row of columns is closed by the Bāb Banī Shaiba, an arch which stands opposite the north-west wall of the Ka'ba and affords an entrance to the *maṭāf*. Between this archway and the Ka'ba is a little building, a kind of pagoda, with a small dome, the *makām Ibrāhīm*. In it is kept a stone, on which Ibrāhīm is said to have stood at the building of the Ka'ba. Admission is granted to visitors on payment. Europeans have however not been able to see the stone. Burton says that the five dollars asked was too high for his finances. According to Oriental travellers and historians, it is a soft stone on which the footprints of Ibrāhīm can still be seen. During al-Mahdi's caliphate it was provided with a gilt band holding it together. Beside the *makām Ibrāhīm*, also opposite the north-east wall of the Ka'ba and within the row of pillars, but farther north of the *makām*, is the pulpit (*minbar*) of white marble. It consists of the usual staircase, shut at the foot by a door, and above the staircase are four short pillars supporting a spire like that of a Gothic church tower.

The pavement on which the row of pillars stands is somewhat lower than that which runs round them, to which eight paved paths from the colonnades round the mosque give access. On this outer paved part are four small buildings. Close beside the Bāb Banī Shaiba, on the left of the entrance and just opposite the Black Stone, stands the *kubba* built over the Zamzam well. In the room on the ground floor is the well, which is walled in; its water is drawn up in buckets, fastened to a pulley. On one part of the flat roof is a small chapel partly open, which has a roof with a small dome.

In d'Osson's as well as in Ali Bey's plan of the sacred mosque we find two further buildings north-east of the Zamzam building, at the edge of the outer paving, which are called *al-Kubbatayn*, "the two Kubba's", by him, Burckhardt and Burton. They are not marked in Snouck Hurgronje's pictures because they were demolished in the eighties and removed entirely. One held various objects, such as chronometers, jars for Zamzam water; the other, books.

The three other small buildings on the outer pavement are the so-called *makām*'s, the standing-places of the imāms of the various ritual schools during the *ṣalāt*. The *makām* or *Muṣalla 'l-Hanbalī* stands south of the Zamzam building, opposite the south-east wall of the Ka'ba. It consists of a roof tapering to a point and supported by slender marble columns. The *makām al-Mālikī* is of the same form and is opposite the south-west wall of the Ka'ba. The *makām al-Hanafī* looks out on the *ḥaṭīm* and the north-west wall of the Ka'ba; it has two roofs, one above the other. — The *Shāfi'* has no *makām* of their own; during the *ṣalāt* they stand under the *kubba* on the roof of the Zamzam well or at the *makām Ibrāhīm*.

Finally we may mention receptacles placed here and there beside the pavements, in which various articles are kept (see Snouck Hurgronje *Bilder-atlas*, n^o. i., ii.; *Bilder aus Mekka*, n^o. i., iii.).

II. History.

The Arabs possess no historical or semi-historical records of the origin of the Ka'ba, and we as little. According to Snouck Hurgronje's supposition, the Zamzam spring in a waterless valley may have been the cause of the rise of a sacred place. It is to be noted that Ptolemy (*Geography*, vi. 7) in place of Mecca mentions Macoraba, which is probably to be interpreted, as does Glaser, (*Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 235) as the South Arabian or Ethiopic *mikrāb*, "temple". From this one may conclude that the Ka'ba already existed in the second century A. D. The accounts of Abrahā's campaign, which has been elaborated with legendary features, also suggest the existence and worship of the Ka'ba in the sixth century but tell us nothing of its appearance or equipment. The Tabba' As'ad Abū Karib al-Himyari, who came to Mecca, is said to have for the first time provided the building with a *šisna* and with a door with a lock. The information available regarding the distribution of the offices [see below iii.] among the sons of Kušayy shows that the worship of the sanctuary had developed into a carefully regulated cult several generations before Muḥammad.

As to the history of the building of the Ka'ba the legends referring to the pre-Muḥammadan period are dealt with below [iv.]. Whether Kušayy demolished and restored the building, as the historians say, is a question that cannot be definitely settled.

The historical references only begin with Muḥammad. When Muḥammad had reached man's estate, the fire of a woman incensing the Ka'ba is said to have caught the building and laid it waste. It happened that a Byzantine ship was thrown ashore at Džidda [q. v.] and the Meccans brought its wood hither and used it for the new building. In connection with this the name of a man Biskūn (it is given in various forms) is always mentioned, sometimes as the captain of the ship, sometimes as the carpenter whose advice was taken; he is said to have been a Coptic Christian.

The old Ka'ba is said to have only been of the height of a man and to have had no roof. The threshold is said to have been on the level of the ground so that the water had an easy entrance in the frequent floods (*sail*). The Ka'ba was then built of alternate layers of stone and wood, its height was doubled and a roof covered it. The door was placed above the level of the ground so that whoever wished to enter had to use a ladder. Unwelcome visitors were tumbled down from the high threshold. When the Black Stone was to be put in its place, the Meccans quarrelled among themselves as to who should have the honour. They had just decided that the first comer should be given the task when Muḥammad (who had been engaged in helping to carry the stones) came past. With superior wisdom he is said to have placed the precious object in a cloth — or in his cloak — and to have ordered the heads of tribes each to take an end. He himself then took out the stone and placed it in position. Legend and history are probably hopelessly confused in this story.

At the conquest of Mecca in 8 A. H. [see iii. below], Muḥammad left the Ka'ba as a building unaltered. But according to tradition, he later said that only the very recent conversion of the Mec-

cans prevented him from instituting all kinds of innovations. These real or alleged intentions of Muḥammad were brought to realization in 64 (683) by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.]. As anti-Caliph he was besieged by al-Ḥusain b. Numair [q. v.] in Mecca. Campfires were erected on the hills round Mecca, which hurled a hail of stones on the town and sanctuary and so damaged the house of Allāh that it finally looked "like the torn bosoms of mourning women". 'Abd Allāh and his helpers pitched their tents beside the sanctuary (he henceforth called himself *al-ʿAṭṭah bi ʿl-Ḥabāt*, "he who took refuge at the temple") and again a conflagration did its best to complete the destruction. In the fire the Black Stone was split in three pieces.

When the Omayyad army was withdrawn, 'Abd Allāh discussed with the Meccan authorities the demolition and rebuilding of the Ka'ba. When he had made his decision and the ruins had to be cleared away, no one dared to begin the work. The bulk of the populace, with Ibn 'Abbās at their head, had left the town because they feared a punishment from heaven. But 'Abd Allāh climbed up himself, axe in hand, and began the grim task. When his people saw that he remained unharmed, they took courage and assisted.

During the building a covered scaffolding was left on the spot to mark the *hilla* and the *maqāf* at least. The masons are said to have worked behind the covering. 'Abd Allāh guarded the Black Stone, wrapped in a piece of brocade, in the council hall (*ḥūr al-Nadma*). When put back into its place it, or rather the three pieces, into which it was broken, was bound with a band of silver.

The Ka'ba was then built entirely out of Meccan stone and Yemen mortar and built to a height of 27 ells. According to the tradition of the Prophet, the *ḥajr* was included in the building and two doors were made on the level of the ground, the eastern as an entrance and the western as an exit. In the *ḥawāf* the four corners were kissed.

These alterations lasted only a short period. In 74 (693) al-Ḥadiḍī b. Yūsuf [q. v.] conquered Mecca and killed 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair. In agreement with the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik he again separated the *ḥajr* from the Ka'ba and walled up the west door. The building, in keeping with the wish of the Omayyads, thus practically received its pre-Islamic form again and this form has survived to the present day. The piety of the populace has always resisted any considerable innovations. Only to an unimportant degree have the authorities now and then made improvements. As was the case in the heathen period, floods have continued to be a danger to the building. When in 1611 it threatened to collapse, a girdle of copper was used to avert the disaster. But a new *sail* made this support also insufficient, so that in 1630 renovations were decided upon. But the old stones were used as much as possible for the rebuilding.

The Ka'ba successfully withstood the Karmatian invasion of 317 (929); only the Black Stone was carried off. After an absence of some twenty years it was sent back to Mecca (cf. de Goeje, *Mém. sur les Carmatites*, etc. 2, p. 104—111, 145—5).

The custom of covering the Ka'ba is said to have been introduced by the Tabba'. The annual re-covering of the Ka'ba only became an established custom in modern times; for the oldest Muslim period, the 'Ashūrā day is mentioned as

the day of covering, but in Radjab also and in other months the building has changed its covering. The *kiswa* consisted sometimes of Yemen and sometimes of Egyptian or other cloth; during 'Omar's Caliphate the building threatened to collapse on account of the many coverings hung on it. All sorts of colours are mentioned also. The Wahhābīs even covered the Ka'ba with a red *kiswa*.

The *maḳām's* around the Ka'ba are mentioned as early as the 'Abbāsīd period; sometimes under the name *ḡulla* ("a shade"). The present buildings are said to date from 1074 (1663). A dome over the Zamzam well is mentioned at an equally early period, the present one was built in 1072.

The Ka'ba had offerings dedicated to it in the heathen as well as the Muslim period. Al-Azrakī devotes a detailed chapter to this subject (p. 155 *sqq.*). Many a worldly ruler has used these treasures for political purposes. Tradition reports that 'Omar said: "I will leave neither gold nor silver in the Ka'ba but distribute its treasures". To this, however, 'Alī is said to have raised vigorous objections so that 'Omar desisted from his plan.

III. The Ka'ba and Islām.

We do not know the personal feelings of the youthful Muḥammad towards the Ka'ba and the Meccan cult, but they were presumably of a conventional nature. What the biography of the Prophet tells us about his Meccan period in this respect can lay no claim to historical value. The Meccan revelations tell us nothing about these relations during this important period in the life of the Prophet. In any case he felt no enthusiasm for the Meccan sanctuary.

During the first period after the Hidjra Muḥammad was busy with very different problems. But when the expected good relations with Judaism and the Jews did not come about, a change set in. Henceforth — about a year and a half after the Hidjra — the Ka'ba and the Ḥaḍḍj are mentioned in the revelations.

The change of attitude was first shown in the *ḡibla* edict: the faithful were no longer to turn towards Jerusalem in the *ṣalāt* but to the Ka'ba. "We see thee turning thy face towards every part of heaven, but we will have thee turn towards a *ḡibla* that will please thee. Turn then thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever ye be turn your faces towards that part. They verily to whom the Book hath been given know this to be the truth of their Lord: and God is not regardless of what ye do" (Sūra ii. 139). From the dogmatic point of view this volte-face was justified by an appeal to the "religion of Abraham", which was specially invented for the occasion (Sūra ii. 129, iii. 89 etc.), as Snouck Hurgronje has shown in his *Mekkaansche Feest*. This religion of Abraham, the prototype of Judaism and Islām, is said to have been obscured by the Jews and to have been brought to light again by Muḥammad. The Meccan cult was now drawn into it. Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl laid the foundations of the Ka'ba (Sūra ii. 121). The Maḳām Ibrāhīm is described as a place suitable for the *ṣalāt* (ii. 119). Ibrāhīm prescribed the pilgrimage to mankind at Allāh's behest (xxii. 28); and the Ka'ba is said to be the first sanctuary that was founded on earth (iii. 90); it is now called the Holy House (v. 98), or the Ancient House (xxii. 30, 34).

In this way there was created for the reception

of the old heathen cult into Islām a basis in religious history, which was at the same time a political programme; henceforth the eyes of the faithful were turned towards Mecca.

In the year 6 A. H. a prospect of taking part in the Mecca cult was held out to the Muslims by the pact of al-Ḥudaibiya [q. v.]; in connection with it, the '*Umrat al-Ḳaḍā'*' took place in the year 7. Muḥammad's political endeavours culminated in the conquest of Mecca in the year 8.

All the accumulation of heathendom, which had gathered round the Ka'ba, was now thrust aside. 360 idols are said to have stood around the building. When touched with the Prophet's rod they all fell to the ground. The statue of Hubal which 'Amr b. Luḡaiy is said to have erected over the pit inside the Ka'ba was removed as well as the representations of the prophets. When they began to wash the latter with Zamzam water, Muḥammad is said to have placed his hands on the pictures of Jesus and Mary and said: "Wash out all except what is below my hands". He then withdrew his hands. A wooden dove also which was in the Ka'ba is said to have been shattered by Muḥammad's orders. The two horns of Abraham's ram did not crumble to dust until the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair.

At the capture of Mecca, Muḥammad made arrangements regarding the religious and secular offices which had been filled in Mecca from ancient times. The historians say that in the old heathen period Ḳuṣaiy after a fierce struggle with the tribe of Ḳhuzā'a became master of the Ka'ba and held all the important offices, religious and secular: the administration of the *Dār al-Nadwa* and the tying of the standard, the provision of the pilgrims with food (*riḡāda*) and with drink (*siḡāya*) as well as the supervision of the Ka'ba (*sidāna* and *ḡidjāba*). His descendants

'Abd Manāf

'Abd al-Dār

Ḥāshim

'Uḡmān

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib

'Abd al-'Uzzā

'Abbās Abū Ṭālib Abū Ṭalḡa 'Abd Allāh
administered the offices after his death, 'Abd Manāf and his descendants getting the *riḡāda* and *siḡāya* etc., while 'Abd al-Dār and his descendants saw to the *sidāna* and *ḡidjāba* etc.

When Muḥammad conquered Mecca his uncle 'Abbās [q. v., i. 9^b *sq.*] or, according to another tradition, 'Alī asked for the administration of these offices. But Muḥammad said that they must all be crushed beneath his feet except the *siḡāya* and the guardianship of the Ka'ba. The former remained in the hands of 'Abbās; the latter he gave to 'Uḡmān b. Ṭalḡa who allowed his cousin Shaiba b. Abī Ṭalḡa to act as his deputy. The Banū Shaiba are the doorkeepers at the Ka'ba to this day. The *riḡāda*, which was in the hands of Abū Ṭālib, was taken over by Abū Bakr in the year 9; after his death the Caliphs looked after the feeding of the pilgrims.

Muḥammad's control over Mecca and the Meccan cult was first clearly marked at the *Ḥaḍḡi* of the year 9. As plenipotentiary of the Prophet, who did not participate in the pilgrimage, Abū Bakr announced to the assembled pilgrims the latest arrangements, which were put in the form of a revelation. They are contained in Sūra ix., which

from them is often called the Sūra of Immunity (*bar'ā'a*) (v. 1—12, 28, 36 sq.).

According to it, idolators are henceforth forbidden to participate in the Meccan festival as they are impure (*naḍjas*). Moreover, they are declared outlaws. A period of four months is given them during which they can go freely about the country; but after that "kill them wherever ye find them". Excepted are those with whom an alliance has been made in so far as they have punctiliously observed its terms and helped no one against the Muslims.

In the year 10 A. H. Muḥammad himself led the pilgrimage, at which therefore according to tradition not a single idolator was present: the Ka'ba had become an exclusively Muslim sanctuary, and Mecca was and is for Islām what Rome is to the Roman Catholic and Jerusalem to the Jew. At every *ṣalāt* the Muslims throughout the world turn towards Mecca and at the ceremonies of the pilgrimage the Ka'ba forms the beginning and the end of the holy rites.

Two special ceremonies concerning the Ka'ba may here be mentioned, the opening and the washing of the building. The opening takes place on definite days and men are first admitted, then the women. On this occasion the above mentioned staircase is pushed up to the building. The days in question change at the will of the Meccan authorities — but some usually fall in the month of the pilgrimage and one on the 10th Muḥarram ('Ashūrā day, q. v.). It is considered particularly meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Ka'ba.

After the Ḥajj is completed, at the end of the month *Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja*, the Ka'ba is washed, a ceremony in which the Grand Sharif, the governor and other authorities as well as a number of pilgrims take part (or took part). The first to enter is the Sharif, who after a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'a's*, himself washes the ground with Zamzam water which flows away through a hole in the threshold. The walls are washed with a kind of broom made of palm leaves. The Sharif then sprinkles every-thing again with rose water and finally the building is fumigated with all manner of perfumes (cf. *al-Kibla*, n^o. 409, p. 1). The Sharif throws the broom away among the crowd of pilgrims who fight among themselves for possession of it. Al-Batanūni says (p. 109) that the Zamzamis and the Muṭawwifs sell the pilgrims similar brooms for a minimum of half a real.

As is evident from this example, the veneration for the sacred building extends to all that comes in contact with it: — to the Black Stone, the water-spout, the *multazam*, and above all to the Zamzam water. It is however said — and probably with truth — that 'Omar thus expressed himself on the Black Stone: "I know that thou art a stone, that neither helps nor hurts, and if the messenger of Allāh had not kissed thee, I would not kiss thee". But then he kissed the stone. And hardly a single pilgrim will think of 'Omar's words during the *ṭawāf*. The *ṣalāt* under the water-pipe is described as particularly efficacious: "Anyone who performs the *ṣalāt* under the *maṭṭa'* becomes as pure as on the day when his mother bore him" (al-Azraḳi, p. 224). The Zamzam water, which the pilgrim has poured over him again and again, is useful for every purpose for which it is drunk (*mā' Zamzam li-nā sharība lahu*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, p. 34).

There is abundant testimony in Muslim as well as European literature to the intensification of devotional feeling which the sight of the Ka'ba produces in the pilgrims. We may here quote al-Batanūni's description of the *ṣalāt* at the Ka'ba as particularly characteristic (p. 26). "The whole assembly stood there in the greatest reverence before this highest majesty and most powerful inspirer of awe before which the greatest souls become so little as to be almost nothing. And if we had not been witness of the movements of the body during the *ṣalāt* and the raising of the hands during the prayers, and the murmuring of the expressions of humility and if we had not heard the beating of the hearts before this immeasurable grandeur we would have thought ourselves transferred to another life. And truly we were at that hour in another world: we were in the house of God and in God's immediate presence, and with us were only the lowered head and the humble tongue and the voices raised in prayer and weeping eyes and the fearful heart and pure thoughts of intercession" (cf. also Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, p. 216 sqq.; Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. ii. sq., 45 sq., 68).

Even the Shī'is and the Wahhābīs have left the Ka'ba its place in Islām. For the Ḳarmatians alone has an exception to be made, as can be well understood.

Although moderns like al-Batanūni (p. 24) put the question: Why is God particularly worshipped in Mecca, when the whole world is His sphere, they themselves give the answer: "But Mecca is His citadel and the place of revelation of His dominion and power. And the Ka'ba is His temple and the place of His grandeur and grace. And is there in any of the four quarters of the earth a place not quite seven square miles in extent where half a million people assemble on a pilgrimage, all of whom call to God with one heart and one tongue? And although they differ in race and language, they all turn towards one *kibla* and at the *ṣalāt* move with one motion, without any hope other than the grace of the one God, who has not begotten and is not born and is without equal".

As to the mystics, their attitude to the Ka'ba depends on their position regarding the law. For the, so to speak, nomistic mystics like al-Ghazālī, the Ka'ba is, it is true, the sacred building which one has to go round in the *ṭawāf*. The *ṭawāf* and its object however only receive their value for men when they give them an inducement to rise to a higher spiritual level. Ibn al-'Arabī goes a step further when he says that the true Ka'ba is nothing other than our own being (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, i. 733); the Ka'ba however also plays a part in his mystic experiences. Ḥudjwiri however quotes some sayings of mystics, who no longer require the Ka'ba as an inducement to rise, and even despise it. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl says: "I wonder at those who seek His temple in this world: why do they not seek contemplation of Him in their hearts? The temple they sometimes attain and sometimes miss, but contemplation they might enjoy always. If they are bound to visit a stone, which is looked at only once a year, surely they are more bound to visit the temple of the heart, where He may be seen three hundred and sixty times in a day and night. But the mystic's every step is a symbol of the journey to Mecca, and when he reaches

the sanctuary he wins a robe of honour for every step". Abū Yazid (al-Bisṭāmī) says: "If anyone's recompense for worshipping God is deferred until to-morrow he has not worshipped God aright to-day", for the recompense of every moment of worship and mortification is immediate. And Abū Yazid also says: "On my first pilgrimage I saw only the temple; the second time, I saw both the temple and the Lord of the temple; and the third time I saw the Lord alone". In short, where mortification is, there is no sanctuary: the sanctuary is where contemplation is. Unless the whole universe is a man's trysting-place where he comes nigh unto God and a retired chamber where he enjoys intimacy with God, he is still a stranger to Divine love; but when he has vision the whole universe is his sanctuary. "The darkest thing in the world is the Beloved's house without the Beloved".

Accordingly, what is truly valuable is not the Ka'ba, but contemplation and annihilation in the abode of friendship, of which things the sight of the Ka'ba is indirectly a cause. (Hudjwiri, transl. Nicholson, p. 327).

IV. The Ka'ba in Legend and Superstition.

The alleged religion of Abraham gave a basis for the esteem in which the Muslims held the Ka'ba. Legend attached itself to the Qur'anic statements and spun them out. As Snouck Hurgronje has proved in his *Mekkaansche Feest* against Dozy's hypotheses (see his *Israelieten in Mekka*), there can be no question of a local Meccan tradition in this connection. There was, it is true, a local tradition, but it consists of semi-historical reminiscences of the last few centuries before Islām. But all that tradition relates regarding the origin of the Ka'ba and its connections with Biblical personages, belongs to Islāmic legend.

The latter first of all attached itself to the statement that Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il raised (*rafa'a*) the foundations of the Ka'ba (ii. 121). God's command to Ibrāhīm to build the Ka'ba is by some placed before the episode of Hagar and by others after it. The patriarch came to Arabia led by the *Sakīna*, which had the shape of a stormy wind with two heads; it is also described as having a snake's head. When it reached the site of the Ka'ba it wound itself round its foundation [see below] and said "Build on me". According to others, Ibrāhīm built on its shadow. He was helped by Ismā'il in this; the stones were taken from five (or seven) hills: Hīrā', Thabīr, Lebanon, Mount of Olives and the Djabal al-Aḥmar near Mecca (other names are also given). When the building had risen to some height, he stood at his work on the stone, which still shows the impress of his feet, the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*. The Black Stone, which was still white in those days and only received its present colour as a result of contact with the impurity and sin of the pagan period, was brought to him by Gabriel after having been kept in Abū Kubais [q. v.] since the Deluge. Within the building (which was not high and had no roof) Ibrāhīm dug the hole, which afterwards served as a treasury. When the work of building was completed, he took his stand on the *maḳām*, which now rose high above the mountains, and proclaimed the pilgrimage to all men. From all sides they answered: *Labbaika, Allāhumma! Labbaika!*

On the other hand Muslim legend has developed the passage, Sūra iii. 90: "Truly, the first temple that was founded for men is that in Bakka; a blessed house and a guidance for (all) creatures". The ambiguous expression according to which Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il "raised" the foundations of the Ka'ba left room for the view that the foundations already existed on which he erected the building. Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary on Sūra ii. 121 (i. 408 sq.) however recognises that there are two views: according to the one, Adam, according to the other, Ibrāhīm laid the foundations. Legend relates the following regarding the foundation by Adam. When after the fall Adam was hurled out of Paradise on the earth, he came to Mecca. Gabriel with his wing uncovered a foundation, which had been laid in the seventh earth, and the angels threw blocks on it from Lebanon, the Mount of Olives, Djabal Djudī [see DJUDĪ] and Hīrā' until the hole was filled level with the earth. God then sent from Paradise a tent of red jacinth in which Adam lived; what was afterwards the black stone, then a white jacinth from Paradise, served as a seat. When God made his covenant with men, the latter acknowledged God's suzerainty; the document on which their acknowledgment was written was given by God to be swallowed by the Black Stone. At the Last Day it will be given a tongue, to bear witness against men; according to others, because it was originally an angel.

There was a particular reason for sending down the prototype of the latter Ka'ba. Originally Adam's stature was so great that he could hear the song of the heavenly hosts around God's throne. As a result of the Fall, however, his stature was shortened; he then lamented to God that the higher spheres were now closed to him. God then sent down the tent around which Adam now performed the *ṭawāf*, following the example of the angels. But Mecca was without inhabitants and the sanctuary without worshippers. When he gave vent to his regrets on this point, he was promised by God that in time this place would be the site of a cult; that the sanctuary would enjoy a particular *karāma*; that it would be a *ḥaram* [q. v.] whose *ḥurma* would extend above, below and around, and to which men would make pilgrimage with dishevelled hair and covered with dust, breaking out of every cleft with weeping and *takbīr* [q. v.] and *talbiya* [q. v.].

After Adam's death his descendants (Shith is specially mentioned) built the Ka'ba. But the deluge washed the building away while the sacred stone was concealed by the angels in Abū Kubais. According to others, however, the flood did not touch the Ka'ba and Noah performed the *ṭawāf* round the holy house. According to the first tradition, only a red mound was left of the Ka'ba, which Abraham afterwards found.

But the legends also extend to the period after Abraham. The hole in the Ka'ba, which is called *al-Akhsaf* or *al-Akshaf*, is said to have been several times plundered under the Džurhum [q. v.]. Therefore at God's command a snake took up its abode there and guarded the treasures. When the Quraiṣhīs wanted to pull down the Ka'ba, the monster opposed this plan, until God sent a bird which carried it off to one of the surrounding hills. — Every renovation of the Ka'ba is said to have been carried out amid ter-

rible portents, such as lightning-flashes. It is also said that on such occasions the foundation of the Ka'ba was brought to light and it looked like the necks of camels intertwined.

For the legend connected with the origin of the Zamzam well, see the article *ISMĀ'IL*. The following may however be added here. Once when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was sleeping in the *ḥidīr*, one appeared to him and in mysterious words ordered him to dig out the Zamzam, which was "at the battle-ground of the *Kuraishis*", at the "Ravenhole", and at the "Ants' nest". Now when the *Kuraish* contested his right to it (or the claim to the well already dug) both parties went to the *Kāhina* of the Banū Sa'd b. Hudhail. On the way their water gave out. But the water which sprang from the impression of the hoof of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's mount was an indication from heaven that the latter was right. They therefore turned back to Mecca; and when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had begun to dig, he found there two golden gazelles which the *Djrhum* had concealed there, as well as swords and armour. All this was deposited at the Ka'ba or used to decorate the buildings.

This legendary story of the origin of the Ka'ba was easily brought into conformity with the cosmological views current among Christians and Jews in the East, the central point of which was the sanctuary itself. Muslim tradition at first adopted this cosmology completely, as is evident from the statements which are still wholly under the influence of the predominance of Jerusalem. They were however not content with this and transferred a considerable part of these sayings to Mecca. These traditions are grouped round the navel theory, the main ideas of which are as follows. The earth has a navel, whose functions are parallel to those of the human navel. It forms the part of the earth which was created before the rest of it and around which the rest stretches. It is also the highest point, the place which provides the whole world with its nourishment; and it forms the place of communication with the upper and under world.

This navel was at first Jerusalem and later Mecca. But not all the properties of the navel are attached in equal degree to Mecca. They may be briefly summed up as follows. About 40, according to others, 2000 years before the creation of the world, the sanctuary was an agglomeration (*ghuthā*) in the world ocean. The beginning of the creation consisted in the stretching out of the earth around this point as centre, in the following order: after the substance of the earth (which coincides with the navel) heaven was formed and lastly the earth itself. In agreement with this theory is the fact that in the *Kur'ān* Mecca is called the mother of cities (*Umm al-Ḳurā*) (vi. 92, xlii. 5) and in popular literature the navel of the earth (*Yākūt Mu'djam*, iv. 278; *al-Khamis*, i. 37; *al-Ḥalabī*, i. 195, etc.).

That the sanctuary is the highest point in the world cannot be scientifically maintained. The popular traditions however like to move in this direction. Thus, in the story of the creation, it is said that the earth is extended below the sanctuary. The semi-scientific cosmography says that the position of the Ka'ba corresponds to the Pole Star; as the latter is the highest point in the heavens, so the Ka'ba is the highest point on earth (*al-Kisā'i*, *Adḡāib al-Malakūt*, ms. Leiden,

f. 156). This view is probably connected with the conception of heaven and earth as domes or tents put one upon the other, which can be shown to exist in Muslim literature.

The view that the sanctuary connects on the one side with heaven and on the other with the lower world is not so clearly stated with regard to Mecca as to Jerusalem. But it is said that no place on earth is nearer heaven than Mecca; and in the pagan period men are said to have gone up on to Abū Ḳubais to offer particularly urgent prayers. Whether the pit in the Ka'ba was really regarded as the entrance to the underworld, like the corresponding arrangements in Jerusalem and Hierapolis is uncertain.

One typical characteristic of the lower world is certainly possessed by Mecca. It is described as a tomb. Not only *Isma'il*, but a whole series of prophets, numbering hundreds, is said to have been buried round the Ka'ba. Every prophet belongs to Mecca. This is his essential starting point and termination of his career. Muḥammad therefore also belongs to Mecca and Mecca is his real grave as theoreticians say (*al-Ḥalabī*, i. 197) in opposition to the fact that he is buried in Medina.

Traditions which emphasise Mecca's importance for the nourishment of the world are hardly represented at all.

These theories had to be brought into consonance with the later cosmology of *Islām*, which regards the universe as a series of stories of seven heavens and seven earths. The Ka'ba is now not only placed in the centre of the earth (according to the navel theory) but it forms the central point of the whole universe. Its foundations as well as those of Abū Ḳubais lie in the seventh earth and form a kind of axis which runs through all these worlds.

The so-called stories are exactly like one another in plan. Every one has a sanctuary in the centre so that if the top one fell down, it would fall exactly on the lowest in the seventh world. The highest of the sanctuaries is the throne of God. Of those which lie between the throne and the Ka'ba two are mentioned by name, the *Bait ma'nūr*, the name of which is taken from the *Kur'ān* (lii. 4) and *al-Ḳurāḥ*. Jewish literature was already acquainted with a heavenly sanctuary in which the angels act as priests. In *Islām* these priestly functions are usually replaced by the *ṭawāf*.

V. Comparative History of the Cult.

From the fact that Ptolemy calls Mecca Macoraba (i. e. *Mikrāb*, temple) we may conclude that in his time the Ka'ba was regarded as the dwelling of one or more deities. According to a statement of Epiphanius (*Haereses*, V, following the text in *Philologus*, 1860, p. 355), *Dhu 'l-Sharā* had his *νααβου* in Petra, in which word Ka'ba is also probably concealed. It is however not clear from Epiphanius, whether the temple in Petra was meant or the quadrangular black stone, which represented *Dhu 'l-Sharā*. *Al-Bakrī* (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 46) relates that the tribe of Bakr Wā'il [q. v.] as well as the main body of the tribe of *Iyād* had their centre of worship in *Sindād* in the region of Kufa and that their holy tent (or temple, *bait*) here was called *Dhāt al-Ka'abāt* (cf. however *al-Hamdānī*, *Sifa Djasirat al-'Arab*, p. 171, 14, 17, 230, 12). According to Wellhausen,

the Ka'ba owed its sanctity to the Black Stone; this may be right, for the religion of the ancient Arabs was essentially stone-worship.

The form of the building may be compared with the apse of the Jerusalem temple, which was twenty ells in each direction.

It is not related that the Black Stone was connected with any special god. In the Ka'ba was the statue of the god Hubal who might be called the god of Mecca and of the Ka'ba. Caetani gives great prominence to the connection between the Ka'ba and Hubal. Besides him, however, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and al-Manāt were worshipped and are mentioned in the *Qur'ān*; Hubal is never mentioned there. What position Allāh held beside these is not exactly known. The Islāmic tradition has certainly elevated him at the expense of other deities.

It may be considered certain that the Black Stone was not the only idol in or at the Ka'ba. The Maḳām Ibrāhīm was of course a sacred stone from very early times. Its name has not been handed down. Beside it several idols are mentioned, among them the 360 statues.

The Ka'ba possessed in a high degree the usual qualities of a Semitic sanctuary. First of all it made the whole surrounding area into consecrated ground. Around the town lies the sacred zone (*ḥaram*) marked by stones, which imposes certain restrictions on each one who enters it [see *IHRĀM*]. Moreover, the sanctity of the area is seen in the following points. In the *ḥaram* the truce of God reigns. When the Arab tribes made a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, all feuds were dormant. It was forbidden to carry arms. Next, the *ḥaram* — and the Ka'ba especially — is a place of refuge. Here the unintentional manslayer was safe just as in the Jewish cities of refuge. On the Ka'ba there was a kind of handle to which the fugitives clung (Al-Azraqī, p. III), an arrangement which recalls the purport of the horns on the Jewish altar.

Blood was not allowed to flow in the *ḥaram*. It is therefore reported that those condemned to death were led outside the *ḥaram* to execution. The idea of peace extended even to the flora and fauna. Animals — except a few injurious or dangerous sorts, — are not to be scared away; hence the many tame doves in the mosque. Trees and bushes were not cut down except the *Idh-khīr* shrub, which was used for building houses and in goldsmiths' work. These regulations were confirmed by Islām and are in force to this day.

As to the rites, it is said that in the heathen period victims were slain at the Ka'ba. Among the ancient Arabs the idol of stone replaced the altar; on it they smeared the blood of the sacrificial animals. In Islām the killing takes place in Minā.

It is a question, whether and how far the Ka'ba was connected with the *ḥadjj* in the pre-Islamic period. Wellhausen (*Reste Arab. Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 79) defends the view that originally only the *'umra* [q. v.] was concerned with the Ka'ba while the scene of the *ḥadjj* was 'Arafāt, Muzdalifa and Minā. The connecting of pilgrimage and *'umra* is regarded by him as a rather clumsy correction made by Islām. It must be conceded that Wellhausen with justice points to the fact that the *'umra* far down into Islām was closely connected with the month of Radjab. Moreover, the *ḥadjj* is called simply *ḥadjj*

'*Arafāt* and, according to the Shāfi'ī school, the *wuḳūf* in 'Arafāt is the main ceremony of the *ḥadjj*. On the other hand, it should be remarked that in the *Kur'ān* (iii. 91) pilgrimage is connected with the Ka'ba (*ḥadjj al-Bai'*) and that tradition nowhere gives us the slightest hint of this being an innovation. The facts emphasised by Wellhausen may however be interpreted otherwise. He himself has pointed out that the ancient Arabs were fond of connecting sacred places situated close to one another by ceremonial rites. It is therefore more probable that the rather clumsy alteration had taken place by the pre-Islām period and is to be regarded as the result of a connection of the cult of 'Arafāt with that of Mecca.

As was said above, the Tubba' is regarded as the first who covered the Ka'ba. Whether this tradition is historically correct is beyond our knowledge. It is noteworthy that the coloured cloths are mentioned which were placed over the building, a rite which one has to consider in connection with similar rites used in other cases. The Jewish tabernacle, the high places of Canaan (Ezekiel xvi. 16), the throne of Solomon, the throne of the bishops, the *maḥmal*, and sacred tents in ancient Arabia as well as the *Sidrat al-Muntahā* in Paradise are all covered with coloured cloths. It is misleading to give a general explanation of all such things. But the idea of a connection with the sun shining in the heavens seems obvious here; particularly for the *Sidra* this notion can be traced further. The question might even be asked whether and how far the Ka'ba was regarded as an astral symbol. For the affirmative there is the fact that the Ka'ba is the object of the *ṭawāf* and that *ṭawāf* and Kab'a are represented by Muslim tradition itself as connected with the host of spirits round the throne of God. The throne of God is, as is well known, a cosmic magnitude, and the Ka'ba and the Black Stone are described as the throne of God's *ḫalīfa* on earth, Adam. The dance of the heavenly spirits can easily be interpreted as a dance of the planets. Moreover, golden suns and moons are repeatedly mentioned among the votive gifts (al-Azraqī, p. 155 sqq.). According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdī*, iv. 47), certain people have regarded the Ka'ba as a temple devoted to the sun, the moon and the five planets. The 360 idols placed round the Ka'ba also point in this direction. It can therefore hardly be denied that traces exist of an astral symbolism. At the same time one can safely say that there can be no question of any general conception on these lines. The cult at the Ka'ba was in the heathen period syncretic as is usual in heathenism. How far also North Semitic cults were represented in Mecca cannot be exactly ascertained. It is not excluded that Allāh was of Aramic origin. The dove of aloe wood which Muḥammad found existing in the Ka'ba may have been devoted to the Semitic Venus.

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(A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḲABAḲBĀZĪ, or *Ḳabakandāzī*, the gourd-game, the oriental form of the Popinjay. It was a sort of tilting at the ring, but the weapon was an arrow, and the archers were on horseback. A ring was shot through, but the mark was a pigeon or other bird set on a high mast. In Bābur's time the mark was a duck (v. *Bābur-nāma*, Gibb Mem. i. and Mrs. Beveridge's transl. i. 34, and P. de Courteille, i. 39). The game was much practised in Egypt (v. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mamlouks*, i. 243, note 118; also Dozy's *Supplément*). It was also practised in India and Persia, (v. *Akbarnāma*, i., transl. p. 440; Vüller's *Lex.*, ii. 710). The game is alluded to in the *Gulistān*, iii. Story 28.

(H. BEVERIDGE.)

KABATASH. [See CONSTANTINOPE, i. 875b].

KABP (A.) means the legitimate taking possession of a thing, for example by inheritance or as the result of a contract. *Ḳabp* is usually discussed in the Muslim law-books in close connection with delivery by a contract of sale, for example in al-Bādjūrī's *Ḥaṣhiya* on Ibn Ḳāsim's *Fath al-Ḳarīb*, at the beginning of the chapter on *Bai'* (Bulāq edition 1307, i. 358); cf. E. Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht nach Schafitischer Lehre*, p. 283 sq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 263.

(Th. W. JUYNBOLL.)

KABP (A.) "contraction, oppression", in Ṣūfī terminology means a state (*ḥāl*) which is the opposite of *baṣṭ*, "expansion, gladdening". (In the phrase *Allāhu yaḫbiḍu wa-yaḫṣuḥu*, quoted by Ṣūfī authors from Qur'an ii. 246, however, the words have a more general meaning). Both happen to the 'ārif (gnostic) only, while in the novice the cor-

responding emotions are fear and hope, but with the distinction that the latter refer to the future, while *Ḳabp* and *baṣṭ* express a present feeling of spiritual dullness or joy. In the language of Western mysticism, they might be said to correspond approximately to the expressions *consolatio* (consolation) and *desolatio* (spiritual dryness).

Bibliography: al-Ḳuṣhairī, *Risāla* (Cairo 1287), p. 38 sq. (1330, p. 32 sq.); Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (Gibb Mem. xvii.), p. 374—6; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Kāshī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1845, p. 15, 138 sq.; *Dict. of the Techn. Terms*, p. 126, 1198; R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuṣhairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfismus* (*Türk. Bibl.*, xviii.), p. 84 sq.

(H. BAUER.)

ḲABD, a term in prosody. It is the suppression of the fifth quiescent letter in the primitive feet *fa'ūlun* and *mafā'ūlun* and is therefore found in *ṭawīl*, *ḥazajī*, *muǧarī* and *mutaḳarīb*.

In *fa'ūlun*, *Ḳabp* is recommended (according to some, it is obligatory) when this foot is the penultimate of the second hemistich of the third *ḍarb* of a *ṭawīl*; everywhere else it is optional. In *mafā'ūlun*, *Ḳabp* is obligatory in the last foot of the first hemistich of a *ṭawīl*. In all other cases it is only permitted if the foot is not liable to *kaff* or suppression of the seventh quiescent letter (*n*); nevertheless, it is very rarely found in *ṭawīl*, *ḥazajī* and *muǧarī*.

Bibliography: G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst* (Bonn 1830), p. 80, 166—170, 172—4, 346—7; H. Coupry, *Traité de Versification arabe* (Leipzig 1875).

(MOH. BEN CHENER.)

AL-ḲĀBID one of the names of God, see the article ALLĀH, i. 303b.

ḲĀBID (**ḲĀBIZ**) a Turkish Sunnī theologian, founder of the sect of Khubmasiḥīs (popularly called Chupmessiḥīs). By order of Sulimān he was tried before an extraordinary court, sentenced to death on 8th Ṣafar 934 (3 Nov. 1527) and executed on the following day as a *ṣandīḳ* [q. v.]. He maintained the (moral) superiority of Jesus over Muḥammad (*afḍaliyat 'Isā 'alā Muḥammad*). On the occasion of this trial Ibn Kamālpaṣhazāde wrote his treatise on Zindikiṣm.

Bibliography: Pećewi, *Tārīkh* (Stambul 1283), i. 124; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*², ii. 59 sq. (Pesth 1840); P. Ricaut, *Hist. of the present State of the Ottoman Empire*, book ii., ch. 12, 5th ed., 1682, S. 244 (trad. Briot, Paris 1670, p. 236 sq.); M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris 1787), i. 51—53; Cl. Huart, in *Actes du XI^e Congr. internat. des Orient.*, 3^e sect., p. 69 sq.

(L. MASSIGNON.)

ḲĀBĪL, i. e. Cain. [See ḤĀBĪL.]

AL-KABĪR, one of the names of Allāh, see the article ALLĀH, i. 303a.

KABĪR, an Indian mystic, of the xvth century, who was claimed both by the Hindus and Musalmāns as belonging to their faith. A large collection of Hindi verses is attributed to him, but their authenticity is doubtful, and a like uncertainty attaches to his biography, which is obscured by legends. He is said to have been the son, or adopted son, of a Muhammadan weaver, and to have become the disciple of Rāmānanda, the Vaishnav reformer, at whose feet he sat in

Benares, joining in the theological and philosophical arguments that his master held with Brahmans and Šūfis. He appears to have earned his living as a weaver, and to have been a married man, the father of a family, and to have been as contemptuous of the professional asceticism of the Yōgī as he was disregardful of the doctrines and ordinances of orthodoxy, whether Hindu or Muslim. The boldness with which he sang his mystical doctrine of the divine unity exposed him to persecution, and he is said to have been driven from Benares in 1495, when he was about 60 years of age, and to have died at Maghar, in the district of Bastī, in 1518. Legend says that his Hindu and Muslim disciples disputed as to the disposal of his body, which the former wished to burn and the latter to bury; when they lifted the cloth that covered the body, they found in place of the corpse only a heap of flowers; of these, the Hindus burnt half in Benares, while the Muslims buried the rest at Maghar, where the shrine is still in the charge of Muhammadan Kabīr-Panthīs. Modern scholars, like Kabīr's contemporaries, claim him for one or other of the rival creeds: H. H. Wilson (*op. cit.*, pp. 69, 74) and R. G. Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 69) maintain that he was a Hindu; G. H. Westcott that he was a Muslim (*op. cit.*, p. 29 *sqq.*); G. A. Grierson's theory (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, pp. 325, 492) that he derived his opinions from Christian sources, may be dismissed as a pious fiction. A study of his poems makes it clear that he had no desire to attach himself to any organised religion: "Let me make self-reflection my saddle, And put my foot in the stirrup of divine love.... Saith Kabīr, they are good riders Who keep themselves aloof from the Vedas and the Qur'ān"; nor did he attempt to formulate any religious or philosophical system of his own, but he popularised the current Vaishnav teaching of his age, without however connecting it with any particular incarnation, and he spoke of God indifferently as Rām, Hari, 'Alī or Allāh. He rejected the outward signs of Hinduism, e. g. the sacred thread, the distinctions of caste, the ritual observances of temple worship, etc., and his references to Muslim authorities and institutions (e. g. the Qur'ān, circumcision, pilgrimage, the Mullā, the Kāḍī etc.) are accompanied with a denial of their validity. He represented God as the omnipresent reality, but maintained the separate individuality of the human soul, which could attain union with God through love, not by knowledge or by ceremonial observances. Through his homely illustrations and his close contact with daily life, he presented his doctrines in a form readily acceptable to unlettered persons, who appear to form the majority of his followers.

Bibliography: *Dabistān-i-Madhāhib*, p. 246—248 (Calcutta, 1809), trans. Shea and Troyer, ii. 186—191 (Paris, 1843); H. H. Wilson, *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, i. 68 *sqq.* (London, 1862); *Gli scritti di Padre Marco Della Tomba*, raccolti... da A. de Gubernatis, p. 191 *sqq.*, 205 *sqq.* (Firenze, 1878); E. Trumpp, *Bemerkungen über den indischen Reformator Kabir in Atti del iv. Congresso internat. degli Orientalisti*, ii. 159 *sqq.* (Firenze, 1880—81); *Kabir-charitra*, edited by Pandit Wājī Bēchar (Surat, 1881); G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth* (Cawnpore, 1907); M. A. Ma-

cauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi. 122 *sqq.* (Oxford, 1909); *One Hundred Poems of Kabir* translated by Rabindranath Tagore assisted by Evelyn Underhill (London, 1914); Ram Chandra Bose, *Hindu Heterodoxy*, chap. x. (Calcutta, 1887); Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and minor religious systems* (*Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, Vol. iii. Part 6), pp. 67—73 (Strassburg, 1913); *The Bijak of Kabir*, translated by the Rev. Ahmad Shāh (Hamirpur 1917); G. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 331—5 (Oxford 1920). No critical edition of the works attributed to Kabir has yet appeared; for a list of these see Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4, 169—172.

(T. W. ARNOLD.)

KABĪRPANTHĪS (Hindī *panth*, a path, sect). Despite the non-sectarian character of Kabīr's teaching, his followers now form a distinct sect, the majority of whom are Hindus. The best account of their organisation is given by Westcott, *op. cit.*, chaps v. and vi. According to the Census of 1911, there were 597,199 in the Central Provinces, and 49,605 in the United Provinces; in the other provinces they either are not found at all, or their number is too inconsiderable to call for separate enumeration.

Bibliography: W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 73—7 (Calcutta, 1896); R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, i. 232 *sqq.* (London, 1916); *Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, xxxii. 225—6 (Allahabad, 1907); *Central Provinces Gazetteers, Bilaspur District*, p. 78—80, (Allahabad, 1910).

(T. W. ARNOLD.)

AL-KABĪŞĪ, whose full name was 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ (also 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN) B. 'OTHMĀN B. 'ALĪ, ABU 'L-ŞAKR, an important astrologer probably of Persian descent. He was known to the Christian world of the middle ages as ALCABITIUS (also ALCHABITIUS). He lived for a considerable period at the court of Sulţān Saif al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān (d. 356 = 969) and dedicated his principal astrological work to him: *al-Madhkal ilā Şinā'at Ahkām al-Nuǧūm* (Introduction to the art of Astrology) of which copies still exist in Oxford, Gotha and Cairo. It was translated into Latin by Joh. Hispalensis. This translation was printed in Venice in 1481, 1485, 1491 and 1521. The edition of 1485 is entitled *Libellus ysagogicus Abdilazi, id est servi gloriosi Dei, qui dicitur Alchabitiis, ad magisterium iudiciorum astrorum. Interpretatus a Ioanne Hispalensi*, Venetiis 1485. The edition of 1521 is called *Praeclarum Alchabitii opus ad scrutanda stellarum magisteria ysagogicum*. A commentary on it was compiled by Joh. de Saxonia in 1331 and printed at Bologna in 1473, and again in 1485 and 1521 at Venice at the end of the editions of Alcabitius. Al-Kabīşī also wrote several smaller astrological treatises. The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

Bibliography: A special article on this astrologer is given by al-Baihaqī (c. 1150) alone among the Arab biographers, in his *Ta'rikh Ḥukamā' al-Islām* (Ms. Leiden, 133d, Gol.), cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xx. 68; scattered notices are found in *Fihrist*, p. 265 (Art. *Euklides*); in Ibn Khallikān (Cairo 1310), i. 365, transl. by de Slane, ii. 335; Yaḳūt, *Muǧam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 35. Cf. also H.

Suter in *Abhandl. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissenschaften*, x. 60, xvi. 165. (H. SUTER.)

AL-ḲABḲ. DJABAL (DJĀBAL) AL-ḲABḲ or AL-ḲABDĪ, as al-Ṭabarī, i. 2660, 15, 2664, 4, 2666, 16 and Yāqūt iv. 31, 23 have it, and as should be read everywhere in al-Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris) for al-Ḳabkh, is a name for the Caucasus, common in Muslim authors. Hubschmann, *Armen. Gramm.* (Leipzig 1867), i. 45 derives ḲabḲ from Armenian *Kapkhō*, Pehl. *Kāfkōh*.

An older geographical conception regards this chain as belonging to the Kāf [q. v.] range which encloses the world (cf. B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus u. Ural als "Gürtel der Erde"*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i. 236 sqq.). The name Alburz is no doubt connected with this idea, which Mustawfī, and apparently following him Kīātib Celebī, give to the Caucasus, while the name ḲabḲ (*Djihānummā*, *Ḳ-y-t-k*) is limited to its eastern (transl. p. 182 wrongly "western") side. Here the range appears to be considered the continuation of the North Persian mountain chain of the same name, with which also are associated notions of its being the boundary range of the world. (Cf. the article ALBURZ; F. Justi *Beitr. zur alten Geographie Persiens*, i. 4 sqq., ii. 4 sq.; Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 27). To similar considerations is probably to be ascribed the fact that the Caucasus is connected with mountains which, beginning with Djabal al-'Ardj between al-Madīna and Mecca (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 172 *infra* sq.; Ibn al-Fākih, p. 25, 7 sqq., 295, 6 sqq.) or in Yemen (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, p. 126, 25 sq.) run northwards through Arabia and Syria. The connecting of these mountains with Kāf led to the localisation in the Caucasus region of the rock, sea and village (Ḳur'ān xviii. 59 sqq.) known from the legend of Moses (Alexander) (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 124, 3 sqq.; Ibn al-Fākih, p. 287, 14 sq.; al-Muḳaddasī, p. 46, 16 sq.; Yāqūt, i. 220, 21 sq., 454, 5 sq., iii. 282, 9 sqq.).

The Caucasus has further been regarded as the range beyond which dwelt Yādjūd and Mādjūd [q. v.]. The *al-Saddain* of Ḳur'ān xviii. 89, explained as "the two mountains", between which Dhū 'l-Karnain caused a barrier to be built to check the inroads of Yādjūd and Mādjūd is identified with Armenia and Ādharbaidjān (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvi. 121 sqq.; al-Baidāwī on Ḳur'ān xviii. 89). But when geographical knowledge was extended, Yādjūd and Mādjūd were placed farther north.

The Sasanians in particular had closed the Caucasus passes with fortifications to prevent the inroads of the northern nomadic peoples. The most famous of these passes (cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh p. 123, 13 sqq.; Yāqūt, i. 439, 2 sqq.) are Bāb al-Abwāb or Bāb Šul or Derbend [q. v.] and Bāb Allān, the gate of the Alans, or the Darial pass.

The multiplicity of ethnic groups and languages in the Caucasus is mentioned by most Muslim geographers. According to an oft recurring statement, 70 (72) different languages are found there (Ibn al-Fākih, p. 25; al-Mas'ūdī, ii. 2); according to al-Muhallabī's *Kitāb al-'Aẓīz* (in Abu 'l-Fidā), as many as 300. Wherefore the mountain ranges are also called Djabal al-'Alsun "Mount of Languages" (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 71, 15 sqq., 393, s. v. Tarābazūn, 405, s. v. Sarīr Allān).

For groups of peoples, states, and towns in the

Caucasus the reader is referred to the separate articles and the literature given below. See the articles ABKHĀZ, ALLĀN, ARMENIA, ARRĀN, BĀKŪ BARDHĀ'A, DAGHESTAN, DERBEND, GANDJA.

Bibliography: Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 193 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (ed. Leiden), i. 2660 sqq.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), ii. 1—7, 19—22, 25 sq., 39—48, 65—77; *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. (al-Iṣṭakhri), 180—193; ii. (Ibn Hawkal), 110, 238—255; iii. (al-Muḳaddasī), 375—382; v. (Ibn al-Fākih), 286—298; vi. (Ibn Khordādhbeh), 123 sq.; vii. (Ibn Roste), 89, 148; viii. (al-Mas'ūdī), 64; al-Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 329 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 31, and under Abkhāz, Arrān, Armīniya, Atrābazunda, Allān, Bāb al-Abwāb, Tiflis, Djurzān, Djanza, Sarīr, Sisadjan, Shābarān, Sharwān, Shakkā (Shakkā), Shamakhī, Shamkūr, Tabarsatarān, Filān, Kābala, Kurdj, Lakz, Masḳat; al-Kazwīnī, *Adjāib al-Makhlūqāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 170; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Adjāib al-Barr wal-Bahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 189, 220; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud, and de Slane), p. 71 sq.; transl. Reinaud, ii. 1, 93 sq., 298—300; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb* (Gibb Mem. xxiii), p. 93, 14, 191, 20 sqq., 254, 21; *Derbend-Nāmeḥ*, transl. fr. a select Turkish version and publ. with the texts and with notes... by Mirza A. Kazem-Beg (St. Petersburg 1851); Kīātib Celebī, *Djihān-numā* (Constantinople 1145), p. 398; *Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans... relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase*... trad. et acc. de notes crit. p. M. Defrémery (Paris 1849; *Journ. As.*, 4th Ser., xiii., xiv., xvii., 1849—51); N. de Khanikoff, *Mém. sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, in *Journ. Asiat.*, 5th Ser., xx. (1862), 57 sqq.; B. Dorn, *Geographica Caucasica* in *Mém. de l'Acad. impér. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 6th Ser., vii. (1848); C. d'Ohsson, *Des peuples du Caucase* (Paris 1828); J. v. Klaproth, *Reise in den Kaukasus u. nach Georgien*, 2 vols. (Halle and Berlin 1812—4); Ed. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere u. in den Kaukasus*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1837—8); R. v. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus u. seine Völker* (Leipzig 1887); J. Marquart, *Erānsāhr* (*Abh. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Kl., N. F., iii. 2), p. 94 sqq.; do., *Ost-europ. u. ostasiat. Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903), p. 164 sqq. (C. v. ARENDONK.)

KĀBUL. I. A river of Afghānistān which rises near the Unai Pass in Lat. 34° 21' N., Long. 68° 20' E. and flows past the city of Kābul, near which it receives the Loghar River on the south and the Pandjshēr on the north. From the plateau of Kābul it flows by rocky passes to the lower valley of Djalālabād in which it receives the Surkhāb on the south and the Kunar on the north. It then passes through a gorge in the Mohmand hills into the Peshāwar District of British India near Mičānī. Here it divides into two branches, the northern one of which receives the Swāt R. Afterwards the branches re-unite. After a course of 316 miles the Kābul falls into the Indus near Aṭāk.

It is the Skr. Kubhā, and is called Kōphēn and Kōphēs by Arrian and Strabo, Kōa by Ptolemy. The Kubhā was undoubtedly one of the Seven Rivers of the *Rigveda*. The Arab geogra-

phers call this river by various names. Al-Bērūnī speaks of the River *Qhorwand* which falls into the Indus below Waihand, the capital of al-*Qandahār* (i. e. *Gandhāra*). This name is taken from the *Qhorband* Pass near which the *Pandjshēr* River rises. Al-Mas'ūdī says "the fourth river of the *Pandjāb* comes from the country of *Kābul* and its mountains which form the frontier of al-Sind". The modern name of the river in Pashto is *Sind*, (also a general term for "river"). Bābur speaks of the *Sind* river as rising in a mountain to the west of *Kābul*, and no doubt alludes to the *Kābul R.*, though elsewhere he applies the name *Sind* to the Indus. The name *Kāma* given by Elphinstone (Appendix on Rivers) appears to be a misnomer, as *Kāma* is the name of a tributary only.

The town and district of *Kābul* seem to have taken their name from the river.

2. An important city, now the capital of *Afghānistān*, situated in 34° 30' N. 69° 13' E. 5780 ft. above sea-level, in a fertile and well watered plateau. Population about 150,000.

Although the *Kābul* River under various names [q. v.] is known from the earliest times, there is no mention of any town which can be identified with *Kābul*. Ptolemy's *Karoura* has been supposed by some to be *Kaboura*, and the people he names *Bōlitai* are conjectured to be properly *Kabolitai* or people of *Kābul*, but these guesses rest on no evidence. *Kōphēnē* is probably the name of the whole valley derived from the river *Kōphēn*.

This territory was reoccupied by the Bactrian King *Demetrios* and formed a Greek kingdom until about the commencement of the Christian Era. The Parthian *Gondophares* seems to have held it for a time and the *Kushan* invaders were in possession of it during the 1st century. A vase bearing an inscription of King *Huvishka* has been found at *Wardak* near *Kābul*. Buddhism was the religion at this period. The *Kushans* were supplanted by the *Ephthalites* for a period, but some branches of the race seem to have recovered power afterwards, and held it when *Hsien T'sang* passed through in 657 A. D. *Kao-fu* is the name given to *Kābul* by the Chinese at this period. Buddhism was gradually replaced by Brahmanism, and this was the religion of the later *Kushan* kings, known by the title of *Shāhi*, who, as we learn from al-Bērūnī, were superseded by their *Brahman* wazirs, probably about the time of the first *Muhammadian* invasions. It is probable that after the first invasions the *Hindū* kingdom of *Gandhāra* was ruled from its capital *Udabbanda* (or *Waihand*) on the Indus, and extended to the foot of the mountains west of *Djalālābād*, but did not include *Kābul* proper, which continued as a separate principality under its own *Shāh*, sometimes under *Muhammadian* influence and sometimes independent, till *Sabuktigin's* time. By the earliest Arab chroniclers the country as a whole is termed *Qandahār* i. e. *Gandhāra*, which has often been mistaken for the town of *Qandahār*. Thus *Ṭabari* tells us that under 'Omar in the year 23 'Āsim b. Amr and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omair pressed on through *Sistān* as far as the Indian frontier and *Qandahār*. The town of *Kābul* is not distinctly mentioned, the *Kābul* Valley and the adjacent *Kōhistān* up to the *Hindūkush* passes being described as the country of the *Kābul-Shāh* and the capital as an inaccessible mountain fort of an uncertain name (read *Djurwas* by Le Strange). *Yā'qūbī* says that it was conquered under 'Othmān

by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, but when he wrote it was known only by the export of the *Chebulic* (or *Kābuli*) myrobalans. Another expedition followed in Mu'awiya's time, and again in 176 (793) under *Hārūn al-Rashid* an army from *Balkh* invaded the valley from the north via the *Bāmīyān* Pass. There was another invasion in the time of al-Ma'mūn, which led to the submission of the *Kābul-Shāh* and his acceptance of *Islām*. These expeditions seem to have led to a nominal submission and acceptance of *Islām* but there seems to have been no actual occupation before that of the *Shāffāris* in 257 (871). *Pandjhir* with its silver mines was no doubt a powerful attraction and coins were struck there by *Yā'qūb b. Laith*. But it cannot be said that the name of *Kābul* applied to any particular town until later, and in any case it was not an important centre. It may be noted that the attack made by *Yā'qūb b. Laith* was from the north by way of the *Hindūkush* passes, and not by the more obvious route from *Sidjistān*, by way of the *Arghandāb* Valley and *Ghazna*. The ruler of *Kābul* at this period is described as a Turk by race and a Buddhist by religion, and it is probable that he was a successor of the later *Kushan* [cf. *AFGHANISTĀN*, i. 161].

It was never a mint town before the time of the *Mughal* Emperors. Coins were first struck there by *Bābur* [see art. *BABER*]. Throughout the rule of the *Ghaznavids* [q. v.] and *Ghōrids* [q. v.] *Ghazna* was the capital. Al-Idrisi mentions *Kābul* as a large Indian city on the border of *Tukhāristān*, and adds that no ruler could take the title of *Shāhi* till he had been inaugurated at *Kābul*. His information was probably derived from authorities much earlier than his own period, when the kingdom of the *Shāhis* had long ceased to exist.

It seems probable that the frequent destruction of *Ghazna* led to the rise of *Kābul* and after *Timūr's* time it became the centre of a principality under some members of his family. After the death of *Abū Sa'īd* [q. v.], his son *Ulugh Beg* obtained possession of *Kābul* and held it till his death. His son was expelled by *Muḳim*, a son of *Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn*, who in his turn was driven out by *Bābur* in 910 (1504). This formed the foundation of *Bābur's* Indian empire, and even when his son *Humāyūn* was driven out of *India*, *Kābul* was not lost by the family, but was held first by *Kāmrān* and afterwards by *Humāyūn* himself till *India* was recovered. *Bābur* was fond of *Kābul*, and gives an enthusiastic description of its climate, its streams, its fruits and flowers. After his death at *Agra* his body was brought to *Kābul* and his tomb still exists in a garden laid out by himself near the town. From this time the history of *Kābul* is bound up with that of the *Mughal* Empire of *India*. It became a mint for gold, silver and copper, and coins of most of the emperors are found up till the time of *Muhammad Shāh*. In 1738 it fell into the hands of *Nādir Shāh*, and although a rupee of the emperor 'Alam-gir II was struck there after *Nādir Shāh's* death, it never again belonged to the empire, but was very soon taken by *Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī* [q. v.]. It soon superseded *Qandahār* as capital of the *Durrānī* dominions, and has continued to hold that position under *Sadozais* and *Barakzais* till the present day. [For history see under art. *AFGHANISTĀN*, i. 169^b sqq.]. The town grew in prosperity as the capital of an important kingdom, although it suff-

ered much during the various wars, especially those between 1839—1842 between the Sadozais and Barakzais, in which the British army of occupation took part, and in the civil war between Shēr 'Alī and his brothers. Under 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān [q. v.] and Habib Allāh the town has been improved and good roads and bazaars constructed. The Balā Hīṣār or old palace citadel on a rocky hill has been dismantled, the upper part has become an arsenal. A new fortified palace known as the 'Ark was built by 'Abd al-Rahmān outside the town between Shērpūr and 'Ālamgandj.

In addition to the tomb of Bābur mentioned above, the tomb of Timūr Shāh Durrāni is also near Kābul.

3. Kābul is also the name of the province in which the capital is situated. It is bounded on the north by Afghān Turkistān, on the west by Herāt, on the south by Kāndahār and on the east by Djalālābād. It includes the Paghmān Mts. to the north-west and the Hazārādjāt in the south-west. Ghazni is comprised in its limits, and the boundary between Kābul and Djalālābād is at Djagdalak.

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KĀBŪL (A.). Acceptance of the offer (in contracts); see IDJĀB.

KĀBŪS B. WASHMGĪR, SHAMS AL-MA'ĀLĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN, nephew of Merdāwīdj b. Ziyār and fourth ruler of the Ziyārīd dynasty (his genealogy is given by his grandson, Kābūs Unšur al-Ma'ālī in his preface to the *Kābūs-nāmah*). Called to the throne by a military conspiracy, in 366 (976) he succeeded his brother Zahir al-Dīn Bahistūn as ruler of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān. When the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.] had quarrelled with his brother 'Aḡud al-Dawla [q. v.] and the latter deprived him of his whole kingdom in 369 (979/80) Fakhr al-Dawla took refuge with his father-in-law Kābūs. As the latter declined to hand him over to the victor, 'Aḡud al-Dawla sent a force against Kābūs who after a defeat at Astarābād in 371 (981/2) fled with his protégé to Nīshāpūr to Ḥusām al-Dawla, governor of Khorāsān under the Sāmānid Nuḥ b. Manšūr. The latter sought to conquer Ṭabaristān for himself, but Ḥusām was defeated. On the death of the Vizier, Abu 'l-Ḥusain al-'Utbi, Ḥusām was summoned to Bukhārā to succeed him and took Fakhr al-Dawla and Kābūs with him. Soon after the death of 'Aḡud al-Dawla at Baghdād (373 = 983) Fakhr al-Dawla gradually reconquered Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān and wished to restore them to Kābūs but was persuaded by his vizier Ibn Abbād al-Šāhib [q. v.] to keep them for himself. After the

death of Fakhr al-Dawla however Kābūs regained his inheritance after seventeen years' exile in 388 (998) and held it till in 403 (1012) his tyranny and the many executions ordered by him produced a rising of the troops, who deposed him and put on the throne his son Minočihr, who was summoned from Ṭabaristān. Soon afterwards he was put to death by the rebels in the fortress of Djenāshk between Djurdjān and Astarābād by being deprived of his clothes, while engaged in his religious ablutions, and then allowed to perish of cold. He was learned in several branches of knowledge, particularly astrology, and left several short treatises (*rasā'il*) as well as Persian and Arabic poems. He was also a distinguished calligrapher. The poets Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī of Sarakhs and Ziyād b. Muḥammad of Djurdjān sang his praises (Muḥammad 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii. 18, 19).

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(CL. HUART.)

KABYLIA, a mountainous country in the Algerian Tell. The name Kabylia or land of the Kabyls (Arab. *Bilād al-Kabā'il*) is of comparatively modern origin; it is not found in the Arab historians or geographers, nor is it usual among the natives. It seems only to have been introduced as a geographical name by European scholars since the sixteenth century. The name Kabyls is taken from the Arabic *kaḥḥā'il*, plur. of *kaḥila*, "tribe", which some Arab writers use as a synonym for Berbers; this is found as early as the author of the *K'irfūs*, who several times (e. g. p. 217 and 238 of the Arabic text), in detailing the contingents of troops in the Marinid armies, carefully distinguishes the Kabā'il from the Arabs.

The European geographers sometimes give the name Kabylia to the whole mountain system of the Algerian coast from the mouth of the Isser to the Tunisian frontier. These elevations show in fact several common characteristics: predominance of the older strata with a few less extensive chalk zones intervening, an irregular outline, a striking development of forest flora, a population consisting of settled tribes who for the most part have retained their Berber dialects. According to the different mountain ranges, Kabylia is divided into the following fairly well defined areas: Great Kabylia or Kabylia of the Djurdjura, Little Kabylia or Kabylia of the Babor mountains between the Summam in the west and the Wād al-Kabir in the east, Kabylia of Collo, Kabylia of the Djebel Edugh and Kabylia of Bōna. The first named of these areas is the most extensive and has the most marked character; it is therefore called Kabylia by preference and we shall deal with it alone in the following.

Great Kabylia is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Wād Būduāu to Bougie, i. e. for a length of 100 miles. In the east it is bounded by the valley of the Wād Sāhel (called Summam in its low course) and by the upper course of the Isser, in the west.

by the valley of the Wād Budaū and the Mitidja plain. The area thus included measures about 41 miles from N. to S. between Dellys and Bwira (Bouira) and covers some 2307 square miles. Access is rather difficult except from the west. Here the gateway of Ménerville (pass of the Beni 'Ā'isha 450 feet high), the valley of the lower Isser, the depression of the Wād Shander and the pass of Haussouvillers (600 feet) afford an easy access to the Sebau plain, i. e. the heart of Kabylia.

Kabylia falls into three separate areas very different from each other: the Kabylia mountains in the narrower sense, the Djurdjura chain and the coast range. The Kabylia mountains "consist in the centre chiefly of gneiss and micaceous schists with larger or smaller intrusions of granulitic rocks and, on the flanks, of archaic schists and primary argillaceous schists, the layers of which form the outer spurs with their gentler slopes. In the west of these mountains and separated from the main group by tertiary deposits rise several isolated rocky peaks: Bū 'Arūs, the massif of the Khashna (2050 feet), the Djebel Bellūwa (2310 feet) north of Tizi Uzū". The Kabylia massif is connected as it were by an isthmus with the central part of the Djurdjura and cut off on the other sides by a continuous depression, in the north by the valley of the Sebau, as much as 11 miles broad, in the west by the valley of Dra' al-Mizān and in the south by the depression of Bughnī. The whole system, sloping from west to east (from 4225 to 1950 feet) is divided by deep and narrow valleys into mountainous blocks (hills of the Ma'atka, the Flissa and of the Zwāwa, etc.).

The Djurdjura forms in the south the edge of the Kabylia massif for about 40 miles from Tizi (Berber = pass) Djabūt (3850 feet) to Tizi-n'Shria (4010 feet). It consists of lias limestone, split up into a series of sharp combs or steep rocky walls, and maintains an elevation of a little over 6500 feet. The highest summits, which run in two rows, are the Haizer (6935 feet) and the Akukur (7490 feet) in the north and in the south the Lalla Khadidja (7500 feet). This altitude and the scarcity of the passes, which are impassable in the winter (the most important is the Tirurda Pass (8655 feet), make traffic between the two slopes very difficult. In the east of the Djurdjura proper, in the Djebel Arbalu, there reappear scattered layers of limestone, running down to the sea where they end in the Gūraya of Bougie.

At a lower elevation (2600—3900 feet) the coast range stretches along the sea-coast from the mouth of the Sebau to the Djebel Akfadū and covers the greater part of eastern Kabylia with its sandstone formations.

From this variation in elevation and geological structure result marked differences in climatic conditions. In the valleys, notably in the basin of the Sebau, cut off from the sea by the coast range, the summer is very hot (mean July temperature in Tizi Uzū 35° C.). In the Kabylia mountain country on the other hand there is a long cold winter, during which the ground is often continually covered with snow, which lies on the summits of the Djurdjura from December to June. The rainfall is unevenly distributed — being particularly heavy in the east of the district where it averages 40 inches p. a., while the lowlands, notably that of the Wād Sāhel-Summam, which is shel-

tered from the moist winds by the wall of the Djurdjura, are relatively dry. Nevertheless Kabylia is one of the best watered areas in Algiers. Four river-systems are distinguished: — the Isser, the Wād Sāhel Summam, the coast rivers, and the Sebau. The latter collects the water from the north slope of the Djurdjura, supplied by tributaries, flowing at the bottom of narrow valleys cut through the Kabylia mountains. None of all these water-courses is navigable; they are all mountain torrents and are liable to considerable variations in their amount of water. The winter-rains and the melting of the snow produce a considerable, often devastating, increase in their volume.

Lying within the so-called Numidian zone which is marked by luxurious forests, Kabylia does not have the treeless appearance of most Algerian landscapes. The flint and sandstone formations of the eastern part support great wooded mountains (Yakūren, Tizi ūfella, Akfadū etc.) which are covered with different kinds of oaks such as the cork, the zān (*chênes zéens*, *quercus Mirbeckii*), the *afares* (*quercus castaneofolia*) and *ballūt* or hazelnut oak. Several cedar plantations, which however are on the verge of extinction, cover the slopes of the Djurdjura up to a height of 3900 feet. Trees are especially cultivated in the Kabylia mountains where they afford the inhabitants the greater part of their resources. The leaves of the ash-trees are used to feed the cattle, while its wood is used for agricultural and domestic implements and vines sometimes cluster round their stems. The fig and olive trees, the first of which is grown up to 3250 feet and the latter to 1950 feet, play an important part in the life of the Kabyls. Dried figs and oil form the basis of the food of the population; the superfluity is sold abroad. These fruit trees are therefore cultivated with the greatest care and in increasing numbers, so that we find fig and olive trees even on almost inaccessible slopes, where the soil has to be supported by mortarless stone walls. Vegetable fields and orchards surround the houses and villages and their produce serves to supply the daily wants of the inhabitants. Wheat is grown only on the low-lying ground and as a rule only in the districts settled by Europeans. As the scarcity of meadows hardly allows cattle to be reared, the native stock consists of a few cattle and sheep and a large number of goats. The mule is the only suitable beast of burden for this mountainous region.

Kabylia is the most populous part of Algeria as it has about 660,000 inhabitants or 250 to the square mile. The population however is very unevenly distributed. Scattered in Djurdjura, comparatively thin in the forest region, it is however very dense in the Kabylia mountains where the soil of the nature and abundant springs afford more favourable conditions for human settlements. The mixed community of Fort National and that of Djurdjura number, the former 61,726 to 145 miles, the latter 66,353 to 125 miles that is about 418 and 530 to the square mile or about the density of population in Holland. The natives live in groups in villages, sometimes up to several thousand in one village. These settlements lie on the hill-tops or on the mountain ridges which separate the valleys from one another. The choice of site was settled by consideration for the most profitable use of the arable part of the slopes and also for the necessity for securing a defenc-

against neighbouring tribes. Surrounded by a belt of gardens protected by cactus hedges and encircling walls of stone without mortar, accessible only by steep paths, these villages were really fortresses, sometimes impregnable to an opponent unless provided with artillery. Since however the French occupation guarantees the peace of the land, the natives show a certain tendency to leave the summits and move their dwellings nearer to the valley. In spite of the picturesque appearance which the closely huddled together white houses with their brown tiles make, these villages are in reality only piles of wretched dirty hovels. Most of the houses consist of one storey only and have neither windows nor chimney. As a rule they are divided into two by a wall breast high, of which one part is for men and the other for cattle. The very scanty furnishing consists chiefly of mats, which take the place of bedding, and stone vessels, which hold the family provisions. The groups of houses are separated from one another by narrow passages, which are just broad enough to allow a loaded mule through and are encumbered with dung and rubbish. The only public building is the mosque which, only recognisable by its minaret, is in almost as miserable a condition as the private dwelling houses. As there are no shops in the village where the natives could make their necessary purchases, they have to go to a market (*sūq*) which is held weekly at a definite place, usually in the neighbourhood of a river or spring. This market has a great attraction for the Kabyls as they come to it not only to purchase food and other necessities but also to meet the inhabitants of other villages and learn what is going on. The market usages have therefore been very strictly regulated. The market formed a neutral area, visitors to it enjoyed a special protection called "*anāya* of the market".

The Kabyl population is increasing steadily and rapidly, but the soil, which is of only average fertility, in spite of the aptitude of its inhabitants cannot support them all. The once flourishing native industries such as weaving, making carpets, ornaments, and arms (especially among the Flissa and the Banī Yenni) are disappearing more and more before European competition. The natives thus find themselves forced to leave their native land and seek work outside it, as moreover they used to do in earlier times also. Under Turkish rule hill dwellers used to come in considerable numbers to Algiers to gain a livelihood as servants, porters or gardeners. Others, notably the Banū Yahyā, the Banū Iliten and the Banū 'Aṭṭāf went about among the Arab tribes as pedlars (*ṣāffaren*) and combined money-lending with commerce, as their descendants still do. The French conquest and the expansion of colonisation have opened new outlets for the industry of the natives. While they work in the coast towns as bricklayers, hodmen, and dock labourers, the Kabyls at the same time supply the farmers of the Tell of Algiers and Constantine with the labour so necessary for the harvest and vintage. They also readily labour on public works as well as in the mines of Algeria and Tunisia and for some years past in those of France also. Others again enlist in the native regiments, especially the *tirailleurs*. But the Kabyl's emigration is only temporary; — as soon as the pedlar, the agricultural labourer or the miner has saved a little capital, he returns to his

village to buy a strip of land or at least a few trees at the earliest opportunity. The impulse to acquire property is very strong in them and the land is thus broken up into very small shares.

The Kabyls form the most important and at the same time the most compact Berber group in all Algeria. Yet they cannot be regarded as absolutely pure descendants of the old African race which inhabited North Africa before the foreign conquests and the immigrations of the historical period. The very formation of the country made it a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the plateaus and valleys, who were pushed back by the continual inroads of foreign peoples into North Africa. In addition, as Hanoteau points out, Kabylia was at all times an asylum for outlaws and evil doers. The present Kabyl type is therefore the result of numerous crossings and far from being homogeneous. Many individuals can hardly be distinguished from Arabs, others and indeed the greater number, with their large bones, their square heads and their coarse features resemble the peasants of Central France. As to the colour of their hair, two types can be distinguished, the brown and the much rarer blonde. Yet in spite of these differences, the natives of Kabylia have all the linguistic, social and religious peculiarities common to all the tribes described as Berber. They talk different Berber dialects, of which the Zwāwa spoken in Djurdjura and in the Kabyl mountains is the commonest. "The Zwāwa, especially the Beni Raten, are those who, owing to their isolation, are considered to have preserved the purest Berber dialect; this gradually changes by almost imperceptible degrees as one goes westward into the dialect of the Ait Khalfūn and eastward into the dialect of the Wād Sāḥel (Wādī Sāḥil) and that of Bougie". (R. Basset, *Etude sur les dialectes Berbères*, Paris, 1894, *Introd.*, p. viii.). The linguistic frontier even crosses the geographical boundaries of Great Kabylia and follows the watershed between the basin of the Wād Bū-Sellam and that of the Wād al-Kabir. The persistence of these dialects is all the more remarkable as the French occupation, the extension of Muslim as well as European education and finally the continual development of emigration seemed likely to bring about a rapid decline in the use of Berber. Although many natives have a more or less superficial knowledge of Arabic and French, Kabyl is nevertheless still the language of the home, and the only language used by the women and children in the villages. In many districts a decline in Arabic has been noted. In the arrondissement Tizi Uzū, for example, several Arabic speaking groups comprising some 18,400 persons have become completely berberised in the last few years (E. Doutté and E. F. Gautier, *Enquête sur la dispersion de la langue berbère en Algérie*, Algiers 1913).

The Kabyls possess no written literature but have a fairly varied and copious popular literature (songs, often inspired by current events, fairy tales, riddles, etc.). These productions, composed by illiterate people, often women, have been handed down by oral tradition and transmitted from village to village by wandering singers whose profession is often hereditary. Some of these singers (*meddāh*, *fakīh*) who sang the praises of the Deity, the feuds of the tribes and the heroic deeds of the warriors, were held in high esteem by their

countrymen; others again who sang songs of love or humour to the accompaniment of the tambourine or the oboe were as despised as the butchers, measurers of corn and other individuals, who followed a trade regarded as degrading.

As Muslims, the Kabyls, like the other Berber tribes, adopted the creed without recognising the Qur'anic system of law (see BERBERS, i. 702). Their customs are in many points contrary to orthodoxy. Lending money at interest, condemned in the Qur'ān, is generally allowed. "The acceptance of the principle that money is to be considered as goods", writes Hanoteau, "is a characteristic feature of Kabyl society which in order to remain true to its traditions has not shrunk from showing its contempt for the punishment of exclusion from the Muslim community, threatened as a punishment for usury". (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*¹, ii. 497). The social and material position of women is far behind that assured her by Muslim law. Woman has no civil rights, being continually in tutelage; excluded from participation in the paternal inheritance, she herself is one of the family chattels. Marriage is merely an act of purchase. The man who divorces his wife still remains her owner and he fixes the price which must be paid him before she can marry again. Polygamy is legal but little practised and only a few marabouts are rich enough to afford it. The position of woman thus appears a very miserable one; she is, according to Hanoteau, "a human chattel" (*Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Furjura*, p. 287). In practice, however, it appears that her position is easier than one would expect from the rigour of customary law. She holds an important place in the family and even in the villages, and, according to some authors (Rinn, Masqueray, Boulifa), she exercises a by no means negligible influence in domestic life and even in political life.

In spite of the liberties they take with orthodoxy, the Kabyls are not, as is sometimes alleged, lukewarm Muslims. They have always been and still are to-day very susceptible to the influence of fanatics. Perhaps they, at one time, like many other Berber groups, embraced Khāridjī doctrines but they were regained for orthodox Islām at the beginning of the modern era and have since then remained steadfast in their faith. Their ignorance, it is true, leaves them defenceless against the incitements of marabouts. The latter held and still hold a special position in Kabyl society. Enjoying numerous privileges (exemption from taxation, entertainment allowances etc.) they were not expected to bear arms except in the holy war and, thus placed outside tribal wars and quarrels of the *soff*, they kept for themselves the fruitful roles of intermediaries and peacemakers. The only representatives of education in the midst of an illiterate population, they gave the rudiments of instruction in the village schools and in the schools attached to the *zāwiya*, a word which among the Kabyls means a village exclusively inhabited by marabouts. Education in these schools (Kabyl *thimamert*, Arab. *ma'mera*) is confined to the elements of Arabic language and grammar, theology and law. The marabouts live either scattered among the people or grouped in families or tribes. Some claim for themselves an Arab or even Shārifan origin. These *Shorfa* form a privileged caste

and only marry among themselves. At all periods the part played by marabouts — male and female — has been considerable. It was they who stirred up the native resistance to the foreigners, Turk or French, who tried to conquer them. They were supported by the religious orders, of which the largest is that of the Rahmāniya, which originated in Kabylia itself. Its founder was the marabout Sidi Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rahmān Bū Kōbrain, sprung from the tribe of the Ait Smā'il, who lived from 1126—1208 (1715—1798). Recruited at first from the Gueshūlā, a confederacy of which the Ait Smā'il were part, the order gradually extended throughout Kabylia. Its chiefs were the fiercest opponents of the French in 1857 and in 1871; although its influence has declined, the brotherhood of the Rahmāniya, of which the parent lodge is at Akbū, is still that which numbers most adepts (9000 members and 43 *zāwiya* in 1897, according to Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses du Maghreb*).

History. Practically nothing is known of the history of Kabylia before the xvth century A. D. There are no native chronicles and the notices supplied by Arab, Latin or European writers are few and fragmentary. The characteristic fact of Kabyl history during this long period seems to have been the resistance of the Kabyls to foreign penetration. In ancient times even the Romans did not succeed in establishing themselves in the massif. Their principal settlements Saldae (Bougie) Rucazus (Tigzirt), Rusucurru (Dellys) were situated on the coast. Military posts kept a watch on the valley of Wād Sāḥel and of the Isser, but the Djurdjura (Mons Ferratus) remained practically independent under the rule of native chiefs, vassals of Rome. The inhabitants of the mountainous region formed the confederation of the Five Nations or Quinque Gentes: — the Massissenses (perhaps the Msisna of the Wād Sāḥel), Isafilenses (Ifliissen?), Jubabeni (Beni Jubar), Tendenses and Jesabenses. These natives rose in revolt several times, notably in the first century A. D., during the rebellion of Tacfarinas, then again in the time of Diocletian. From 288—297, they ravaged eastern Mauretania and western Numidia. To subdue them, Maximian had to deport them *en masse*. In the following century they adopted Donatist doctrines and again took up arms under their national leaders, Firmus (372—375 A. D.) and later Gildon.

We do not know at what period and under what conditions, Islām was introduced into Kabylia, taking the place of Christianity and paganism. We may, however, conjecture that this land must have for some time escaped the Arab conquest and served as a place of refuge for the last remnants of Roman and Byzantine population as well as for the Berber tribes fleeing before the invaders. In the ixth century however, the conversion to Islām was an accomplished fact, since Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 256) mentions the Zwāwa at the same time as the Ketāma among the partisans of 'Obaid Allāh and the founders of the Fāṭimid empire. Well treated by the Šanhādjī Zirids, the Kabyls then passed under the rule of the Hammādids, who reduced to obedience the mountain peoples of the Bougie region, and then under the sway of the Ḥafṣids. But Ibn Khaldūn himself says that the authority of the sovereigns of Bougie over the Kabyl tribes was quite nominal [cf. IRĀTEN, ZWĀWA].

At the beginning of the xvth century, the people of Kabylia were divided into three political groupings called by western writers, the kingdom of Kūko, the kingdom of Labbès, and the principality of the Beni Jubar. The kingdom of Kūko stretched from Djurdjura to the sea, and through the port of Azzeffūn was in touch with European countries. The kingdom of Labbès comprised several tribes of little Kabylia of which the most important was that of the Benī 'Abbās in the east of the Wād Sāhel [cf. the article *ḲAL'AT BANĪ 'ABBĀS*]. The principality of the Beni Jubar comprised the population of the coast east of Bougie. The Turks who appeared in Algeria at the same period and there founded a powerful state, relied on these different groups in turn. 'Arūdī contracted a close alliance with the Sulṭān of Kūko, Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī, who gave him auxiliaries and took part in the expeditions against Algiers and Tlemcen [see 'ARŪDĪ], but he thereby alienated the Sulṭān of the Benī 'Abbās, who took the side of the Spaniards. After the death of 'Arūdī, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī quarrelled with his successor Ḳhair al-Dīn [q. v.]; he inflicted a bloody defeat on him on the land of the Flissat Umellil and remained for several years master of Algeria and of Mitīdja. An alliance with the Benī 'Abbās enabled the Turks to regain the advantage. Pursued right into their mountains, the Kabyls were forced to submit and to pay tribute. During the period of the Beylerbeys, the inhabitants of great Kabylia lived on good terms with the Turks. Ḳhair al-Dīn and his successors recruited from among the Zwāwas soldiers whose fidelity they appreciated and on whom they could rely if necessary against the undisciplined soldiery of the Janissaries. The alliance with the Sulṭān of Kūko enabled Ḥassan b. Ḳhair al-Dīn to triumph over the Sulṭān of Labbès who became in his turn a tributary of the Turks (1559). As to the 'Abd al-Djabbār, they had shown themselves friendly to the Spaniards and after the reoccupation of Bougie by the Turks never ceased to wage war on its garrison.

The rulers of Algiers did not however succeed in definitely imposing their supremacy on the Kabyls. The latter during the closing years of the xvth century and during the whole of the next century, were in a state of almost permanent insurrection against the Turks. The expeditions undertaken by the Pašhas to chastise the rebels yielded no permanent result. The conquered tribes agreed to pay tribute but cast off the obligation as soon as the Turkish columns had quitted the country. In the course of these struggles, important changes modified the political organisation of Kabylia. The kingdom of Kūko disappeared and was replaced by the confederation of the Zwāwa. A new confederation that of the Guesh-ṭūla (Igūshdal) was founded in the middle of the xvith century by a *shaikh* named Gassem and united together the population of the western part of the Djurdjura. In the xviiith century, the Turks made some progress. They succeeded in taking the mountainous region between the Wād Bugdura and the Wād 'Aysi (1745—46) but could not subdue the Banī Rāten. Their military ports at Bughni, Bwira, Burdj Sebau were destroyed on several occasions. The first years of the xixth century were still more unfortunate. The Flissa invaded Mitīdja several times; in 1816 the Guesh-

ṭūla seized the *burdj* of Bughni and only spared the garrison at the intervention of the marabouts.

Turkish authority in Kabylia was therefore up to the end very precarious. The tribes which recognised it were distributed over two *ḳā'idats*: the *ḳā'idat* of Bughni, which included the confederations of the Guesh-ṭūla, the Banū Sa'adka and a part of the Ma'atka, and the *ḳā'idat* of the Sebau, including, besides the town of Dellys, the Banū Ḳhalṭūn, the Banū Waguennūn, the Flissat al-Baḥar, the peoples of the upper Sebau and those of the Wād al-Ḥammām. In the north-east, finally, the Turks occupied Bougie. To maintain order and collect taxes, the *ḳā'id*s had at their disposal a few hundred janissaries installed in fortified posts (*burdj*), and *amala's*, of which several were composed of negroes (*abid*). They levied taxes — which were however quite light — on the produce of the plain, collected dues in kind (sheep, grain, figs & oil) for the use of the garrisons, claimed the right of investiture of *shaikhs* and granted for a fee passports to natives, etc. In return the Turks interfered very little in local affairs and only did so when they thought they could make profit out of it. The most efficacious means employed by them to bring recalcitrant tribes to order was the blockade. As the country did not produce enough grain to feed its inhabitants they were not long in submitting. The Turks, moreover, observed local divisions with the greatest care and showed themselves full of consideration for influential marabouts, to whom they gave exceptional privileges. They heaped gifts on their *zāwiya's* and built *kubba's* on the tombs of the most venerated saints. Turkish rule therefore has left no feeling of hatred among the Kabyls. "The Turk", says Hanoteau (*Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Furjura*, p. 63—64 note), "is the type of bravery and dignity in the popular songs; when the poet wants to praise one of his compatriots, he compares him to a Turk".

Whether nominally subject to the Turks or completely independent, the Kabyl tribes preserved intact their political and administrative institutions. Kabylia, far from forming a state, was simply an aggregation of little municipal republics, grouped in confederations of small size. The political and administrative unity was the village (*thad-darth*), whether a single village or a union of several hamlets (*trifk*) and subdivided again into divisions called by different names in different districts (*adrūm*, *tharift*, *takherrūbt*, *Ḳharūba*). Several villages bound together by mutual obligations formed a tribe (*'arsh*). At the time of the French conquest there were 1400 villages divided among 120 tribes. A confederacy of several tribes was called a *thakebilt* (Arab. *ḳabila*). The chief of these confederations were those of the Guesh-ṭūla, the Ait Ṣedka, the Zwāwa, the Eastern Zwāwa, the Ait Irāten, the Ait 'Aysi, the Ma'atka, the Flissat Umellil and the Flissat al-Baḥar (Ifissen), the Ait Waguennūn, the Ait Djennād, the Ait Ḡhobrī, etc.). In certain cases several confederations could unite for some common defensive or aggressive purpose, but such leagues had never more than a temporary character. All tribes however were not grouped into confederacies and some were content merely to contract, when in case of need, temporary alliances with their neighbours.

The village, the fundamental element in the

Kabyl organisation, was a kind of municipal republic subject to the authority of the assembly of its citizens (*thadjemait*, Arab. *djemā'a*), which had most extensive powers. It appointed a president (*amokrane*, *amrar*, *amin*), who was charged with carrying out its decisions, and *temman* (plural of *tamen*), a kind of assistants, who had to support the *amin* in the exercise of his duties. The *djemā'a* fixed the quota and the apportionment of taxes, declared war, made peace, administered public charity and, lastly, modified, if necessary, local customs. All male inhabitants old enough to observe the fast of Ramaḍān took part in the assembly and were bound to be present, but in practice decisions were made by a minority of rich and influential persons, so that the government of the village was only democratic in theory. The authority of the *djemā'a* was, besides, limited by the obligation under which it found itself, to respect the rights of individuals or families, individual or collective guarantees sanctified by long custom, market-laws, etc. The tribe and the confederacy were organised on the model of the village, with deliberative assemblies and *amin*'s, but the bonds which united such groupings became more and more slack as the groups increased in size. There were frequently serious dissensions within these groups. The existence in the smallest village of *ṣeff*, that is to say, parties supporting the interests of influential personages, the exercise of the right of private vengeance (*rekba*) or of the right of reprisals (*usiga*), the care taken to make respected the *anāya* of individuals or of the community, provoked continual conflicts, which the intervention of the marabouts settled with great difficulty. The relations of the tribes and confederations were hardly more satisfactory than those of the villages with one another. Kabylia was, in a word, handed over to anarchy and there was a permanent state of war there.

The capture of Algiers by the French in 1830 put an end to Turkish rule. On hearing of this event, the garrisons retired to the Titteri, leaving the country to itself. The Kabyls, however, proved themselves no more able to unite than they had in the past. Various chiefs, Ben Salem of the Banū Djād, Ben Zamun of the Flissa, Si Djūdi of the Zwāwa, Belkāsīm or Kasi of the Amrāwa disputed for the supremacy with one another, but did not succeed in imposing themselves on all the tribes. 'Abd al-Kādir himself was no more fortunate [see 'ABD AL-KĀDIR, i. 43 sq.]. He appointed a *khalīfa* of the Sebau, but could not get himself recognised as Sultān by the tribes of the Djurdjura, who refused to pay him taxes as they had refused to pay them to the Turks. He was even nearly massacred by the people of Wād Saḥel in 1839. The French, for their part, had been in occupation of Bougie since 1833, while the Kabyls of the east made frequent incursions into the Mitidja. To dispose of such dangerous neighbours the government therefore decided to conquer Kabylia at a time when 'Abd al-Kādir seemed definitely reduced to impotence. A first expedition conducted by Bugeaud in the valley of the Sebau resulted in the submission of the Flissat al-Baḥr and the occupation of Dellys (1844). Interrupted by the Franco-Moroccan War, then by the struggle with 'Abd al-Kādir, who in 1849 again tried to raise the Kabyl tribes, operations were resumed in 1847 and brought the tribes of Wād Saḥel to re-

cognise French authority. But the Kabyl massif and the Djurdjura served as an asylum for all malcontents and continued to be a smouldering fire of rebellion, which was continually blazing out again. In 1849, the Zwāwa, the Gueshtūla, and the Banū Mellikesh attacked the tribes who had already submitted; in 1851, the Sherif Bū Baghla, with several thousands of mountaineers threatened Bougie, then, repulsed by French troops, sought refuge in the Djurdjura. Pelissier in 1851, Bosquet in 1852 had to take the field against him. To facilitate penetration of the country, roads were built from Algiers to Bougie, from Dellys to Aumale and finally from Sétif to Bougie across Little Kabylia, only recently pacified. The natives, however, were not yet subdued; they took advantage of the reduction of effective troops during the Crimea war to take up arms again. The rising of the tribes of the upper Sebau necessitated the despatch of a column which crossed the country between Bougie and Dellys and penetrated as far as the Benī Yahyā in the very heart of the Kabyl massif (June—July 1854). New disturbances provoked by the Raḥmāniya brotherhood in 1855 and 1856 forced the French once more to fight the tribes of the Sebau and the Gueshtūla. The results obtained however would have remained insecure so long as the Banū Rāten, the most turbulent of tribes of the massif, were not reduced to impotence. A new expedition was therefore organised in 1857 by Marshal Randon, then governor-general, supported by Generals Macmahon, Renault and Yūsuf. While reconnoitring troops surveyed the southern slope of the Djurdjura, three divisions left Tizi Uzu and scaled the slopes of the massif. The Banū Rāten were the first to be attacked and defended themselves energetically for two days. The capture of their villages and the defeat inflicted on them on the plateau of Sūḵ al-Arb'a forced them to sue for peace (25 May). The Ait Menguellet, their allies, continued the struggle and were crushed at Isheriden (24 June). The Ait Yenni had to submit in their turn in the beginning of July. The defeat of the Ait Iliten, who had been stirred up by the female marabout Lalla Fāṭma, terminated the campaign. The tribes delivered hostages and paid a war indemnity, but retained their municipal autonomy and their *kānun*. The building of Fort Napoléon (now Fort National) on the plateau of Sūḵ al-Arb'a enabled the French troops to control the whole massif. The country was opened up by roads, put under military rule and divided into four administrative districts.

The most complete tranquillity reigned until 1871, when the Kabyls rose again at the incitation of the grand-master of the Raḥmāniya, Shaikh al-Haddād and especially of his son al-'Azīz, who made an alliance with Mokrāni, the rebel bashagha of the Medjāna. A holy war was proclaimed on April 8 at the market of Seddūk and soon the rebels numbered 180 000 fighting men. Bougie, Delly, Tizi Uzu, Fort National, and Dra' al-Mizān were blockaded by the natives, the village of Palestro was taken and sacked by the rebels in spite of the resistance of the Europeans. The rebels even threatened Mitidja but were held up on the Alma by Colonel Fouchault's flying column. Troops sent from Algiers delivered the towns and garrisons besieged by the insurgents, who were routed at Isheriden on June 24. Shaikh al-Haddād

surrendered to the French on July 13 and at the end of the same month, the valley of Wād Sāḥel was cleared of rebels. Kabylia lost its municipal autonomy and a war indemnity of 36 582 000 francs was levied on it. Besides, 446 000 hectares of land were sequestered and appropriated for European colonisation, for which centres were created in the valley of the Isser and in the valley of Wād Sāḥel. Since that date peace has not been disturbed and civil government has been organised in Kabylia as in the rest of the Tell (cf. the article ALGERIA). Primary schools with technical instruction have been established in the principal villages and education is compulsory for the natives. The latter seem to have adapted themselves to the new situation; their resources have increased to such a pitch that in some districts European colonisation has receded and considerable areas of land have been bought back by the natives. The isolation in which the Kabyls lived so long is tending to disappear and, if it is chimerical to hope even in the remote future for an assimilation of the Berber and European elements, perhaps it may be permitted to foresee for them sufficient community of interest to prevent new conflicts.

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KAČĤH (sometimes written KAČ; al-Balādhuri

Wüstenfeld, iv. 126, 1: al-Ḳaṣṣa, but i. 505, 22, iv. 94, 10: al-Ḳass; in Anglicised spelling CUTCH), an Indian State attached to the Pālanpur Agency of the Bombay Presidency, lying between 22° 47' and 24° N. and 68° 25' and 71° 11' E. Its area is 7616 sq. m. and the population in 1911 was 513, 429 (Musalmans 126, 133). It is separated from the mainland of Sindh and Kaṭhiāwāḍ by the great salt-swamp known as the Rann of Kačĥ (Great and Little) which makes it a quasi-island. The Rann is included in its boundaries, but not in the area given above. The country is hilly in some parts, but is flat for the most part. There are signs of former volcanic action. Earthquakes have frequently occurred; that of 1819 wrought great destruction, including the capital Bhūḍj.

The Rann was undoubtedly at one time an arm of the sea and may with probability be identified with the great lake described by Arrian as visited by Alexander near the mouths of the Indus. It has been identified by S. Julien, V. de St. Martin, Watters and V. Smith with the Ki-ch'a of Hwen Tsang, which he describes as under the suzerainty of the Vallabhī kings, but this is open to doubt as the province described by Hwen Tsang does not seem to have been near the sea.

Al-Balādhuri mentions a king of Ḳaṣṣa called Rāsak (Rāsik) in the time of the Caliph al-Walid I (86—96 = 705—715). The town of Surasta (Sorasht) situated in the Bay of Kačĥ still existed in the ixth century. It was inhabited by the Maid (Mēd), who were reputed as pirates. According to al-Balādhuri, the people of Kačĥ were Muslims in the time of Hishām 105—125 (724—743). When the power of the Muslims in the region of the Indus declined in this period, they endeavoured to maintain themselves in Ḳaṣṣa (al-Ya'ḳūbi). Al-Bērūnī describes the eastern branch of the Mīhrān of Sindh (the Indus) as flowing into the ocean at a place called Sindhu-sāgara (the Sea of Sindh) in Kačĥ, and this is clearly the Rann of Kačĥ. The Rann was therefore an arm of the sea as lately as 1000 A. D., and a branch of the Indus still flowed into it. Kačĥ is described by al-Bērūnī also as the home of pirates (*bawāriḍ*). The Samma Rāḍjpūt rulers of Sindh conquered the country probably in the xivth century; the majority of them became Musalmans, but the Djhāḍedjā clan, whose power was established by Mōda about 1270 to 1298, adopted a modified form of Hinduism. They have continued to rule the country under the suzerainty first of the Kings of Gūḍjarāt, then of the Mughal Emperors and lastly of the British Government. The Kalhōras of Sindh invaded Kačĥ in the xviiith century (1762—5). The early reputation of Kačĥ for piracy was revived in more recent times and led to the British occupation in 1815—1818. The Rāo was however soon restored.

The Djhāḍedjā rulers bear the title of Rāo. Their capital is at Bhūḍj and coins are struck there in the name of the *Mahārāo* joined first with those of the later Emperors of Dihli and more recently with those of Queen Victoria and her successors. The port of Mandvi is a considerable town with a large coasting trade.

The Kačĥī language is peculiar to the province. It belongs to the Western Indian group of languages and is commonly classed as a dialect of Gūḍjarātī, although, according to Grierson,

and al-Ya'ḳūbi: قَصَّة; al-Bērūnī: كَج; Yāḳūt, ed.

it may perhaps be more correctly considered a dialect of Sindhi. In accordance with its geographical position it forms a link between the two languages.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

KAČĀHĪ OR **KAČĀH GANDĀWA**. A province in Balōčistān extending from 27° 53' to 29° 35' N. and from 67° 11' to 68° 28' E. with an area of 6,415 sq. m. It forms a level plain enclosed on the N. and E. by the southern Sulaimān Mts. and on the W. by the Kirthār Ranges. To the S. it is open being bounded by the plain of N. Sindh. Politically it forms part of the Khānate of Kalāt [q. v.] with the exception of the small area of Sibi in the north which was nominally part of Afghānistān and was transferred to the British Government under the treaty of Gandamak in 1879. This district is part of British Balōčistān. The tribes in the eastern half of KačĀhī, the Dōmbkī, Umarānī and Kahīrī are only nominally subject to the Khān. These tribes lie to the east of the railway from Jacobabad to Quetta, which traverses the province from south to north. The territory west of this line is also mainly occupied by Balōč tribes with the exception of the area near Dhādhār in the north, where nomadic Brahōis are found. Everywhere there is a large settled population of Djaṭts. There are no large towns; Gandāwa, Shorān, Dhādhār, Sibi and Lahri are the principal places. Cultivation is carried on by irrigation from the small streams and hill-torrents which issue from the mountains; the Nārī and Bōlān on the north, the Mūla and Suklējī on the west, and the Lahri and Chāttār on the east. Without irrigation, cultivation is impossible as the climate is intensely hot and the rainfall very scanty. The valleys of the Mūla, Bōlān and Nārī form passes by which communication with the uplands has been carried on from time immemorial. The two first-named are now traversed by railways which lead to Quetta and Peshin by the Bōlān and Harnai countries. The strip of territory called Naṣirābād is politically part of the Sibi district. It lies adjacent to the British District of Jacobabad in Sindh, and receives its irrigation from the Sindh Canals fed by the Indus.

The population is scattered but denser than in most parts of Balōčistān. Including the Sibi and Naṣirābād taḥsils, and the Dōmbkī-Kahīrī country, all of which are geographically part of the KačĀhī plain, the total is 175,860 (census of 1911). The history of this tract is dealt with under arts. BALŌČISTĀN and KANDĀBĪL.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

KADĀ' means literally "deciding" (*ḥukm, faṣl, kaṭ', tartīb*, cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, iii. 51) but the root is developed in many diverging senses already in the Qur'ān, "commanding", "judging", "making so as to be fixed", "informing", "substituting", "discharging (obligation)" etc.; cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, p. 416, and *Lisān*, xx. 47 sqq. Technically it indicates a) the office and functioning of a judge (*qāḍī*); b) the discharging of a previously neglected religious obligation, e. g. of the daily worship or of fasting in Ramaḍān; thus opposed to *ādā'*, the performance of the duty at the appointed time (Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 68, note); Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 38b); c) the eternal, universal decision of Allāh as to all existent things as they are continuously, very nearly the "eternal decree" of Calvinism. The point in doubt in the last use is the relation of the term to *qadar* (*qadr*), "measuring or estimating an amount", "assigning something by measure"; to *ināya*, "providence"; and to the will (*irāda*) and knowledge (*ilm*) of Allāh; further whether *kaḍā'* is one of the "essential qualities" (*al-ṣifāt al-dhātīya*) of Allāh or of His "qualities of action" (*aṣ-ṣifāt al-f'liya*); is eternal (*qadīm*) or originated (*ḥādīth*). For orthodox Ash'arites *kaḍā'* is the will of Allāh (al-Baidāwī on Qur. ii. 111) and its eternal connection (*ta'alluq*), while *qadar* is His bringing things into existence in accordance with His will. Or it is His eternal knowledge and its connection with the thing known, while *qadar* is His bringing the thing into existence in accordance with His knowledge. *Kaḍā'*, therefore, is eternal as one of the eternal qualities and *qadar* is originated because one of the "connections" of Allāh's quality of power. But others taught that *kaḍā'* is the bringing forth (*ibrāz*) of transitory things (*al-kā'ināt*) in accordance with the knowledge of Allāh, while *qadar* is the eternal defining of each thing with what of good and bad, advantage and disadvantage, it is to have when it exists. *Kaḍā'*, then, is originated and *qadar* is eternal. Further, *kaḍā'*, if it equals Allāh's will or knowledge, is one of the essential qualities, but if it is this "bringing forth" it is only one of the connections of Allāh's power, and these, according to the Ash'arites, are originated. But the Māturidites called these "active qualities" and held that they were eternal because they were names for the Māturidite quality *takwīn* (making to become) which the Ash'arites did not admit as a quality (al-Faḍālī with comment, of al-Baidjūrī, Cairo 1315, pp. 55, 61; al-Nasafī's *'Akā'id* with comm. of al-Taftāzānī etc., Cairo, 1321, p. 95). But the overwhelmingly accepted position makes *kaḍā'* the universal, general and eternal decree and *qadar* the individual development or application of that in time. A phrase quoted in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* under QDR is significant, *Mā yuḥaddiruhu 'Ilāh min al-kaḍā'*, "That which Allāh measures out of *kaḍā'*". Al-Rāzi on Qur. xxxiii. 37, 38 (*Mafātiḥ*, Cairo 1308, vi. 527) even applies the distinction to the problem of evil and of human responsibility. That which is by *qadar* comes in incidentally, almost accidentally, and the disadvantages (*qarar*) of the world are through it, while the good (*khair*) is by *kaḍā'*. Man was created by Allāh subject to lust and anger in order that, striving against these under the guidance of reason and religion, he might be rewarded. That leads in some to sin, but Allāh did

not produce this consequential sin in them by intention, although it was by His *ḥadar*. Again, that which is by *kaḍā'* being universal is always perfectly intelligible — we see it happening all the time; but some of weak understanding may ask the reason for a thing which is by *ḥadar*. Yet it must not be thought that these latter things are necessary consequences following of themselves according to the Mu'tazilite doctrine of *tawlid* or the philosophical teaching that there is a fateure in things (*ṭab'*). Everything is by the choice (*ikhtiyār*) of Allāh and He admits only a certain custom (*'āda*) in things. Among philosophers the tendency is to equate *kaḍā'* with Allāh's knowledge or with His eternal providence (*'ināya*) or even to say that it is an expression for the existence of all existent things, taken as a whole, in the world of reason, while *ḥadar* is their external existence, separated, one after another (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1234 sq.).

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(D. B. MACDONALD.)

KAḌĀ' (A.). In the terminology of Turkish administration *kaḍā'* (*kaḍā*) denotes a district governed by a *ka'immaḥkām* [q. v.].

KAḌAM SHARĪF (KAḌAM RASŪL ALLĀH). Among the miracles (*mu'jizāt*) popularly attributed to Muḥammad was the fact that when he trod on a rock, his foot sank into the stone and left its impress there. (This miracle is usually referred to along with others e. g. that he cast no shadow, that if one of his hairs fell in the fire, it was not burnt, that flies did not settle on his clothes etc. (v. al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sira al-Ḥalabiya*, Būlāk, 1292, III, 407), or that his sandals left no imprint on the sand (v. Ibn Ḥajjar al-Haitamī, commentary on al-Buṣīrī's *al-Kaṣida al-Hamziya*, I. 176. (Ind. Off. MS., Loth, n^o 826, fol. 94). No early authority refers to such a miracle, nor can any *ḥadīth* be quoted in corroboration of it, as Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī himself pointed out (v. al-Ḥalabī, *op. cit.*, i. 497). But sufficient evidence of this miracle is considered to be provided by the numerous impressions of one or both of the feet of the Prophet, which are venerated in different parts of the Muslim world. The most famous of these footprints is that in the Masjid al-Aḳṣā, at Jerusalem, on the rock from which Muḥammad mounted Burāk for his journey to heaven (Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā fī Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-aḳṣā*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, xix., NS. (1887), p. 258-9). In a mosque near the southern gate of Damascus, on the road to Hawrān, is shown the imprint of the foot of the Prophet, when he half-alighted from his camel, but was warned by the angel Gabriel that God had given him the choice between the Paradise of this world and that of the next; whereupon he relinquished his intention of entering the city (W. G. Palgrave, *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London, 1865, ii. 19). In Cairo there are two footprints, one in a mosque called *Āthār al-nabī* (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, ix. 689), the other at the tomb of Kā'it Bey [q. v.] (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1914, p. 113), who, according to Aḥmad Dahlān [q. v.], purchased it for the sum of 20,000 dinars; in Tanṭa, there are impressions of both the feet of the Prophet, in the shrine of Saiyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, xxii. 410); as, also, at Constantinople, in the mosque where Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamid I is buried

(*ibid.*, ix. 473); cf. also CONSTANTINOPLE, i. 871b.

But it is in India that this veneration for the footprints of the Prophet appears to have attained its fullest extension, and such slabs of stone are found all over the country, — sometimes venerated in buildings specially erected for their reception, as the Kaḍam Rasūl Mosque at Gawr, or kept with other relics, as in the Djamī' Masjid, Dihli, or left disregarded in a corner of a cemetery, as in that of Shāh Djamāl, near 'Aligarh, or preserved in the house of some private person. Usually, there is the imprint of one foot only, but in the Kaḍam Rasūl building at Balasor (in Orissa), the stone bears the marks of both feet, as well as those of 'Alī. (Abdus Salam, *The Kaḍam Rasul Building at Balasore* in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, iv. [1908], 31-2.) One of the most highly venerated of these footprints is that placed over the tomb of Faṭh Khān, the son of Firūz Shāh Tughlāk [q. v.]; this monarch had associated his son with him in the government as early as 760 H., and the death of Faṭh Khān in 776 H. was a cause of great grief to his father, who erected a stately tomb over his grave, with a mosque and a madrasa attached. The footprint is said to have been brought from Madīna by the great saint of the Cishṭī order, Saiyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, known as Makhdūm-i-Djahāniyān; it is kept immersed in water, which is believed to possess healing power; a religious fair is held here every year, on the 12th of Rabī' al-awwal, the anniversary of the death of the Prophet (Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, *Description des Monuments de Delhi*, *Journ. As.*, 1860, p. 411-2). At Uḥh, which has a rich collection of relics of the Prophet, there is a footprint in the shrine of Bandagī Muḥammad Ghawṭh (ob. 923 H.), a descendant of 'Abd al-Kādir Dīlī (*Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State*, Lahore, 1908, p. 166).

The slab of stone with the footprint of the Prophet, preserved in the Kaḍam Rasūl Mosque at Gawr [q. v.] is said to have been brought from Madīna by 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, king of Bengal 1494-1521; the fine mosque in which it rests was built by his son and successor, Nuṣrat Shāh, in 1530 (J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur*, London, 1878, p. 20). About fifty years later, Mīr Abū Turāb, who had been appointed by Akbar leader of the pilgrims' caravan, brought back from Mecca, in 1579, a stone bearing the imprint of the right foot of the Prophet; that brought by Makhdūm-i-Djahāniyān to Sultān Firūz Shāh is said to have represented the left foot. Akbar himself went out several miles from Agra to receive the holy relic, and carried it on his shoulder for about a hundred paces, his example being afterwards followed by his nobles and courtiers, who escorted the stone with great pomp and ceremony to the city. In the following year, when Mīr Abū Turāb was returning to his home in Guḍjarāt he received permission from Akbar to take the footprint with him; he erected a building in Asāwal, near Aḥmadābād, as a shrine for this slab and for some hairs of the Prophet, which he had also brought from Mecca with him; after his death the footprint was placed over his tomb, which is still standing to the south of the city of Aḥmadābād, but the footprint is no longer there, having been removed (it is said) to Khambāy (Mīr Abū Turāb Valī, *History of Gujarat*, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 97-9). The footprint on the

grave of Saiyid Muḥammad Maḳbūl 'Ālam, who is buried in the precincts of the shrine of his ancestor, Saiyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam, at Baḡuwa, to the south of Aḥmadābād, is said to be a copy made from the stone in the Djamī Masḡid at Dihli (J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, London, 1905, ii. 20, 50). Similar copies on stone or on paper are sometimes found in the houses of private persons (G. A. Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras, 1863, p. 153).

Closely connected with the veneration of the footprints of Muḥammad, is that paid to representations of his sandals. Copies of these are hung up in the houses of the pious, as a protection against the assaults of Satan, the evil eye, the depredations of robbers, etc.; they are also said to relieve the pangs of childbirth (al-Ḳaṣṭalānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniya*, Cairo, 1281 H., i. 337). Such representations are common in Algeria, Egypt, India and Syria.

Bibliography: In addition to the works above quoted, see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maḳḳarī, *Faṭḥ al-Muta'ālī fī Maḡh al-Ni'āl*, (Ahlwardt, *Verz. Arab. Handschr. Berl.*, No. 2595); Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḳhalaf, *Mu'djizat al-Anbiyā' (ibid., No. 2553)*; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Khādim al-Na'ī al-sharīf (ibid., No. 9644)*; Shāh Muḥammad 'Umar, *Istishfā' wa-Tawassul bi-Āthār al-Ṣāliḥīn wa-Saiyid al-Rusul* (Dihli, 1319 H.); René Basset, *Les empreintes merveilleuses (Revue des Traditions Populaires, vols. vii.—xxii., passim)*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 362 sq.; P. Anastase Marie de St. Eli, *Le culte rendu par les Musulmans aux sandales de Mahomet in Anthropol.*, v. 363—6; R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus in Orientalist. Literaturzeit.*, 1913, p. 115—8.

(T. W. ARNOLD.)

ḲADAR. The contradictory statements of the Ḳur'ān on free will and predestination show that Muḥammad was an opportunist preacher and politician and not a systematic theologian. It has been demonstrated (Grimme, *Einleitung in den Koran*, vol. ii.) that his predestinarian position steadily hardened towards the close of his life, and the earliest conscious Muslim attitude on the subject seems to have been of an uncompromising fatalism. *ḲDR* was the root used most generally to express it (see, too, ḲADĀ' and appears to mean primarily "to measure, estimate" and then "to assign specifically by measure" as though Allāh "measured out" his decrees. On the early opposition to this, which showed itself apparently before A. D. 700 and under Christian influences, see ḲADARĪYA. In the course of the conflict two extreme views and two mediating views developed, the mediating views becoming those possible in orthodox Islām. All could appeal to Ḳur'ānic texts and to traditions. The traditions are, of course, in great part shadows thrown back from the later controversies. They may be found in al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* and also in part of the *Kitāb al-Ṭibb*; see, too, al-Ash'arī, *Kitāb al-Ībāna*, Haidarābād, p. 84 sqq. (*Bāb al-Riwāyāt fi l-Ḳadar*). The Djabriya [q. v.] were absolute predestinarians; man had no part at all in the actions which apparently proceeded from him. This became an heretical position in Islām. The other extreme, that man produced his own actions, was that of the Ḳadarites who eventually merged in the Mu'tazilites. At first they did not venture to

use the word "create" (*khalk*) — Allāh alone was *khāliq* — of this producing, but employed supposedly safer terms, such as *idjād*, *ikhtirā'*, but eventually they came to speak of man "creating" his actions. The intermediate, orthodox, parties were the Ash'arites and the Māturidites. Of these the Ash'arites had thought out their position most logically, while the Māturidites stated simply the evident facts in the case. The basis of the upholders of free will seems to have been ethical; the justice (*adl*) of Allāh requires man's freedom. But orthodox Islām in general cared little for that, although some, as al-Taftāzānī and al-Rāzī, spend dialectic on the point. It maintained the Pauline parallel of the potter and the vessels; Allāh could do what he pleased with his own. The orthodox difficulty was rather man's consciousness of freedom. This the Māturidites met by admitting that man did possess "free choice actions" (*af'al ikhtiyārīya*) for which he is rewarded or punished" (al-Nasafi, *Aḳā'id*, ed. with comment. of al-Taftāzānī, Cairo 1321, p. 97). Man knows the difference between a voluntary grasping and an involuntary trembling, but the contradiction of this with the absoluteness of Allāh's creative power is left unsolved. Al-Ash'arī introduced the idea of *ikhtisāb* [see KASB] "accepting for one's self": man accepts for himself the action of Allāh and this accepting is man's consciousness of free will. Apparently al-Ash'arī meant that this consciousness was only another part of Allāh's creative action. Man is still an automaton although part of his machinery is that he believes himself free. Between the two wide scope was left even in orthodox Islām for discussion. The ultimate, scholastic, Ash'arite statement, denying that man possesses any action at all — which must not, however, be taken for the only possible one in Islām — will be conveniently found in al-Faḡālī's, *Kifāyat al-'Awāmm* with al-Baidjūrī's commentary, and in Luciani, *Prolégomènes théologiques de Senoussi*. This attitude struck so deep that even al-Ḡhazālī, and that even at the end of the wonderful psychological analysis of the book of the *Iḥyā'* on "the marvels of the heart", could quote with approval the tradition: "These to Heaven and I care not, and these to Hell and I care not" (ed. with comm. of al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, vii. 308); (cf. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 301). For *ḡadar* among mystics see art. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀḲ above.

Bibliography: von Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrsch. Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig 1868, p. 29 sqq.; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, etc., Leiden 1875, p. 42 sqq.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 95 sqq.; A. de Vlieger, *Kitāb al-Ḳadr*, especially for traditions, cf. also Goldziher's review in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.* lvii. 392 sqq.; Krehl, *Über die koranische Lehre von der Prädestination*, etc. in *Bericht über die Verhandl. der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Leipzig*, phil.-hist. Kl., xxii. (Leipzig 1870); Salisbury, *Muhammadan Doctrine of Predestination and Free Will, Journal of the Am. Or. Soc.*, viii. 152; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1179 sqq.; al-Rāzī in *Mafātiḥ*, Cairo 1308, on Ḳur. liv., 49, vii. 571 sqq. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḲADARĪYA is given regularly as a descriptive or surname (*laḡab*) of the Mu'tazila, but it points back to a pre-Mu'tazilite time when the Muslims were beginning to ask theological questions and

disinclination to fill the office of judge. Traditions were put into currency in which the Prophet was made to utter grave warnings against accepting the position of kādī. Pious fakīh's e. g. Abū Ḥanīfa [q. v.] declined to fill the office of judge.

For many centuries past no Muslim judge has any longer come up to the original theoretical requirements of the law; therefore any existing kādī is regarded by Muslim scholars only as *kādī 'l-ḡarūra*, i. e. as an emergency kādī, to whom one must go, in default of a better.

On the history of the office of kādī and of the kādī's see: R. J. H. Gottheil, *The Cadi, the History of this Institution in Revue des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, i. (1908), p. 385—393; *The History of the Egyptian Cadi as compiled by Abu Omar Muhammed al-Kindi*, ed. by R. J. H. Gottheil, New York 1908 (with an introduction); cf. *The Governors and Judges of Egypt of al-Kindi*, ed. by R. Guest (Gibb Mem. xix.), 1912; and also the important remarks on the office of kādī in Cordova by Ribera in the introduction to his edition of al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-Kuḍāt bi-Kurtuba* (*Hist. de los Jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxani*, Madrid 1914; cf. Hādījī Khalifa, ii. 141, n^o. 2279).

The Prophet and the early Caliphs often decided disputes in person as judges, as did their governors and prefects in the various provinces. Justice was always administered in Muslim lands to a great extent by local authorities, notably the police officials. This was sometimes called *Naẓar fi 'l-Maẓālim* (al-Māwardī, ed. Enger, p. 128 sqq.; H. F. Amedroz, *The Maẓālim Jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1911, p. 635 sqq.; de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*², i. 132 sqq.).

Moreover 'Umar and 'Uthmān and their successors had appointed special officers as judges (*kādī*). These kādī's, who always belonged to the *fakīh* class, never obtained an independent position in Islām. They were often dismissed — soon after their appointment — and always remained subject to the caprice of the ruler. Cf. for example *Autobiographie d'Ibn Khaldoun*, transl. M. de Slane, Paris 1844, p. 103—110 (*Journ. Asiat.*, 4th Ser., iii. 328 sqq.).

The kādī's had not only to decide cases but they had also to administer pious foundations (*wakf*'s) and the estates of orphans, imbeciles and other persons. They had often to draw up contracts of marriage for women without male relations, etc. The chief kādī in the capital was one of the high officials (al-Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭat*, Bulāk 1270, i. 403). In eastern countries he was called *kādī 'l-kuḍāt*, in the western *kādī 'l-djamā'a* (Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arab.*, ii. 363b). In later times the *kādī 'l-askar* was also a high official (cf. al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, iv. 36; *Autobiogr. d'Ibn Khaldoun*, p. 102, *Journ. As.*, 4th Ser., iii. 327; J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, ii. 378 sqq.). Some kādī's were military leaders.

In the large cities, where numerous adherents of the different *fiqh* schools lived together, a kādī was appointed, if necessary, for each *madhhab*. For example, there were in later times four kādīs in Cairo. (Quatremère, *Hist. d. sultans mamlouks*, i. 1, p. 98, Note; *Autobiogr. d'Ibn Khaldoun*, loc. cit.).

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goliouth, *Omar's Instructions to the Kadi* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1910, i. 307—326); al-Māwardī (ed. Enger), p. 107 sqq. (French transl. by E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, p. 131 sqq.); al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṭār* (Bulāk 1297), viii. 495 sqq.; al-Dimashki, *Rahmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'emma* (Bulāk 1300), p. 108 sqq.; al-Sha'rānī, *al-Mizān al-kubrā* (Cairo 1279), ii. 211 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère (*Not. et Extr.*, xvi. 397 sqq. (ed. Cairo 1327, p. 245 sqq.)), trad. par de Slane (*Not. et Extr.*, xix. 448 sqq.); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 182 sqq.; do., *Anzeige von Sachau's Muham. Recht*, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, liii. (1899), p. 138, 154 sqq.; do., *Moḥammedanism*, New-York 1916, p. 110 sqq.; do., *The Achehenese*, i. 94 sqq.; I. Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, ii. 39 sq.; A. von Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients* (Wien 1875), i. 415—419; H. F. Amedroz, *The Office of Kadi in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1910, p. 761—796; vgl. 1909, p. 1138—1146; Th. W. Juynboll, *Hanab. des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 309 sqq.; E. Sachau, *Muhamm. Recht nach schafitischen Lehre*, p. ix.—xi., 696 sqq.; E. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Chapt. on Government; Ph. Vassel, *Über Marokkanische Prozesspraxis*, in *Mitth. d. Seminars für orient. Sprachen*, 1902, v. 2nd Sect., p. 170 sqq.; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, ii. (Paris 1790), 267—283; J. v. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* (Wien 1815), ii. 372 sqq.

(Th. W. JUYNBOLL.)

AL-KĀDĪ AL-FĀDIL, ABŪ 'ALĪ 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMED B. AL-ḤASAN AL-LAKHMĪ AL-BAISĀNĪ AL-'ASKALĀNĪ, MUḤYĪ (MUḌJIR) AL-DĪN, Saladin's celebrated vizier, was born on 15 Djumādā ii. 529 (3 April 1135) at Asḳalān [q. v.] where his father, a native of Baisān, called al-Kāḍī al-Ashraf, filled the office of judge. In 543/4 (1148—9) his father placed him in the *Diwān al-Inshā'* in Cairo as a learner. By 548 (1153) he had entered the service of Ibn Hādīd, kādī of Alexandria, as secretary. As his elegant reports from there attracted attention to him in Cairo, he was summoned thither as superintendent of the *Diwān al-Djaish* by al-'Ādil Ruzzīk b. al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'ī, the last representative of the vizier-family of the Banū Ruzzīk. When the latter soon afterwards was overthrown by Shāwar, prefect of Kūs, al-Kāḍī al-Fāḍil became secretary to Shāwar's son Kāmil and after Shāwar's murder to Shirkūh, his successor in the office of vizier. In 563 (1167—8) he became deputy for Ibn al-Khallāl, chief of the *Diwān al-Inshā'*, under whom he had begun his official career and on the latter's death on 23 Djumādā ii. 566 (March 4, 1171) was appointed his successor, Saladin having in the meanwhile taken over the vizierate. When in the next year, on the death of the last Fāṭimid, Saladin himself assumed the rule in Egypt, al-Kāḍī al-Fāḍil became his right hand man in carrying through the reforms necessary in the army and taxation. He then accompanied the Sultān on his campaigns in Syria. He was in Egypt from 585 to 586 (1189—90) to control the financial administration and re-equip the army and navy. He then returned to Syria and remained with Saladin till the latter's death on 27 Ṣafar 589 (March 1193). When al-

Malik al-Afdal, who had taken over the government in Damascus, very soon jeopardised his authority by stupid measures, al-Ķāḍī al-Fāḍil went to Egypt to al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. War soon afterwards broke out between the two brothers, but in 591 (1195) peace was made through the mediation of al-Ķāḍī al-Fāḍil. He thereupon retired into private life. He died suddenly on 6 or 7 Rabiʿ ii 596 (26 or 27 Jan. 1200). Of the numerous state documents which al-Ķāḍī al-Fāḍil composed during his activity in the *Diwān al-Inṣhāʾ*, many examples are preserved in MSS. and in Abū Shāma. Helbig gives a complete list (p. 67—75). In addition there is his correspondence with Usāma b. Muḩkiḩ concerning the latter's *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā* from the *Khariḍa* of ʿImād al-Dīn in H. Derenbourg, *Nouv. Mcl. Orient.*, p. 147—52; *Vie d'Ousāma*, French transl., p. 383—392. During his official career he also edited an official journal, *Mutaḍjaddidāt*, of which al-Maḩrizī gives many specimens in the *Khitaṭ*. These are not only notes on official letters and the answers to them but reports also on important happenings in the kingdom or on gifts of honour granted by the Sultān.

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AL-ĶĀḌĪ AL-HARAWĪ. [See AL-ʿABBĀDĪ.]

ĶĀḌĪ KHĀN FAKHR AL-DĪN, AL-ḩASAN B. MAṢṢŪR AL-UḌḩANDĪ AL-FARḩĀNĪ, was a ḩana fī Muṭī and scholar who composed a large number of esteemed juristic works and commentaries on ḩana fī works. In particular his collection of legal decisions (*Fatāwī Ḷāḍī Khān*, in 4 vols. lith. Calcutta 1835; with the subsidiary title *al-Fatāwī al-Sirāḩiyya*, lith. Lucknow 1293—5; pr. Cairo 1282) has become widely known on account of its convenience. He died in Ramaḩān 592 (1196).

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(TH. W. JUVNBOLL.)

ĶADĪM. [See QĪDAM.]

AL-ĶĀDIR, the Mighty, one of the most beautiful names of Allāḩ; cf. Aḩmad b. al-ḩusain al-Baiḩaḩī, *al-Asmāʾ wal-Ṣifāt*, Allāḩahāḩ 1313, S. 15; Redhouse, *The Most Comely Names*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1880, S. 49.

AL-ĶĀDIR BIʿLLĀH, ABU ʿL-ʿABBĀS AḩMAD B. IṢḩĀḶ, ʿAbbāsīd Caliph. After the deposition of al-Ṭāʿī, his cousin Abu ʿL-ʿAbbās Aḩmad was proclaimed Caliph in Ramaḩān 381 (Nov. 991) with the name al-Ķādir. The latter was a grandson of al-Muḩtadir; his mother was a slave. During his long reign he was entirely under the influence of the amīrs ruling in Bagḩdād and only once did

he give evidence of having a mind of his own. This was when the Būyīd Bahāʾ al-Dawla [q. v.] wished to replace the Sunnī chief ḩāḩī by a Shīʿī but his plan was frustrated by the opposition of al-Ķādir, whereupon the Shīʿīs were given a superior of their own under the title *naḩīb* “intendant”. For the rest, all heretics, notably the Muʿtazilites, were treated with the greatest severity. In this period arose the dynasties of the Marwānīds, the ʿUḩailīds and the Mirdāsīds, and the Ghaznawīd kingdom attained its greatest prosperity, while the internal disruption under the Būyīds increased, and the ḩamdānīds and Sāmānīds, which latter had long been a bulwark against the Turks, collapsed. Al-Ķādir died in ḩhu ʿl-ḩiḩḩiḩa 422 (Nov.-Dec. 1031) at the age of over 80. He is also mentioned as the author of some theological treatises.

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ĶĀDIRIYA, Order (*ṭarīḩa*) of dervishes called after ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Dīlānī [q. v.].

1. Origin. ʿAbd al-Ķādir (ob. 561 = 1166) was the principal of a school (*madrasa*) of ḩanbalite Law and a *ribāṭ* in Bagḩdād. His sermons (collected in *al-Faṭḩ al-Rabbānī*) were delivered sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other; both were notable institutions in the time of Ibn al-Aṭḩir, and Yāḩūt (*Irṣḩād al-Arib*, v. 274) records a bequest of books made to the former by a man who died in 572 (1176—7). Both appear to have come to an end at the sack of Bagḩdād in 656 (1258), till when it is probable that their headship remained in the family of ʿAbd al-Ķādir, which was numerous and distinguished. In the *Bahḩjat al-Asrār*, where an accurate account of his descendants is given (pp. 113—117), it is stated that ʿAbd al-Ķādir was succeeded in the *madrasa* by his son ʿAbd al-Waḩḩāb (552—593 = 1157—1196), who was followed by his son ʿAbd al-Salām (ob. 611 = 1214). Another son, ʿAbd al-RazzāḶ (528—603 = 1134—1206—7), was a notable ascetic. Several members of the family perished during the sack of Bagḩdād, when it would appear that both these institutions came to an end.

A *ribāṭ* was at this time distinguished from a *ṣāwīya*, the former being a *coenobium*, the latter a place where an ascetic lived in solitude (al-Suḩrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Māʿarif*, margin of the *Iḩyāʾ*, Cairo 1306, i. 217). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *ṣāwīya* had come to be used in the former sense also, and his description of the religious exercises practised at the *ṣāwīya* (i. 71) would probably suit what went on at ʿAbd al-Ķādir's *ribāṭ*. The body of rules and doctrines which had his authority was sufficient to constitute a system (*madḩḩab*; *Bahḩja*, p. 101), and by accepting the *ḩīrḩa* from the *ṣaīḩḩ* the *murīd* signified that he subordinated his will to that of the former (al-Suḩrawardī, i. 192). A long list is given in the *Bahḩja* of men who attained various degrees of distinction who had received the *ḩīrḩa* from ʿAbd al-Ķādir, two of them at the age of seven and one at the age of one. These persons were said to “ascribe themselves” (*intasaba* or *intamā* or even *tasammā*) to

‘Abd al-Ḳādir, and could bestow the *khirka* on others as from him; in doing so they would stipulate that the *murīd* was to regard ‘Abd al-Ḳādir as his *shāikh* and director after the Prophet. In a tradition which is likely to be apocryphal (*Bahdja*, p. 101), dated 592 (1196), ‘Abd al-Ḳādir declared that assumption of his *khirka* was not absolutely necessary for entry into his Order; personal attachment to himself was sufficient. It would appear that during his lifetime several persons carried on propaganda in favour of his system; one ‘Alī b. al-Ḥaddād obtained proselytes in Yemen, and one Muḥammad al-Baṭā’ihī, resident in Baalbek, did likewise in Syria; one Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, also of Baalbek, was another propagandist, and one Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad in Egypt “ascribed himself to ‘Abd al-Ḳādir and in treading the Path relied on him after God and His Apostle” (*Bahdja*, pp. 109, 110). Since all who ascribed themselves to him were promised Paradise, the Order is likely to have been popular; and even in recent times missionaries in Africa appear to have little difficulty in obtaining fresh adherents to it (cf. O. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, ii. 33).

That ‘Abd al-Ḳādir’s sons had some share in spreading it is likely, though Ibn Taimiya (ob. 728 = 1328) mentions that he had associated with one of his descendants who was an ordinary Muslim and not a member of it, and so did not agree with those who held fanatical views about him (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, p. 124). The *Bahdja* however does not bear out Le Chatelier’s assertion (*Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, p. 35) that in ‘Abd al-Ḳādir’s life-time some of his sons had been preaching his doctrine in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Turkestan and India. It says much of ‘Abd al-Razzāk, but nothing of the “mosque now in ruins, whose seven gilded domes have often served as the subject of description by Arabic historians”, which this son is supposed to have built. Indeed this mosque appears to be later than Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (740 = 1339-40), the first author later than the *Bahdja*, who mentions ‘Abd al-Ḳādir’s tomb (*Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, transl. Le Strange, p. 42). Nor does it confirm the statement that this ‘Abd al-Razzāk introduced the use of music in the ritual, and indeed the employment of this was earlier than ‘Abd al-Ḳādir’s time, and is discussed by al-Suhrawardī (ii. 116) without allusion to ‘Abd al-Razzāk. E. Mercier (*Histoire de l’Afrique Septentrionale*, iii. 14) asserts that the Order of Ḳādiriya existed in Berbery in the xiith century A.D., and was closely connected with the Fāṭimides (whose rule terminated 567 = 1171), but he gives no authority for these statements.

Al-Suhrawardī holds that the exercises of each *murīd* should be determined by his *shāikh* in accordance with his individual needs, whence it is unlikely that ‘Abd al-Ḳādir instituted any rigid system of *dhiḳr*, *wird* and *ḥisb*, and indeed those in use among different Ḳādiri communities differ (Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 183 *sqq.*). The initiation ceremonies given on Turkish authority by J. P. Brown (*The Dervishes*, p. 98) are quite different from those furnished by Rinn on North African authority. In one of these latter there is a tendency to set ‘Alī above Muḥammad and to insist on the importance of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, which cannot well represent the views of the Hanbalite ‘Abd al-Ḳādir. The *wird* of ‘Abd al-Ḳādir in *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniya* is given on the

authority of one ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-‘Adjāmī, who lived 185 years (536—731), and may be regarded as mythical.

2. Development. Ḳādirism seems from an early period to have developed on different lines according as ‘Abd al-Ḳādir was regarded as the founder of a system involving rites and practices, or as a worker of miracles. In the latter direction it meant the deification of ‘Abd al-Ḳādir, the extremists holding that he was Lord of Creation after God, absolutely, whereas the more moderate supposed that he was so only in his own age (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, l. c.). The latter was the view of Ibn ‘Arabī, who takes him as an example of a *khalīfa* who showed himself and practised sovereignty (*taṣarruf*; *al-Fuṭūḥāt al-Makkiya*, ii. 407); such a *khalīfa* in his system is independent of the revelation to Muḥammad (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, § 16). But there was also a theory that ‘Abd al-Ḳādir practised in his grave all the activities (*taṣarruf*) of the living (Ibn al-Wardī [ob. 749], *Ta’rikh*, ii. 70); and Ibn Taimiya (*al-Djawāb al-Ṣāḥih*, i. 323) mentions him among saints who in his time still appeared to people, being in reality impersonated by demons. In the initiation ceremonies recorded by J. P. Brown, l. c., the candidate for admission to the Order sees ‘Abd al-Ḳādir in dreams; in one case so often and so clearly that without having seen ‘Abd al-Ḳādir’s portrait he could recognize him among a thousand. The form of Ḳādirism which means the worship of ‘Abd al-Ḳādir seems to prevail in North Africa, where it is called *Djilālism* (for *Djilānism*), and whole communities are called *Djilāla*. Their system has been described as the application of Sūfī mysticism to beliefs that are certainly pre-Islamic, and the materialization of that mysticism under the form of a cult of hidden subterranean powers (E. Michaux-Bellaire in *Archives Marocaines*, xx. 235). Here the word *khalwa* is used for a heap of stones where women attach rags to reeds planted between the stones and where they burn benzoin and styrax in postsherds (*ibid.*, xvii. 60). Such *khalwa*’s are to be found in all the Arab villages. Similarly “in the province of Oran on all the roads and on the summits of the chief mountains *qubbah* are to be found in the name of ‘Abd al-Ḳādir Jilālī” (E. de Neveu, *Ordres Religieux chez les Musulmans d’Algérie*, p. 30). The society of the Genawah or Negroes of Guinea has placed itself entirely under the protection of Mawlay ‘Abd al-Ḳādir with all his array of male and female demons; wherein M. Michaux-Bellaire finds traces of the powers which, according to the Qur’ān (and even earlier authorities) belonged to Solomon. The cult of ‘Abd al-Ḳādir is most ardently practised by the women in the *Khloṭ* and *Tlik*, who come to the *khalwa* for every sort of object, and to satisfy their loves and hates in all the acts of their existence. The men on the other hand chiefly go to the *khalwa* when they are ill (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi. 329).

That this development is inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy is evident, and it is attacked by such authorities as Ibn Taimiya and Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī (*I’tisām*, i. 348 *sqq.*). The system to which the name Ḳādiriya is more ordinarily applied differs from other orders mainly in ritual, although, through circumstances connected with its origin, “it has not that homogeneity of statutes which is to be found in other congregations, which seem to form small exclusive churches outside which

there is no salvation" (Rinn, p. 186). Though the founder was a Hanbalite, membership is by no means confined to that school, and the Order is theoretically both tolerant and charitable.

3. Geographical Distribution. Since historical and geographical works rarely distinguish between the different *ṭuruḥ* in their accounts of religious buildings, little can be said with certainty of the date at which the first Kādiri *zāwiya* or *khānqāh* was established in any country save 'Irāk. The Order is said to have been introduced into Fez by the posterity of two of 'Abd al-Kādir's sons, Ibrāhīm (ob. 592 = 1196 in Wāsit) and 'Abd al-'Aziz (who died in Djiyāl, a village of Sindjar); they had migrated to Spain and shortly before the fall of Granada (897 = 1492) their descendants fled to Morocco. The full genealogy of the Shurafa' Djlāla of Fez is given in *Arch. Maroc.*, iii. 106—114, on the authority of *al-Durr al-Sanī* of Ibn al-Tayyib al-Kādiri (1090 = 1679), who claims to have used a series of authentic documents. The *khālwa* of 'Abd al-Kādir in Fez is mentioned as early as 1104 = 1692/3 (*ibid.*, xi. 319). The order was introduced into Asia Minor and Constantinople by Ismā'il Rūmī, founder of the *khānqāh* known as the Kādirīkhānah at the Top-khānah. This personage (ob. 1041 = 1631), who is called *Pir khānī*, "Second Shaikh", is said to have founded some 40 *tekiye's* in these regions (*Qāmūs al-A'lām*). A Kādiri *ribā'ī* in Meccah is mentioned by Šāliḥ b. Mahdī in *al-'Alam al-Shāmikh*, p. 381, about 1180 (1669/70), but the assertion that a branch was established there during the lifetime of 'Abd al-Kādir (Le Chatelier, *o. c.*, p. 44) is not improbable, since Meccah has a natural attraction for the Šūfis. In the *A'in-i Akbari* (about 1600; transl. Jarrett, iii. 357) the Kādiriya Order is mentioned as one that is highly respected but is not included among those recognized in India; nor does there appear to be any allusion to it in the list of Indian Šūfis in the *Ma'āthir-i Kirām* (1752), though some other Orders are noticed, and 'Abd al-Kādir himself is mentioned. Yet see Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii. 604 and art. INDIA, p. 489.

Some statistics (to be received with caution) of the Kādiris and their *zāwiya's* are given by Depont et Coppolani (*Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, pp. 301—318). Much of its development is admittedly recent, and may be due to the fame won by the namesake of 'Abd al-Kādir who for so many years resisted the French occupation of North Africa [see i. 43 sq.]. It is doubtless represented in all Islamic countries, though it would appear that certain derived *ṭuruḥ* enjoy greater popularity in many places. Thus the Kādirism of Touba in Guinea, which has become a distinct sign whereby the Diakanke tribe can be recognized, is derived through the Sidia from the Kādirism of the Kounta of Timbuctu (P. Marty in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xxxvi. 183). These Kounta however form a *filiale* of the Kādiriya, and some of them prefer to call themselves *Shādhiliya* (*ibid.*, xxxi. 414).

4. Organization. The Kādiri community acknowledges nominal allegiance to the keeper of 'Abd al-Kādir's tomb in Baghdad, and the deeds of investiture published by Rinn, p. 179, and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, ii. 513 and ix. 290, are from this source. It would seem however that the actual authority of this per-

sonage is chiefly recognized in Mesopotamia and India. The latter periodically send gifts which form the main source of the revenues of his establishment; the members of this family find it worth while to learn Urdu. The Meccan *zāwiya's* are subject to the *Shaikh al-Ṭuruḥ*, who has the right to nominate their *muḥaddam*. The Egyptian branch is under the control of the Sayyid al-Bakrī, who is also *Shaikh al-Ṭuruḥ*; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak (iii. 129; see also P. Kahle in *Der Islam*, vi. 154) reckons the order as one of the four which go back to a *ḥutb*, but asserts that it has neither *furū'* nor *buyūt*. In Africa, according to Rinn, each *muḥaddam* names his successor; in the event of one dying without having nominated, an election is made by the *ikhwān* at a *ḥaḍra*. The approval of the head of the order in Baghdad is then solicited, and has never been refused. The organization of the Order in North Africa is described somewhat fully by Rinn, Depont et Coppolani, in the works cited. The system appears to be in general congregational, i. e. the *zāwiya's* are independent, and the relation between them and the central institution in Baghdad is very loose. The principle whereby the headship of a *zāwiya* is hereditary is generally recognized.

5. Symbols and Rites. The sign of the Turkish Kādiris is said to be a rose which is green, having been adopted by Ismā'il Rūmī. The candidate for admission to the Order after a year brings an *'araḳiya* or small felt cap, to which if the candidate be accepted the *Shaikh* attaches a rose of 18 sections, with Solomon's Seal in the centre. This cap is called by them *tadji*. The symbolism of this is explained by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 98 sqq. (copied by Wilberforce Clarke, transl. of *Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, p. 159; the Urdu translation *Kashf Asrūr al-Mashāyikh* adds nothing to Brown's information). According to him, they prefer the colour green, though they allow others; in Lane's time the turbans and banners of the Kādiris in Egypt were white; most members of the Order were fishermen, and they in religious processions carried upon poles nets of various colours (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i. 306). In India there are festivities in honour of 'Abd al-Kādir on 11 Rabi' II, and pilgrimages are made in many places in Algeria and Morocco to the *zāwiya's* and shrines of the saint (Rinn, p. 177). The *Mawsim* of the Djlāla at Salé is described at length by L. Mercier in *Arch. Maroc.*, viii. 137—139; it commences the seventh day of the *Mulud* (*Mawlid*), i. e. the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and lasts four days 17—20 Rabi' I. Sheep and oxen are presented to the descendants of 'Abd al-Kādir. M. Michaux-Bellaire distinguishes in Morocco between the ceremonies of the Kādiriya, who recite the *ḥizb*, and the Djlāla, who recite the *dhiḳr* to the accompaniment of instruments; and again between the Djlāla of the country, whose instruments are the *bender* (a sort of big tambourine without bells) and *'awāda*, and those of the town, whose instruments are the *ṭebila*, *ṭabal* and *ghaiṭa* (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi. 330 and xvii. 60). A description of the *ḥaḍrat al-mallūk*, a performance executed with these last instruments, which leads to ecstasy, is given by him in the first passage cited. He further records some special ceremonies connected with the Awlād Khalifa in the Gharb (*ibid.*, xx. 287). All the Hilālī of the Gharb are Djlāla, and in all the *ḥaḍra's* (services) of the

Djilāla the presence of at least one *Khalīfī* is necessary for the direction of ceremonies, and when no actual *Khalīfī* is present, some one there takes the name in order to perform the priestly duty. The origin of the name *Awlād Khalīfa* is obscure (p. 284); it may be noticed that the *Bahdja* mentions one *Khalīfa* b. *Mūsā* al-Nahrimaliki as having played a leading part in the propagation of 'Abd al-Qādir's system. "The *ḥadra* of the *Djilāla* of the country contains neither the *ḥizb* nor the *dhikr* instituted by the *Shaikh*, but a plain *dhikr* of improvised words in the ceremonial rhythm of the *banādīr* (plur. of *bender*). These improvisations always terminate with the words "Thus spake Mawlay 'Abd al-Qādir" or "O Mawlay 'Abd al-Qādir!" (Michaux-Bellaire, p. 288).

Various collections of rituals supposed to have been recommended by 'Abd al-Qādir have been published in Egypt, Turkey and India. In *al-Fuṣṣat al-Rabbāniya* he who is about to enter upon *khalwa* (retreat) is advised to fast in the day and keep vigil at night. The *khalwa* lasts forty days. "If a figure reveal itself to him saying "I am God", he should say "nay rather thou art in God", and if it be for probation, it will vanish; but if it remain, then it will be a genuine revelation (*tadajjalī*)" (Dihli 1330, p. 60). Reduction of food during the 40 days should be gradual till for the last three fasting is complete. At the end he returns by degrees to his former diet.

Some practices peculiar to the *Djilāla* of Tangier are recorded by G. Salmon (*Arch. Maroc*, ii. 108). Those who make vows to 'Abd al-Qādir are in the habit of depositing in the *sāwiya* white cocks, which are called *muḥarrar* (Sūra iii. 31); they do not kill them, but leave them free to rove about the *sāwiya*, where however they do not long survive; the *Sharīf* who lives hard by takes them for his food. The four daughters of a deceased *Sharīf* continued to live on the revenues of the *sāwiya* and carry away the *muḥarrar* fowls. The *muḥaddam* at this *sāwiya* was the *Sharīf*, who conducted the ceremonies at which the *Qur'ān* is repeated without the *ḥizb* of 'Abd al-Qādir being pronounced, and where dances similar to those of the *Ṣawīs* [q. v.] are performed. Circumcisions are performed at the *sāwiya* on the first day of the *mawlid*. A nightly meeting called *laila* is held on the eve of this day, at which the *ḥizb* of 'Abd al-Qādir is recited. At El-Qsar, where there are also some local practices, all the potters belong to the *Djilāla*, among whom the richer members of the community are to be found (*ibid.*, ii. 163).

The first time that the *Qādirīs* appear to have played a political part was during the French conquest of Algeria, when the chief of the *Qādiriya* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, having been offered the leadership in the war against the infidel, permitted his son 'Abd al-Qādir to accept it. This person was able to utilize the religious organization of his order in order to establish the sovereignty which the French had accorded him, and when his sovereignty was threatened could fall back on his rank as *muḥaddam* of his order to win fresh recruits (H. Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910, p. 800, 863 etc.). Since the fall and exile of this personage it would appear that the *Qādirīs* in Africa have lent their support to the French government. "In 1879 when there was a local insurrection in Aurès the *shaikh* of the *Qādiriya* of Menā'a, Si Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, displayed unim-

peachable loyalty [s. art. AWRAS, i. 532a]; and the same order helped the French government to extend their influence in the Sahara at Wargla and El-Wad. Their *Nā'ib*, Si Muḥammad b. Tayyib, fell on the French side at the battle of Charouin, March 2, 1901." (Israel Hamet, *Les Muselmans Français du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1906, p. 276). — In the Ottoman revolution of 1908 it is said that their sympathies were with the revolutionists, but that for fear of being outdone in religious zeal by the rival *Rifā'i* order they joined in Baghdad in the "pogrom" against the Jews (L. Massignon in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, vi. 461).

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AL-QĀDISIYA, the name of several places in the 'Irāk and in Mesopotamia:

1. A town in the 'Irāk, on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 8 miles S. E. of Samarrā. With the latter it seems to have been closely connected in its period of prosperity. We do not know what special part al-Qādisiya played at that time. Perhaps, as Herzfeld, (*op. cit.*, p. 107) suggests, it is really identical with the town of al-Qātūl which Hārūn al-Rashīd or the Caliph al-Mu'tasim began to build before the foundation of Samarrā. Yāqūt and other Arab geographers mention the glassworks of al-Qādisiya. In the middle ages the important Dujail canal left the Tigris opposite the town. The ruins of al-Qādisiya lie in Lat. 34° 5' N., between the two still existing out of the former three Tigris canals, called al-Qātūl; they are a short quarter of an hour distant from the bank of the Tigris. The old name has survived and is now popularly pronounced *Djādisiya* (occasionally corrupted to *Djāsiya* and *Djālisiya*). We owe full accounts of these ruins particularly to Ross and Jones; E. Herzfeld also has recently investigated the ruins. Jones gives a plan of the ruins of the town, which Herzfeld says is entirely correct.

The enclosing walls which measure about 6000 paces form a regular octagon. They are flanked by towers at the corners and defended by 16 bastions at intervals. They were built of bricks which in technique, plan and preservation resemble the castra of Samarrā. According to all criteria, these ruins belong — in Herzfeld's opinion — to the 'Abbāsīd period, not to an older one. Ten minutes from al-Qādisiya, just on the river bank, are also mounds of ruins, called al-Ṣanam. They mark the site of a mediaeval or ancient town, half of which has already been washed by the Tigris. On a remarkable find of statues made here, see Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, 1836, ii. 152. Al-Ṣanam perhaps was within the area of al-Qādisiya and is to be regarded as its port.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḍjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 9, 13; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 228—9; Lynch in the *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xviii. (1848), p. 5; H. Kiepert, in the *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1883, p. 25, 27; M. Fhr. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer*

zum persischen Golf (Berlin 1900), ii. 229; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen* (Leiden 1900 sq.), i. 33, 223—4; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i. (1911), p. 105—7 (where the references to Rich, Ross, Jones are given).

2. A town in the 'Irāk, SSW. from Kūfa, a station on the pilgrim road from Baghdād to Mecca. According to the itineraries of the Arab geographers, it was 15 Arab (= Roman) miles from Kūfa. Al-Ḳādisiya was situated in the western part of the Ṭaff, that steppe region rising above the Babylonian cultivated country (*al-Rif*) and characterised by springs (e.g. that of al-'Udhaib), which forms the transition to the high plateau of the Arabian desert. This Ṭaff in the Sāsānian period was protected by a series of watch-houses (*maslaḥa's*) and a great wall and ditch (*khandaḳ*) from the raids of Arab tribes. The last village of the Ṭaff, just before entering the desert, was al-'Udhaib, also a station on the Baghdād-Mecca road already mentioned. The distance between it and al-Ḳādisiya, with which it was connected by two walls was 6 (according to another source, 4) Arab miles. On the geographical conception of the Ṭaff cf. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 539 and Seybold in the *Orient. Lit. Zeitung*, vi. (1903), col. 241—4. The breadth of the 'Irāk is usually measured by the Arab geographers by a line which runs from Hulwān in the northeast to al-Ḳādisiya (or al-'Udhaib) in the southwest; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, i. 2, 5.

The exact location of al-Ḳādisiya was unknown until quite recently. An attempt had been made to identify it with the early Muḥammadan ruins of al-Ukhaidir (25 miles S.S.W. of Kūfa) — for example by Ritter, *op. cit.*, xi. 956, Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London 1857), p. 64 note, and Justi in the *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 546. This identification, however, is to be definitely rejected as erroneous. Besides, Ritter, *op. cit.*, x. 186 places al-Ḳādisiya much too far north, while the locations of al-Ḳādisiya and al-'Udhaib given by Wagner (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1902, p. 257—9) are fairly correct. A. Musil, on his journey of exploration in 1912, was the first to rediscover the real site of al-Ḳādisiya, cf. his report in the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wien. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1913, i. 11 (12 of the reprint). Musil there remarks that the spring al-'Odeyb rises in the valley of of Mseyzīz; "on the left bank of that valley, on the edge of a swampy *hōr* we were shown the ruins of al-Ḳādisiyye or Dār al-Ḳāzī (= Ḳādisiya)". According to the map which Musil appends to his essay in the *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, xxix. (1916), p. 461, the ruins mentioned are situated in 31° 45' N. Lat. and 44° 8' E. Long. (Greenwich) directly south of Nadjaf and 19 miles from Kūfa.

The locality of Ḳāides which Beauchamp in his excursion to the ruins of Babylon in 1760 heard of as the find-spot of a statue some considerable distance away (see the reprint of his account of his journey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, x. 190) is perhaps also identical with the remains of al-Ḳādisiya discovered by Musil. Ḳāides is probably = Ḳādis, the shorter form of the name, which is occasionally found alongside of Ḳādisiya, as for example in an old Arab poet (see al-Bakrī, ed. *Wüstenfeld*, p. 226), in al-Ṭabarī, etc. Firdawsī

writes Ḳādisī and Ḳādisiya. In the neighbourhood of al-Ḳādisiya there was a village called al-Ḳudais, "little Ḳādis". The poets give the whole district round al-Ḳādisiya the collective name al-Ḳawādis.

The Arab geographers of the ivth (xth) century (al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawkal, al-Muḳaddasī) describe al-Ḳādisiya as a small town with two gates and a mud fortress, in the midst of cultivated fields and groves of date-palms, watered by a canal led from the Euphrates, the last running water in the 'Irāk. In ancient times the inner arm of the Persian Gulf seems to have stretched up to the region of al-Ḳādisiya. The main arm of the Euphrates once flowed, as al-Mas'ūdī notes (*Murūāj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 215), towards al-Hīra, where its ancient bed was still visible and was called al-'Atīḳ "the old (river)". It took its course between al-Ḳādisiya in the north-east and al-'Udhaib in the southwest; at al-Ḳādisiya there was a bridge across it called Dījir al-'Atīḳ or Dījir al-Ḳādisiya.

In the Sāsānian period al-Ḳādisiya played a prominent part as an important frontier town of the Persian empire. It was not till the Muḥammadan period that the town became very famous on account of the decisive battle fought in its vicinity, with which the Arab opened their second campaign against the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris in the most successful fashion. The Muslim army was under the command of Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās, while the Persian troops were led by the imperial commander-in-chief Rustam. Statements differ very considerably regarding the numbers on each side; the number given for the Arabs varies from 6 000 to 38 000 and that for the Persians 30 000 to 120 000 men. The latter were undoubtedly superior to the Muslims in strength. The estimate of an almost contemporary Armenian historian may be fairly near the truth when it puts the Persians at 80 000 men and the Arabs at 9—10 000, besides the Syrian reinforcements of 6 000 men who arrived in the last stage of the fight.

It was only after the two sides had stood watching each other for weeks that they joined battle. The battle lasted three (or four) days. These days in the specifically 'Irāk tradition have special names, which are probably to be explained as place-names. In spite of all the heroic courage of the Arabs, the balance would finally have turned in favour of the Persians, if at the critical moment of the decision the troops hurried from Syria had not arrived in time. Their rapid and vigorous intervention decided the victory of the Arab arms. It was, however, not a cheap victory for the Muslims, as about a third of their whole force perished. About the doubtless very heavy Persian losses the accounts are contradictory. The Persian commander in chief Rustam was captured and killed in the heat of battle. Very considerable booty was taken by the victors. The most important trophy was the Persian imperial standard said to date from the early Iranian period (on it see Sarre in *Klio*, iii. 358 sq.), Dirafsh-i Kāwīyan, which was cut in pieces and distributed. In the fighting with the retreating Persians the Arabs also captured the celebrated treasure of Nakhardjān (properly Nakhwergān) which consisted of valuable ornaments for women; cf. on it Nöldeke in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxiii. 523—4.

The glorious day of al-Ḳādisiya, which made the Arabs masters of the 'Irāk west of the Tigris, is

one of the most celebrated events in the great period of the Muslim conquests. It laid the foundations for the supremacy of the religion of Muhammad in the nearer east. Of course tradition has woven many legends round the victory; it is frequently mentioned in the older Arab poetry.

The date of the battle is very uncertain. The statements in the different sources vary from the years 14 to 16 (635—637). One thing is certain that the battle was fought in the spring and that Basra was founded after it. Wellhausen (*op. cit.*, vi. 72) decides for 15 (636), while Caetani prefers 16 (637) (*op. cit.*, p. 629—633); see also Justi, *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 546.

The Armenian historians call the battle after Hira (Armen. Herthican); see the account by Sebeos in Hübschmann, *Zur Geschichte Armeniens und der ersten Kriege der Araber* (Leipzig 1875), p. 14 and Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 685).

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In addition to the two towns mentioned above, Yāḳūt knows three other places called Ḳādisiya, namely two villages in the district of al-Mawṣil, on the Nahr al-Ḳhāzīr between al-Mawṣil and Irbil, and a third near Dījazira b. 'Omar in Mesopotamia; see Yāḳūt, *al-Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 337. Ibn al-Aṭhīr also mentions an al-Ḳādisiya near Baghdād (*op. cit.*, xii. 91). We also find the shorter form al-Ḳādis beside al-Ḳādisiya, e. g. for the battlefield (cf. above), for a village near Herāt (see *al-Mushtarik*, p. 337; al-Balādhuri, p. 409, 2) and near Marw al-Rūdh (Yāḳūt, iv. 7, 7). Probably in all these place-names, as Nöldeke suggests (*Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxiii. 1623), we have to deal with traces of a lost people of unknown nationality, namely the Ḳādisīaeans, who appear in Syriac literature of the vth and vith centuries as a wild warlike people in the region of Sindjār. The places called al-Ḳādisiya and al-Ḳādis in Mesopotamia, Babylonia and on Persian territory are perhaps to be explained as settlements of branches

of this stock, made by the Sāsānīan kings. Of the celebrated al-Ḳādisiya near Kūfa, it is at least definitely stated that its name comes from Ḳādis near Herāt, from which the garrison of the fort belonging to the military cordon on the frontier had come. Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 157 sq., 162; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Xorēnaḡi* (*Abhandlungen der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1901), p. 77, 78. (M. STRECK.)

ĶĀDJĀR (*ḡajar* "marching quickly"; cf. Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughat-i Ćaghatai*, Stambul 1298, p. 214), the name of the present ruling dynasty of Persia. It takes its origin from the Turkoman tribe of the same name settled in the district of Astarābād [q. v.], but which had not always been there. Persian historians assert that it is a branch of the great tribe of Djalāir [q. v.] and that it takes its name from Ḳādjār Noyān, son of Sertāk Noyān, who had been the tutor of Ghāzān Khān [q. v.]; this Sertāk is without doubt the same as he who was put to death by Baidū [q. v.], because he was a partisan of Gaikhatū [q. v.] in 694 (1295) (Waṣṣāf, Bombay 1269, iii. 282; d'Ohsoun, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 115). This tribe had, it is said, settled on the frontiers of Syria after the reign of Abū Sa'īd [q. v.], in 736 (1335); Timūr is said to have brought it back to Persia and into Turkestan, its native country, in 803 (1200). It was one of the seven Turkoman tribes which placed the Ṣafawī dynasty on the throne of Persia. To it belonged Shāh Ḳulī *Kurē* (body-guard), who was twice appointed ambassador to treat for peace with the Turks in 962 (1555) and in 975 (1567) (Pečewi, i. 327, 334; v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Fr. transl., vi. 69, 320; Riḡā Ḳulī Khān, ix. 2 is wrong in giving the date 969). In 995 (1587), Shāh 'Abbās I finding them too numerous divided the tribe into three groups: 1. at Merw against the Uzbegs; 2. at Gandja and Eriwān; 3. at Astarābād in the fortress of Mubārakābād which he had just built; those who established themselves in the high part were given the name *Yokharbāsh*; those who lived in the lower part adopted the name *Ashak bāsh*. The object of settling them in this region was to protect it from the inroads of the Turkomans from beyond the frontier.

A member of the Astarābād branch was Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān, the son of Shāh Ḳulī b. Mahdī Khān b. Wali Khān b. Muḥammad Ḳulī. To avenge the death of his two brothers he seized Astarābād. In 1135 (1723) he went to the defence of Isfahān against the Afghans at the head of 1000 horsemen; but being denounced to Shāh Ḥusain as dangerously ambitious he returned to his province, abandoning the Ṣafawī king to his unfortunate destiny. Called to their help by the people of Ray, he fought without success against the Afghans at Ibrāhīmābād in Warāwin, and returned to Māzandarān to offer his services to Shāh Tahmasp. During the advance on Meshhed he was executed by order of Tahmasp's general Nādir (the later Nādir Shāh) on 14th Safar 1139 (12th 1139 Oct. 1726) (Mahdī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Nādiri*, Tibriz 1266, p. 21).

His son Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, pursued by Nādir Shāh, took refuge with the Turkomans, collected supporters there and recaptured Astarābād, which he lost a little later again; it was then that the two obelisks of decapitated heads were built (*Kellemanār*) which Hanway saw (illustration in *Historical Account of British trade*, London 1753,

vol. 1., reproduced in Sykes, *History of Persia*, 2nd ed., ii. 270). Muhammad Ḥasan went to the tribe of Dāz, who expelled him under threats from Nādir. He then lived in the desert, where he heard by chance of the assassination of Nādir Shāh. He thereupon retook Astarābād (1166 = 1747). He was next attacked by Karīm Khān Zand, who besieged him for 40 days, then raised the siege and abandoned his camp (1165 = 1752). In 1168 (1755), Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.] seized Meshhed and sent Pesend Khān at the head of 15 000 horsemen to attack Muḥammad Ḥasan's possessions, but this army was defeated at Sabzawār. Muḥammad Ḥasan followed up this success by conquering Kāzwin and Gilān. He marched on Isfahān. Karīm Khān lost the battle of Gulūnābād, fought four parasangs from this town, and fled to Shirāz. In 1169 (1756) he seized Ādharbaidjān, where the Afghān Azād Khān was in command; he annexed this province in 1170 (1757) and appointed as its governor his son Agha Muḥammad Shāh, then aged 18. Next year he marched on Shirāz but his army melted away owing to scarcity of provisions. He then had to suppress several local revolts. His troops, exhausted by their continual marches, abandoned him; he returned to Astarābād with a body of *Ashaqbash* and his own private servants. Defeated in a fight with Shaikh 'Alī Khān in the desert of Karāk, the feet of his horse sank in the mire and in this position he was killed by the Kurd Sabz 'Alī, one of his servants who had gone over to the enemy (1171 = 1758).

Husain Kulī Khān, second son of the preceding, surnamed Djahān-Sūz on account of his courage and fearlessness, entered the service of Karīm Khān who also attached to his court Agha Muḥammad Khān then aged 30. The latter went to Shirāz; his family settled in Kāzwin. Appointed governor of Dāmghān, but carried away by his ambition, Husain Kulī attacked Astarābād and there gave himself up to plunder and massacre. He seized Māzandarān and surprised at Bārfurūsh, the capital of Māzandarān, the governor appointed by Karīm Khān, Mahdī Khān. He was shot in his tent by rebel Yomūt Turkomans at the age of 27. He was the father of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh [q. v.].

Kādjār Dynasty.

Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān, born 1097 (1685) or 1104 (1693); accession 1133 (1721); died 1139 (1726—27); buried at Khwādja Rabi', near Meshhed.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, born 1127 (1715); accession 1164 (1751); died 1172 (1758—59); buried at Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm.

Husain Kulī Khān, surnamed Djahān-sūz, born 1164 (1751); accession 1184 (1770); died 1191 (1777); buried at Astarābād.

1. Agha Muḥammad Shāh, born 1155 (1742); accession 1193 (1779); died 1211 (1796—97); buried at Nadjaf (Meshhed 'Alī).

2. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, born 1185 (1771); accession at Teherān 1212 (1797—98); died 1250 (1834) at Kumm. — 'Abbās Mirzā, *nā'ib al-saltāna*, born 1203 (1788—89); died in Khorāsān before his father (1249 = 1833—34); buried at Meshhed.

3. Muḥammad Shāh, born 1222 (1807); accession 1250 (1834); died 1264 (1848); buried at Kumm.

4. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, born 1247 (1831—

32); accession 1264 (1848); assassinated in 1866.

5. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, born 1269 (1853); accession June 8, 1896; died 14 January 1907.

6. Muḥammad 'Alī, born 1289 (1872); accession January 19, 1907; abdicated July 16, 1909.

7. Aḥmad Shāh, born 1314 (1898); attained his majority in 1914.

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KĀDR (A.) another pronunciation of KĀDAR [q. v.].

KĀDRĪ, a Persian poet who commemorated the capture of the island of Kishm and of the town of Hormūz by 'Abbās I in two short epic poems, *Djāngnāma-i Kishm* and *Djārūnnāma*. The former is edited by L. Bonelli in the *Rendiconti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, vi., Semester 1, fasc. 8. Cf. Ethé in the *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, ii. 237.

KĀF, the 22nd letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numerical value 20; cf. the article ABDJAD). The pronunciation of *kāf* as an unvoiced palatal explosive, found as early as Sibawaihi, has survived in modern academic speech. In the present day popular speech we find some variants (in addition to *k*) notably the affricate *č* (< *c* < *k*). Cf. the article ARABIA, ARABIC DIALECTS, i. 396b; and Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Index.

(A. SCHAADÉ.)

KĀF, the 21st letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numerical value 100; cf. the article ABDJAD). The form of the character goes back to the Nabataean *kāf* and later in Arabic was assimilated in form to *fā*, so that it had to be distinguished from the latter by pointing (cf. the article ARABIA, ARABIC WRITING, i. 383b and plate I). In Sibawaihi's time *kāf* was pronounced as a velar *g*. This pronunciation is still frequently found among Beduins and peasants; in the ordinary popular language, however, *kāf* is usually pronounced as *hamza*; for other modern popular pronunciations of *kāf* see the article ARABIA, ARABIC DIALECTS, i. 396b. The modern academic pronunciation is *k* (i. e. velar *k*). Cf. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Index. — Kāf is also the title of Sūra I. of the Qur'an. (A. SCHAADÉ.)

KĀF in the cosmology of Islām is the name of the mountain range surrounding the earth. On the shape of the earth there were different opinions among the later Muslims:

cf. al-Kāzwinī, i. 143 sq.; al-Dimashkī, *Nukhbāt al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 9; Ibn al-Wardī, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and thereon Zenker in Lane, *op. cit.*, ii. 229, 231 sq.; Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i. p. clxxx sq. and Radloff-Hochheim in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlvii. 220. Like the Hebrews and the Greeks in the period of Homer, Hesiod and the Ionian physicists, the ancient Arabs usually regarded the earth as a quite flat, circular disc. Muḥammad, to judge by passages in the Kurʾān, entirely agreed with this view. The view held in the sacred revelation as well as in Tradition is still shared in Muslim countries by great masses of believers. The mountain Kāf is separated from the disk of the earth by a region impassable to men. This, according to a statement of the Prophet (see the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*), is a dark stretch which it would take four months to cross. Another view connected with Greek and Iranian ideas regards the earth as immediately surrounded by a stinking, unnavigable body of water called *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt* or *Uḫyānūs* (Okeanos), which in whole or part is veiled in deep darkness and whose shores no one knows (cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 19; al-Kāzwinī, i. 104, 10; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 73; Zenker in Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 232, 234; Reinaud, *op. cit.*, ii. 1., p. 23 sq.). The whole, earth and sea, is then held together by the mountain wall Kāf as by a ring.

From the descriptions given notably by Yāḳūt, al-Kāzwinī and Ibn al-Wardī, Kāf is a formation of green emerald, the reflection of which causes the green (to us: blue) of the heavens. Slightly diverging from this, another version says that only the rock (*al-ṣakḥra*) on which the mountain Kāf proper rests is of a kind of emerald. This rock is also called *al-watad*, the peg, because God created it as a support for the earth. The earth cannot support itself by its own strength — so some think —, it therefore requires a prop like this. If Kāf did not exist, the earth would — as the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī says — be constantly trembling and no creature could live on it.

There were, however, more complicated views regarding the "bearers" of the earth. As the earth — so relates a tradition in al-Kāzwinī, i. 145, 16 sqq.: — at first swayed to and fro unsteadily, God created an angel who took it on his shoulders and held it with his hands (a reminiscence of the heaven-supporting Atlas). This angel stands on a quadrangular block of green jacinth which in its turn is borne by a gigantic bull, which rests on a fish swimming in the water. Ibn al-Wardī (p. 12, 15 sq.) gives a similar account, emphasising that Kāf arises out of the above mentioned block of jacinth. Another variant in Ibn al-Wardī (p. 13, 17 sq.) gives a still larger number of earth-bearers (but leaving out the angel) partly in a different order, for example, the rock supports the bull. For further variants see Wensinck, *The Ocean* etc., p. 18 (and the quotation in note 2), also J. Meyer, *Die Hölle im Islam* (Basel 1901), p. 46. The Muslim Persians describe the animal supporting the earth sometimes as a bull (cf. Ḍjāmī, *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā*, ed. Rosenzweig, Vienna 1824, p. 13, 5 sq., and thereon Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, p. 190b; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 946a), sometimes as a monster, half bull and half fish (*gāwī māhī*; Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers, p. 38, l. 59; 444, l. 190, and cf. Vullers, *Lex.*, ii. 947a). Baghdād folklore also

knows the bull and fish as bearers of the earth; cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii. (Leipzig 1861), p. 301. Among the inhabitants of the Red Sea coast, the belief prevails, that the earth rests on the backs of colossal bulls, see E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, i. (Frankfurt a. M. 1838), p. 256. Al-Kāzwinī gives for the bull and fish the names of the Biblical monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, and thus shows definitely that the Muslim idea is connected with the old Biblical views, which again can in the last resort be traced to the Babylonian Chaos-tradition. The basic idea of the bull supporting the earth is, as Reinaud (*op. cit.*) has emphasized, also to be found in India. The rock already mentioned as supporting the earth and as the starting point of the mountain Kāf may well be associated with the stone *Shetiyya*, which Jewish legend regards as the navel-stone of the earth sunk by God in the depths of chaos or primeval ocean, and as the support of the world. For the Jewish legend cf. Feuchtwang in the *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judentums*, liv. (1910), p. 724 sq.; W. H. Roscher, *Neue Omphalos-Studien* (*Abhandl. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*), xxxi. (1915), p. 73 sq. It may be added that a tradition in al-Kāzwinī (i. 144, 23) also gives the view that God made the world stand without any band or support.

According to a very popular idea, Kāf is the origin of all the mountains of the world. They are connected with it by subterranean branches and veins; if God wants to destroy any region, he simply orders one of these branches to be set in motion, which causes an earthquake. According to a different popular view, an earthquake is caused because the bull supporting the earth sometimes trembles under its burden.

Kāf which is inaccessible to man is regarded as the end of the world; its name is therefore used as a symbol for this; cf. e. g. a verse in Ḍjāmī's *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā* (ed. Rosenzweig), p. 1, 14. This mythical mountain forms the boundary between the visible and the invisible world. No one knows what lies behind; God alone knows the creatures that live there. Many say (cf. Ibn al-Wardī, p. 188) that the area behind Kāf belongs to the next world, is a land white like silver, 40 days' journey long and is the abode of angels. According to an alleged saying of Muḥammad (see Zenker in Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 236), there are still other lands beyond Kāf: one of gold, 70 of silver, 7 of musk, each 10 000 days' journey long and broad and all inhabited by angels. It is also said that Kāf as well as the region behind it is the abode of the *Djinn*. Kāf itself is especially known as the abode of the fabulous bird *Simurgh*, a kind of vulture, which is essentially the same as the *'anḳā'* [q. v.] of the Arabs. Existing since the beginning of the world, this marvellous bird retired in monastic solitude to Kāf and lives there contented and satisfied, a wise councillor consulted by the kings and heroes of the past. Kāf, his residence, is therefore simply called "Mount of Wisdom" in poetry, symbolically also "Mount of Contentment". In his celebrated work, *Mantiḳ al-Ṭair* ("The Dialogues of the Birds"), the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [see 'Aṭṭār] describes the wandering of the Ṣūfī through the seven stages which the soul has to pass through till its complete merging into God, in the allegory of a very difficult, adventurous flight by a bird through

the seven valleys up to Mount Kāf, the throne of its all wise king Simurgh.

Kāf plays a part also in Arab fairy tales; in the *1001 Nights* it is several times mentioned. Oddly enough a number of Qurʾān expositors explain the title of Sūra 1., the letter Kāf, as the name of the mountain Kāf.

In a narrower sense and localised on the earth, Kāf means that part of the Asiatic highlands which bounds the Muslim world in the North, especially the Caucasus and its spurs in Northern Persia. For this reason Demāwēnd, the scene, celebrated in the *Shāhnāma*, of the wonderful exploits of old Persian rulers and heroes is represented as the home of the Simurgh [see i. 937^b].

There can hardly be a doubt that the Muslim idea of the mountain Kāf in the wider (mythic) and narrower sense is borrowed in its main features from the Persians. With them Alburz (Alburj), old-Persian Hara-berezaiti ("the high mountain"), is originally the mythical mountain at the end of the earth which, like the Hellenic Olympus, also contains the palaces of the Gods. From the Avestan account one must regard the Hara-berezaiti as the backbone of the mountain system of the earth; for all other mountains of the world have grown out of it by subterranean connections. The Hara-berezaiti was imagined to be a range of mountains enclosing not only the whole earth but also a lake, named Wurukasha, which is likewise at the end of the earth, but according to the *Bundehesh*, does not surround it. In the geography of this Pehlewi work moreover the name of Mount Kāf is actually found; cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastriische Studien* (Berlin 1863), p. 7, 73, 75 Note 1. Alburz was next located on the earth itself and identified with the mountain-wall which encloses the world of Iranian civilization in the north. The name Alburz (Elburs) is thus found in several places to-day as the name of a mountain or range on the borders of the Iranian linguistic area, notably as the name for the chain which culminates in Damāwand. (cf. ALBURZ, i. 251). It should be emphasised that Yāqūt (*op. cit.*) expressly says that Kāf in ancient times was called Alburz; see also Mustawfi, *Nushat al-Kulūb* (Gibb Mem., xxiii, i.), p. 191 sq.). Geiger (*op. cit.*, p. 51) thinks that Lake Wurukasha originally meant a definite locality (Lake Aral or the Caspian Sea), but as early as the *Avesta* it often appears removed into the region of myth. On Haraberezaiti-Alburz and Wurukasha (Vārukasha) cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 42 sq.; Fr. Spiegel in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vi. 85, and in *Erānische Altertumskunde*, i. 191 sq. (Leipzig 1871); W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum* (Erlangen 1882), p. 42 sq.; F. v. Andrian, *Der Höhenkultus asiatischer u. europäischer Völker* (Vienna 1891), p. 287 sq.

An idea nearly related to that of the Iranian cosmology is found among the Hindus also. In their literature, especially in the *Purāṇas* mention is made of the fabulous mountain girdle Lokāloka, which separates the visible world from the invisible world and beyond which nothing but darkness reigns. On Lokāloka cf. Spiegel in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vi. 86, and J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London 1879), p. 180. According to the teaching of the Jains, the ring-shaped moun-

tain Mānuṣottara, that lies in the centre of the continent Puṣkaravara, is the limit of mankind; cf. Jacobi in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lx. 312.

That the Muslim idea of Mount Kāf possesses its prototypes in the analogous Indian and Iranian ideas of the mountains bounding the world, Lokāloka and Haraberezaiti-Alburz, was previously pointed out by Gesenius (*op. cit.*, p. 317) and Rosenzweig (*op. cit.*, p. 185).

Closely connected with the Muslim view is that of the Mandaeans. According to them (cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii. (Leipzig 1861), p. 452), the disk of the earth is surrounded by the ocean except on the north where a great mountain of rock of the purest turquoise cuts off the sea. Immediately adjoining this turquoise mountain, the reflection of which causes the blue of the sky, lies the pure world stretching to the north. Very probably the Mandaeans got their idea from Muslim sources. The contrary view of de Goeje (Ṭabari, *Annales*, Introd., p. cdxvii) that the Arabs got the idea of Kāf from Mandaean mythology, seems less plausible.

The idea of a frontier range to be located in the north, as found in the narrower interpretation of the ideas of Haraberezaiti-Alburz and Kāf (cf. especially the Mandaean legend) was widespread in Asia, notably among the peoples of the ancient East. It probably owed its origin to Babylonian cosmology, which locates its cosmic mount of the gods in the north; on the Babylonian-Assyrian view cf. Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig 1881), p. 29, 117 sq.; Fr. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.*, ii. (Munich 1900), p. 345 sq., and Zimmermann in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd ed., Berlin 1903), p. 353, 355, 620. The traces of the existence of a similar view among the ancient Hebrews can still be seen in the Biblical books (cf. especially Isaiah xiv. 13); cf. thereon W. Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaja*, ii. (Leipzig 1821), p. 316 sq., where the analogous non-Biblical views are fully discussed; Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaja* (7th ed., Leipzig 1898), p. 134. Among the Hindus Meru which, according to the usual Buddhist view, is the centre and navel of the earth (cf. W. Foy in *Festschrift E. Windisch*, Leipzig 1914, p. 213 sq.; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 253, Index, and Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien*, Leipzig 1915, p. 72), is sometimes also interpreted as the Himalaya mountains bounding India on the north. For the Greeks, the mount of the gods, Olympus in Thessaly, marked the north frontier of their home.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 18, cf. i. 154, 4–6; Abu 'l-Fida', *Takwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 19, 376; al-Kazwini, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 170; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿAdjā'ib* (ed. Cairo 1324), p. 13, 13 sq., 118, 3 sq.; al-Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Cairo 1325), p. 4; (Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir), *Kitāb al-Bad' wal-Ta'rikh*, ed. Huart, ii., Text, p. 6, 37, 46 sqq., trans. p. 6, 35, 44, 46, iii., Text, p. 140, trans., p. 146 (*Publ. de l'Ec. des Lang. or. viv.*, 4e sér., xvii., xviii.); Pers. version of Ṭabari by Balʿami, trans. Zotenberg (*Chronique de Tabari*), i. (Paris 1867), p. 33; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 706a; W. Gesenius, *op. cit.*, ii. 323 sq.; Rosenzweig in his edition of Džāmi, *Yūsuf u. Zalikha* (Vienna 1824), p. 185, 200; E. W.

Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3d ed. (London 1842), i. 334, 336; and German translation by J. A. Zenker (Leipzig 1852), ii. 30, 232, 235 sq.; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i. (Paris 1848), p. clxxxi—ii.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, ii. (Berlin 1862), p. 469—470; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth in Verhänd. der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterkunde, N. R., xvii. No. 1 (Amsterdam 1916), esp. p. 5 sq., 37 sq.; do., *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, *ibid.* xix. No. 2 (1918), esp. p. 17—18. — The monograph by J. L. Rassmussen, *De monte Caf commentatio* (Dissert., Havniae 1811), was inaccessible to me.

(M. STRECK.)

KAFA or **KAFFA**, also written **AL-KAFA**, a mediaeval town on the south shore of the Crimean peninsula, called in ancient times and again at the present day Theodosia (originally a Milesian colony). The name *Kāfa*, *Kafá* or *Kafā*, is first found in Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (*De administr. imperio*, Ch. 53). Sauromates V, king of Bosphorus, is said to have been killed there in the fourth century in single combat with Pharnaces of Chersonesus. The view has been put forward (F. Köppen, *Krimskiy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, p. 107) that the name may be identical with the *κᾶπον* mentioned in Strabo, Ch. 312. With these exceptions, Kafa is never mentioned till the xiiith century. As a harbour on the south coast of the Crimea, for trading-vessels as well as for war-ships, we always find *Sughdāk* (even as late as the reference in *Recueil de Textes rel. à l'Hist. des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iii., iv. see, Index), the modern *Sudak*.

Kafa only rose to prominence in the second half of the xiiith century, when the Genoese established themselves in the Crimea after the republic of Genoa had purchased this place from a Tatar chief. This chief is usually believed to have been the Ūrān Timūr, mentioned by Abu 'l-Qhāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 173), son of Tūkai Timūr, and grandson of Djūti, to whom the Khān Mōngke Timūr (1266—1280) had granted Kafa and the Crimea; the name is written by Abu 'l-Qhāzī (p. 178), Ūz-Timūr, by Rashid al-Din (ed. Blochet, p. 126), Ūrang Timūr; but a consul of Kafa is mentioned as early as about 1263. It was not till the xivth century that "Gazaria" or "Gazzaria", the colony founded by the Genoese on the Black Sea with Kafa as its capital, became of considerable importance. It was controlled by the "officium Gazariae" in Genoa and its statutes (1316); the administration remained in the hands of the metropolites with a limited participation by the local population. The statutes of 1290 and 1316 expressly forbid the minting of a local currency but in the xvth century this was, in practice at least, allowed; the coins (with Latin and Tatar inscriptions) bear the badge of Genoa (after 1453, when the administration of the colony was placed in the hands of the Bank of St. George, the representation of this saint) as well as the seal (*tamgha*) of the Golden Horde (afterwards the *tamgha* of the Girāy; cf. ii. 171^b). After 1318 Kafa appears as the see of a Catholic Archbishop, whose diocese comprised the whole area from Varna to Sarāi on the Volga and from the Black Sea to the Russian dukedoms. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (about

1330) describes Kafa as "one of the famous ports of the world" (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 358: *min marāsi 'l-dunya 'l-shahira*) of his time. In the harbour there were about 200 naval and mercantile ships. The Muhammadans there had their mosque and *kādi*. By the treaty of 1380 however, the Tartars could only live in the suburbs beyond the city walls; this limitation seems to have again been removed later. In the statutes of 1449 it is only laid down that Tartars living in Kafa are not to be subject to the *Titanus seu vicarius* i. e. the *Tudun* of the Khān of the Crimea. The fortifications still in existence belong in part to the period 1341—48 (successful wars against the Khān of the Golden Horde, Djānibeg), in part to the period 1383—86 (building of the city-walls as a protection, not only for the city proper (*burgus*), but for the suburbs (*antiburgi*) also. About 1470 the population is said to have been 80,000. As early as a letter from the Bank of St. George to the Pope Calixtus VI (1455—58), of Nov. 1, 1455, in which attention is drawn to the danger threatening the Black Sea colonies from the Turks, Kafa is described as *non ambitu quidem moenium sed populorum multitudine Constantinopoli facile praeferenda*.

The Turkish conquest, inevitable after the fall of Constantinople (1453) and Trebizond (1461), could not be long averted by the Christians of the Latin East either with their own forces or the oft summoned help of the Girāy (to whom Kafa was in some degree dependent from 1434, when a Genoese army was defeated by Ḥadjīdī Girāy). In 1475 the whole peninsula had to submit to the Turks; the south shore with Kafa was directly incorporated in the Sultān's empire and divided into three *kādilīk* (Kafa, Mankūb and *Sudāk*) with a Pasha in Kafa. Under Bayazīd II (1481—1512), at the time of the first Russian embassy (1498), this office was filled by a son of the Sultān, Muḥammad (this information does not seem to be found in Turkish sources, as it is only given by von Hammer, *Gesch. der Osmanischen Reiches*, 2nd ed., Pest 1834—36, i. 646, from Karamzin, *Ist. Gos. Ross.*, 2nd ed. St. Petersburg, 1818—29, vi. 169 sq. = *Gesch. des Russ. Reiches*, transl. from the 2nd edition, Riga 1824, vi. 215). For a short period the revenues of Kafa were occasionally surrendered to the Girāy; Kafa appears as a mint of the Girāy under Mengli Girāy from 899—906 (1493—1501) and again not till the reign of Shāhin Girāy, regnal years 5 and 6 i. e. 1195, 1196 (1781—82).

Under Turkish rule Kafa (Turkish pronunciation *Kefe*) gradually assumed the appearance of a Muhammadan town, although many Christian churches remained in existence. The most detailed description is by Dortelli d'Ascoli 1634 (Russ. transl. in *Zapiski Odesskago Obshch.*, etc., xxiv.; text publ. by Dashkewich in *Čteniya w. istor. obshch. Nestora lietopisca*, Book 5), who had spent over ten years in the Crimea at the beginning of the xviith century. There were then in Kafa 70 mosques, 2 synagogues (one for Rabbaites and the other for Karaites), 15 Greek, 28 Armenian (according to Beauplan [1660], 12 Greek and 32 Armenian) churches and only one Catholic. The principal mosque (*büyük džami*), later described by Pallas in 1794 (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südliche Statthalterschaften des russ. Reiches* i. d. J. 1793 u. 1794, Leipzig 1801, ii. 262), stood

in the centre of the town; the dome of the main building, over 65 feet in diameter, was surrounded on three sides by eleven smaller cupolas; the two minarets were 115 feet high. A decline in the prosperity of the town under Turkish rule was noticed by Broniewski as early as 1578; as the world's trade had taken other routes, the shores of the Black Sea no longer had their former importance; yet to the end of Turkish rule Kafa remained the most important harbour on the north side of the Black Sea. Chardin (*Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, i. 46 sq.) says that in his 40 days' stay there (Aug.—Sept. 1672) he saw nearly 400 ships arriving and departing. In the town there were then about 4,000 houses of which 3,200 were Muslim and 800 Christian; there were no stone buildings with the exception of 8 churches in ruins (apparently dating from the Genoese period). Even in the xviiith century Kafa was still compared with Constantinople by the Turks and called Little Stambul (*Küçük İstambul*).

In 1771 Kafa was taken for the first time by the Russians, but not finally incorporated in the empire till 1783. According to the oldest Russian plan of the city, there were then 29 mosques, 13 Greek and 22 Armenian churches, and 813 houses of which 694 were Turkish. In the description of the journey of the Empress Catherine in 1787 we already find the old Greek name (Russ. Feodosia) reappearing; the town is later called Kafa again and only definitely renamed in 1804. In the very early years after the conquest began the forced migration of the Turks and the voluntary of the Tatars; about 1794 (Pallas) Kafa had already "from a once celebrated and populous town become almost a mound of stones". About 1802 it is said to have had only 200 inhabitants. The Russian harbour of Feodosia, whose prosperity only began in the last decade of the xixth century (railway connections, building of commercial docks, Sebastopol being the naval port), must thus be regarded as a new foundation on the site of the Turkish Kafa. The number of the inhabitants, according to the census of 1899, was 27,238 (in 1894, only 17,000), of whom only 3,200 were Tatars. The Museum (founded in 1811) contains many inscriptions and other antiquities, particularly from the Genoese period.

Bibliography: cf. BAGHČE-SARĀI [i. 563a]; the works, mentioned there, by Broniewski, Pallas, etc., as well as the *Zapiski Odesskago Obščestwa Istorii i Drevnostei* are indispensable for the study of the history of Kafa. In the *Zapiski* (from Vol. ii. to xxiv) the material from the archives of Genoa published in Italy (*Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*) is utilised. On the coins: O. Retowski, *Genuesko-tatarskija moneti goroda Kaffi* (Simferopol 1897 and 1898). Cf. also F. Brun, *Černomorje*, i. (Odessa 1879), chap. 11 (*O poselenijakh italjanskikh w Gazarii*); J. Kulakowskiy, *Proshloye Tawridi*, 2nd ed. (Kiew 1914). An attempt at a connected survey is W. K. Minogradov, *Feodesiya (Istoricheskiy Očerok)*, 2nd ed. (Jekaterinodar 1902). Cf. also M. G. Canale, *Della Crimea* (Genoa 1855) and Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant* (Leipzig 1885/6), Ind. s. v. *Caffa*. (W. BARTHOLD.)

KAFĀLA (A.), the pledge given by any one (the *kafil*) to a creditor (the *makfūl lahu*) to secure that the debtor (the *makfūl bihi*) will be present at a definite place e. g. to pay his debt

or fine or, in case of retaliation, to undergo punishment.

If the *makfūl bihi* is not there at the time arranged, the guarantor can be kept prisoner till the debtor comes or until it is proved that he cannot come (e. g. because he is dead).

As to the question whether the guarantor is bound to pay for the *makfūl bihi* or to suffer his punishment, the opinions of the different *madhhab's* vary. According to the *Shāfi'i* school, he is not bound to do so, not even if he has expressly bound himself to do so.

Bibliography: al-Bādjūrī, *Hāshiya 'atā Sharḥ Ibn Kāsim al-Ghazzī* (Bulāq 1307), i. 395 sq.; E. Sachau, *Muhammedan. Recht nach schafiiischer Lehre*, p. 405 sqq.; al-Dimashki, *Rahmat al-Umma fi 'khitāf al-'A'imma* (Bulāq 1300), p. 81; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 483—486. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

KAFF (A.), a technical term in Arabic prosody. It means the dropping of the seventh, vowelless consonant of a foot, which ends with *sabab khafif* (see the article 'ARŪP, i. 463b). The following feet are liable to *kaff*: 1. *maf'ā'ilun*, provided that the *i* remains (> *maf'ā'ilu*); 2. *fā'ilātun* and *mustaf'ilun* (the latter in the *khafif*), provided that the next foot beginning with a *sabab khafif* does not suffer *khafn* (> *fā'ilātu*, *mustaf'ilu*). [In the last mentioned case four short syllables would follow in succession! Editor]. *Kaff* is therefore found in the metres *ṭawil*, *madid*, *ramal*, *khafif*, *hazaj* *muḡarī* and *muḡdithth*.

Bibliography: See the article 'ARŪP.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

KAFFĀRA (A.), atonement, expiation, literally, what "covers" the sin. The *kaffāra* has usually to consist in releasing a Muslim slave or — for those who are not sufficiently well off — in a three days' (and in some cases even two months') fast or as a substitute — for those who are not able to fast — in bestowing food or clothes on a definite number of poor people (from 10 to 60).

In some cases the *Qur'ān* has already prescribed a definite *kaffāra* for the sinner, e. g. *Qur'ān* iv. 94, after killing by accident or by design, *Qur'ān* v. 91, to avert the evil consequence of breaking an oath, *Qur'ān* lviii. 4 sq., if a man by pronouncing the old Arab *ghīr* formula has sworn to refrain from all sexual intercourse with his wife.

These and many other cases (e. g. the breaking of the fast prescribed in the month of Ramaḡān by fornication or marital intercourse during the day) were afterwards more precisely defined by the *fakih's* and fully described in the *fiqh* books of the different *madhhab's*.

Bibliography: Ibn Kāsim al-Ghazzī, *Fatḥ al-Karīb*, ed. L. W. C. van den Berg, p. 262, 266, 500, 568, 662; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 122, 225, 267, 298. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

KAFĪL. [See KAFĀLA.]

KĀFIR (A.), originally "obliterating, covering", then, "concealing benefits received" = "ungrateful"; this meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the *Qur'ān*, *Sūra* xxvi. 18. In the *Qur'ān* the word is used with reference to God: "concealing God's blessings" = "ungrateful to God", see *Sūra* xvi. 57 and xxx. 33: "That they are ungrateful for our gifts"; cf. also *Sūra*, xvi. 85. The next development — probably under

the influence of the Syriac and Aramaic where the corresponding development took place earlier — is the more general meaning of "infidel" which is first found in Sūra lxxiv. 10 and is henceforth very common; plural *kāfirūn* or *kuffār*, once (Sūra lxxx. 42) *kafara*. The term is first applied to the unbelieving Meccans, who endeavour to refute and revile the Prophet: Sūra l. 2 and elsewhere. The subject of incredulity is sometimes more nearly defined with added *bi-*, e. g. Sūra xxxiv. 33: "We do not believe in your mission"; Sūra vi. 89. In the early Meccan period a waiting attitude towards the unbelievers is still recommended (Sūra lxxxvi. 17; lxxiii. 10 *sq.*; see also Sūra cix. entitled *al-Kāfirūn*), but later the Muslims are ordered to keep apart from them (Sūra iii. 114, also 27), to defend themselves from their attacks and even to take the offensive against them (Sūra ii. 186 and elsewhere). In most passages the reference is to unbelievers in general, who are threatened with God's punishment and Hell (cf. the article DJAHANNAM).

In the literature of Tradition also the *ḥadīths* — with minute elaboration in details — deal partly with the fate of the *kāfir* on the day of judgement and his punishment in hell, and partly with the believer's attitude towards him. For the rest they reflect the great controversy in early Islām on the question whether a Muslim should be considered a *kāfir* for committing a "major sin" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Kit. al-Īmān*, Bāb 22). Thus we find *ḥadīths* such as: "If a Muslim charges a fellow Muslim with *kufr*, he is himself a *kāfir*, if the accusation should prove untrue"; or "The reproach of *kufr* is equivalent to murder" etc. Nevertheless, *kāfir* in theological polemics is a fairly frequent term for the Muslim protagonist of the opposite view.

Eternal damnation for the *kāfir*, has remained an established dogma in Islām. In the dogmatic controversies of the early centuries the reasons were discussed for which a Muslim could be identical with a *kāfir* and have to suffer eternal punishment. The most tolerant is the view of the Murdji'a that all the Ahl al-Kibla, even if they commit a mortal sin (*kabīra*) are to be considered believers and their ultimate fate is to be left to God. The most striking contrast to this is the strict view of Khāridjīs (and Ibādis) that every Muslim, who dies with a mortal sin — and this means with them every sin which has not been repented of — on his conscience, is to be considered just a *kāfir*. Intermediate is the opinion of the Mu'tazila, who for this special case assume an intermediate between believer and unbeliever, the so-called "rejected" *fāsik* (cf. the article ĪMĀN. — According to Nallino, in the *Riv. degli Studi orientali*, vii. 436 *sqq.*, the names Mu'tazila, Murdji'a, etc. [q. v.] are probably closely connected with their attitude on this point).

According to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 459 *sq.*, the following kinds of unbelief are distinguished 1) *kufr al-inkār* = neither recognising nor acknowledging God; 2) *kufr al-djūhūd* = recognising God, but not acknowledging Him with words, that is remaining an unbeliever in spite of one's better knowledge; 3) *kufr al-mu'ānada* = recognising God and acknowledging Him with words but remaining an unbeliever (obdurate) out of envy or hatred; 4) *kufr al-nifāk* = outwardly acknowledging, but at heart not recognising God

and thus remaining an unbeliever, that is being an hypocrite [cf. MUNĀFIK].

In the systematic Fikḥ books the *kuffār* are discussed in the following passages: 1) in the *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra*. For the opinion deduced from Sūra ix. 28 that the unbeliever is unclean, we find all views represented, from the strictest to the most tolerant; just as on all questions of purity, the strictest is the Shī'a which reckons the unbeliever among its *dah nadjāsāt*; but on this point al-Nawawī, for example, was particularly lenient; he considers the believer and unbeliever equal as regards purity. The Ahl al-Kitāb [q. v.] are usually regarded more leniently than other *Kuffār*; for their benefit for example the questions of the *ḥabā'ih* and of *munākaha* with Muslims are discussed. — 2) In the *Kitāb al-Djihād* (*wa 'l-Siyar*). The *djihād* [q. v.] against the unbeliever inhabitants of the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [q. v.] is a *farḍ 'ala 'l-kifāya*. The Ahl al-Kitāb again occupy a special position as by paying *djizya* and *ḥharādj* [q. v.] they become *dhimmī's* [see DHIMMA] and can receive *amān*. [q. v.]. These categories of unbelievers in the *Dār al-Islām* called *dhimmī* and *musta'min* have a legal claim to protection. Another class also distinguished from the mass of the *kāfirūn* are the renegades [see MURTADD] for whom the law prescribes death, with the opportunity first of obeying a demand to return to Islām. The others, the unbelievers proper, who in this sense are also called *kāfirūn aṣliyyūn* (or *mushrikūn*, in the narrower sense) have only to expect death or slavery [see 'ABD] if they fall as prisoners of war into the hands of Muslims; if they are fortunate, they may be exchanged or released. (In many cases, e. g. in the gradual advance of Islām into Africa, the distinction between renegades and pagans was difficult to ascertain and there are writings extant which deal specially with this question, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-I'lām bi Ḳawā'ir al-Islām*, lith. 1293). — 3) In several further points the law discriminates between *kuffār* and believers; the very strict interpretation of the law is however in practice only held by a small minority.

To understand the historical development in the attitude of Islām to the unbeliever, it should be observed that it was settled in the early centuries not so much by religious as by political and social conditions. Even down to the time of the Crusades there prevailed in Islām a tolerance towards the unbeliever, especially the Ahl al-Kitāb, such as is impossible to imagine in contemporary Christendom. We find for example Christians in the highest official positions. In this early period there is no question of any religious fanaticism towards unbelievers. It was only aroused and nourished by the repeated wars with unbelievers (Crusades, wars with the Turks). War-psychology, on the other hand, at the time of the wars between Persia and Turkey could even bring it about that the Persians were called *kuffār* in Turkish *fetwās* etc. (see Pečewī, i. 311, 319), a name which the Turks themselves had applied to them in the proclamations of the Mahdī of the Sūdān.

Since at the present day the trend of affairs has apparently been quite in the opposite direction, and Muslims have been more and more impeded in carrying out measures against the *kuffār* by the political decline of Islām and the rise of unbelieving nations (pressure of the Powers, capitulations, etc.), the very feeling of impotence in face

of these facts may have contributed not a little to the strengthening of hatred and to periodical manifestations of it (in massacres etc.). This also explains the grotesque caricature of the *kāfir*, which one sometimes finds in the popular imagination at the present day (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 48 sq.) and which is connected with the ideas of the Arch-Kāfir, Dajdjal [q. v.] who bears *k-f-r* on his forehead (cf. Goldziher, in *Der Islām*, xi. 178).

It may also be due to the hatred of the Franks (and to dogmatic squabbles) that *kāfir* had developed into a term of abuse, so frequent in the Turkish form *gıawur* (the Persian *geber* [q. v.] is said to be the same), although in theory it is (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lviii. 562) affirmed that the Muslim commits a punishable offence if he says to the Christian or Jew: "Thou unbeliever". From the Turkish the word *kāfir* has entered into most Slavonic languages. The Spanish *cafie* and the French *cafard* also go back to *kāfir* or *kuffār*. In two cases *kāfir* has actually become a proper name, the name of a people, the Kafirs, and of a country, Kāfiristān [q. v.].

Kāfir and *kufir* underwent a special development of meaning in the terminology of mysticism. Compare, for example, the well-known verse of Abū Sa'īd [q. v.]: "So long as belief and unbelief are not perfectly equal, no man can be a true Muslim", with the various explanations given in Muḥammad A'lā, *Dict. of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, etc.), s. v., according to one of which *kufir* is just the equivalent of *imān-i ḥakīkī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already quoted above, see for the old Arab poetry *Ztschr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlv. 544. — On the development of *kfr* in Syriac s. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i., 1798 sq., in Aramaic: Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, p. 381 and his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ii., 383 sqq. — For the literature of Tradition the whole material will be available in the still unfinished Indexes of Prof. A. J. Wensinck, who has kindly called my attention to the ḥadīth's quoted above. — Dogmatic: al-Māturīdī, *Sharḥ al-Fiḥ al-Akbar* (Haidarābād 1321), p. 2 sq., 9 et passim; Ibn Hazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Nihāl* (Kairo 1320), iii. 142 sqq.; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islām tot op el-Ash'ari*, p. 16 sqq.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 101, 182 sq., 202, 205; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, p. 60, note. — For other classifications of *Kuffār* s. Muḥ. A'lā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s. v. (and following him, Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. *Kāfir*); cf. also al-Djurdjānī, *al-Ta'rifāt* ed. Flügel, s. v. *Imān*. — For *Kuffār* in Fīḥ: Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, p. 59 sqq.; do., *Vorlesungen*, p. 182; Juynboll, *Handb. d. islām. Gesetzes*, p. 173. — Historical: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 183 sq.; Becker, *Christentum und Islam*, p. 15 sqq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg 1922), p. 28 sqq.; especially p. 47 sqq. On the so called *Kuffār al-Turk*, of whom Barhebraeus also speaks (*Chronicon*, ed. Bruns u. Kirsch, Leipzig 1789, p. 324), cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, p. 296. — *Kāfir* in European languages: Miklošich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost-*

und osteuropäischen Sprachen, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, xxxvii. (1888), 68, 154; Dozy a. Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* (Leiden 1869), p. 245; Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der roman. Sprachen*, 5. Ausg. (Bonn 1887), p. 435; Lammen, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth 1890), p. 64 sq.; Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*² (1903), s. v. *Caffer*. — On the Mystics cf. now also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris 1922), p. 23, and do., *La passion d'al-Hosayn-ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj* (Paris 1922), p. 99* of the Index. (W. BJÖRCKMAN.)

KĀFİRISTĀN. The name of a mountainous tract in the Hindū-Kush situated between 35° and 36° N. and 70° and 71° 50' E., with an area of about 5000 sq. m. Till recently independent, but since 1896 a territory of Afghānistān. The northern boundary is roughly the watershed between the drainage of the Oxus and that of the Indus, the valleys to the north being occupied by Ghālča [q. v.] tribes. To the west the spur of the Hindu-Kush which runs southward from the neighbourhood of the Khāwak Pass may be considered the boundary separating it from the Pandjshīr and Nidjraō valleys. To the east and south the range between the Kunar and Bashgal valleys and those to the north of the Kunar and Kābul valleys define its limits. The country consists of numerous valleys much isolated from each other by lofty ranges, the principal rivers draining which fall either into the Kābul or Kunar rivers, and so belong to the Indus basin. The principal are the Alingār or Kāo with its tributary the Alishang, the Pēč (Kāmāh or Prēsun) and the Bashgal. The inhabitants, from their persistent paganism, have long been known as Kāfirs, and from them the name of the country Kāfiristān is derived. The name Siyāh-pōsh or "Black-clad" which properly belongs to one section only, (the others being classed together as Safed-pōsh or "White-clad") has also been in use from an early period.

This tract was undoubtedly part of the Kushān kingdom in the early part of the Christian era, and has been identified with the mountain country of Kāpiśa. The name Katōr applied to the country and its ruling tribe by Timūr (Timūr) is identical with the title of the rulers of the neighbouring country of Čitrāl, and is no doubt the same as Katīr, the name of the principal tribe at the present day. It is most probably derived from the title Kidāra used by the later Kushāns. It has been thought by Wood and Yule that the wine-drinking tribes whom Marco Polo met near Casem (i. e. Kishm in the Kōkča valley) are identical with the Kāfirs, who may have at that time extended into the northern valleys of the Hindu-kush, but the first definite mention of them is in the Emperor Timūr's memoirs. On his way to invade India in 800 (1398) he turned aside into their country from the Khāwak Pass to punish them for their raids on Andarāb. He calls them Katōr and Siyāh-pōsh. In spite of his claims to victory it is clear that a great part of his forces was destroyed in an ambuscade, and he returned to Khāwak without any permanent success. Bābur in his autobiography gives a very accurate account of the country and people, many of the rivers and districts being described by names they still bear.

In more recent times Elphinstone from his observations in 1809, Masson (in 1826) and Biddulph (in 1880) collected all the information available without entering the country, and the account given by the first-named is especially valuable. The first European to penetrate Kāfiristān was Lockhart in 1885, followed by Robertson in 1889 and 1890. The last named in his work on the Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush has given the best account available of the country and people, their customs, beliefs and organization.

In the treaty of 1893 between the Indian Government and Afghānistān, Kāfiristān was definitely left outside the British border, and the Amir 'Abd al-Rahmān proceeded in 1896 to conquer the whole and to convert its population forcibly to Islām. The Rāmgali tribe, a branch of the Katir, was the last to submit. Robertson classifies the population under two heads, viz. the Siyāh-pōsh tribes all closely related to each other (the principal tribe being the Katir), and the miscellaneous tribes, without any special bond of union, included under the name of Safēd-pōsh. The chief of these are the Waigalis (with the Ashkun who are related to them), and the Prēsungalis or Vērōn. All seem to belong to an ancient branch of the Aryan stock, and their languages are of the Pisāča family, which, according to Kuhn and Grierson, have the characteristics of a tongue spoken after the Indian family had branched off, but before the Iranian had been differentiated. The purest dialects are the Bashgali, Wai-alā and Vērōn, spoken in the central parts of the country. The Gawar-bati, Kalāshā and Pashai form an outer group; the Pashai in fact being spoken in the Djalālabād valley outside the limits of Kāfiristān proper. There is also another member of the group Ashkund, as to which nothing is as yet known.

The form of paganism followed till lately was much mixed with animism, but there were certain principal gods generally recognized, the chief of which were Imrā, the creator, whose principal shrine was at Prēsungal, Monī, the prophet, Gish the war-god and the goddess Dizanē. In the borderlands however many districts had already accepted Islām before the Afghān conquest. These converts were known as Shaikhḥs. Sacrifices of goats and ceremonial dances were very prevalent.

The social system is entirely tribal, each tribe consisting of several clans. The tribal government is carried on by a council composed mainly of the headmen or *djast* who represent the various clans. A number of *urir* or magistrates are elected annually to carry on the actual tribal government. The houses are well built and grouped into strong villages. The Kāfirs generally are acute and clever, but untruthful, intriguing and vain, yet they are hospitable and not generally cruel. They are brave and fond of freedom, and in their own country show a great sense of dignity; very quarrelsome, but always ready to put a stop to fights among others. Theft and assassination are not in any way condemned. Slavery is prevalent, the slaves being partly hereditary and partly obtained by capture in intertribal war or by purchase.

Bibliography: Timūr, *Malfūzāt-i Timūri* (in Elliot and Dowson's *Hist. of India*, London 1871, Vol. iii.); *The Bābur-Nāma* (*Memoirs of Bābur*), transl. by A. S. Beveridge, London 1922; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, transl. by Yule and

Cordier (London 1903), i. 155, 165; Elphinstone, *Caulbul*, 2nd ed. London, 1839—1842; Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1880; Masson, *Travels in Afghanistan*, London 1844; G. S. Robertson, *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, 2nd ed., London 1900. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

KĀFIYA (A.), a term in prosody meaning rhyme generally. The word seems (according to Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur Arab. Philologie*, i. 83 sqq.) to have originally meant a poetic utterance or a lampoon, then a poem and finally a rhyme. The theory of the *kāfiya* is considered a special science, distinct from *'arūd* (prosody proper). It teaches how verses should end as regards consonants, vowels, etc.

In the narrower sense, *kāfiya*, according to al-Khalil b. Aḥmad [q. v.], is the group of consonants, which begins with the vowelled consonant immediately preceding the last two quiescent consonants of a verse. In the Arab view, of course, a verse ends always with a quiescent letter, whether written or not (the latter is the case with *wāw* and *yā'* of prolongation when they are written defectively): *yaf'al*, *yaf'ali*, *yaf'ali*, *yaf'ala*.

The *kāfiya* may include up to six consonants: 1. the principal one (in the Arab view), the *rawī* or rhyme-letter, the letter which the poet always retains at the end of the line, till he has ended his poem and after which the latter is called: *lām* in the *mu'allaka* of Imru' al-Kais, *dāl* in that of Tarafa, etc. It is to be noted that Arabic poems are all mono-rhymed with the exception of the *radjaz muzdawij*, in which the two hemistichs in a line rhyme. According to some prosodists, it is the rule to allow the two first hemistichs of a poem to rhyme; 2. as an annex to the *rawī*, the *waṣl* or *ṣila*, i. e. a letter of prolongation or a *hā'* (vowelled or not) coming after the vowelled *rawī*; of the letters of prolongation, *alif* is the only one usually written in this capacity; 3. as a possible further complement, the *khurūdj*, the letter of prolongation behind a vowelled *hā'* serving as a *waṣl*; as a preliminary either 4. the *ridf*, the weak letter or letter of prolongation immediately before the *rawī*; *wāw* and *yā'* may interchange with each other in one and the same poem; or 5. *ta'sis*, an *alif*, placed before the *rawī* and separated from it by a consonant (*dakhīl*) which may be changed at will but must always have the same vowel; 6. the *dakhīl* just mentioned.

The *kāfiya* may likewise include up to six vowels: 1. *madjra* or *muḍjra*, the vowel of the *rawī*; 2. *nafādh*, the vowel of the *hā'* if it serves as *waṣl*; 3. *tawdjih*, the vowel before the quiescent *rawī*; 4. *hadhw*, the vowel immediately before the *ridf*; 5. *ishbā'*, the vowel of the *dakhīl*; 6. *rass*, the vowel immediately before the *alif* of the *ta'sis* (always a *o* of course).

In respect of lengths, five kinds of rhyme are distinguished, viz.: — 1. *mutakāwis*, in which the two last quiescent consonants (which, as explained above, mark the beginning and end of the *kāfiya*) are separated by four vowelled consonants: *faw-[ka ḥadamih]*; 2. *mutarākib*, in which three vowelled consonants stand between the two quiescent: *'alā [djabali]y*; 3. *mutadārik*, in which two vowelled consonants separate the two unwowelled: *ḥad [fa'al]*; 4. *mutawātir*, in which there is one vowelled consonant between the two quiescent: *bā[li]y*; 5. *mutarādif*, in which the two quiescent consonants come in immediate succession: *[āl]*.

Finally we have still to note the faults in the

kāfiya: 1. *ikwā*, the substitution of a *ḍamma* for a *kasra* as *maḍjirā*; 2. *isrāf* or *isrāf*, the substitution of a *fatḥa* serving as *maḍjirā* for a *kasra* or *ḍamma*; 3. *ikfā*, the use of similar sounding consonants as *rawī* (*mim* and *nūn*, *ḥā* and *khā*, etc.); 4. *idjāsa* which consists in using consonants of essentially different sound as *rawī* (*bā* and *rā*, *kāf* and *lām*, etc.); 5. *taḥrīd*, the changing of the *darb* (the last foot in the second hemistich) in one and the same poem; 6. *īḥā*, the repetition of one and the same word in the same meaning as a rhyme-word in the same poem; 7. *sinād*, a mistake which occurs before the *rawī*, namely a) *sinād al-ḥadḥw*, changing of the vowel, which precedes the *ridf*; b) *sinād al-ishḥā*, changing of the vowel between *rawī* and *dakhil*; c) *sinād al-tawdīh*, changing of the vowel immediately before the quiescent *rawī*; d) *sinād al-ridf*, the use of *ridf* in one line but not in the other lines; e) *sinād al-tāsis*, the use of *tāsis* in one line but not in the others; 8. *taḍmīn* or the running of one line into another, in such a way that the end of one line only gives complete sense when we know the beginning of the next verse.

In conclusion it should be noted that it was considered the rule in reciting a poem to lengthen the vowel of the vowelled *rawī*; but this custom was not generally observed. The Banū Tamīm added a quiescent *nūn* to the *maḍjirā* in place of the *waṣl*. Among the Banū Asad the *maḍjirā* was suppressed. Otherwise it was permitted, when a strong quiescent consonant preceded the *rawī*, to transfer to it the vowel of the *rawī* which itself then became quiescent: *fa'lū* > *fa'ul*. Finally, it often happened that, if the *rawī* was quiescent, it was given a *kasra* which was followed by a quiescent *nūn*: *fa'al* > *fa'alīn*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article 'ARŪP: Ibn Rashīk, *al-Umda* (Cairo 1325), ii. 238 sq.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

KAFĪZ, an Arab measure of capacity (dry measure) containing from 25—50 litres (5—10 gallons). In the pre-Islāmic period the use of measures of capacity with dry and liquid wares was in general use, as is shown by the usually Arabic names for these measures in contrast to the measures of weight and their names borrowed from the Greeks and Romans. It has still long been the custom to measure these wares by their weight and not by their volume. East and west in this respect have undergone opposite developments. This transition from measures to weights was furthered, on the one hand, by the easier supervision of market business done by weight and, on the other, by the experience early obtained that it is not a matter of indifference whether very large or very small measures are used to measure dry wares. As the weight of the upper layers appreciably compresses the lower, the result is that, other things being equal, larger quantities weigh more per unit of capacity than small quantities. The table of measures of capacity commonly used in the early period is given below. The ratios show that it is not homogeneous. The greatest variations prevail in the theoretical lists of measures; the figures quoted below which — presupposing distilled water at normal temperature etc. — mean so many kilogrammes in weight, are based on an original measure of one *mudd* of the year 571 (1175/6) in the Cairo Museum, which,

according to its inscription, held 337 *dirham kail* of pure water. The measures usual in the early centuries of the Hidjra seem however to have been smaller ranging down to the half of the figures here given.

Measures of capacity or dry measure:

<i>mudd</i> (modius)	1	1.15 litres
<i>ṣā'</i>	4	1.6 "
<i>makkūk</i>	6. 1½	6.87 "
<i>ḥafiz</i>	48. 12. 8. 1	55.0 "

Two avoirdupois weights were tacked on to this system:

<i>waṣḥ</i>	240. 60. 40. 5. 1	275.0 kg.
<i>kurr</i>	1440. 360. 240. 30. 6. 1	1650.0 "

That these measures of capacity are not entirely forgotten is probably due to the fact that they have been retained in the legal literature. They have disappeared from the market-place, at least in the East. In the lands round the Western Mediterranean the *ḥafiz* has however survived down to the present day, e. g. in Tunis, in Sicily (*cafiso* and *cafisone*, a measure of weight for oil, 11—20 kg.) and in Spain (*cahiz*, plur. *cahices*, a measure for grain of about 6.6 hectolitre) etc.

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KAFTĀN (Turkish form of the Persian *khafṭān*, which is found in the *Shāhnāma* — cf. 'Abd al-Kādir Baghdādī, *Lughat-i Shāhnāma*, ed. by Salemann under the title 'Abdulqādir Baghdādensis *Lexicon Shāhnāmianum*, p. 79 — and Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn, p. 99; also Arabic *khafṭān*), was an upper garment worn in peace time, a kind of long tunic with sleeves, which in time of war was worn over the mail-shirt (tabard). This word as well as the article of dress came quite early among the Arabs under the influence of Persian fashions. Cf. al-Ṭabarī ed. de Goeje, iii. 236, 14 sqq.; 'Arib, p. 177; al-Mas'ūdī (Paris ed.), viii. 52. — Travellers describe the *khafṭān* as a long robe, reaching below the knee, sometimes to the calves and sometimes down to the ankles, open in front and having sleeves, which were slit at the wrists or up to the middle of the arms. This garment was introduced into the Barbary States by the Turkish conquest and spread by fashion as far as Morocco (Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fes*, Copenhagen 1781, p. 115) where it is sometimes found, especially among women, without sleeves (Lempriere, *A Tour to Morocco*, London 1791, p. 385). The amirs and *shāikhs* of the Syrian Bedouins in d'Arvieux's time wore the *kaftān* as a winter garment (d'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine*, Paris 1717, p. 206). — Among the Ottoman Turks in earlier days *kaftān* was also the name for a robe of honour, which, — less important than the sable-skin —, was granted on the occasion of appointment to an office. The distribution of such robes of honour took place after the two Bairam [q. v.] festivals in the presence of the Grand Vizier under

the direction of the *kaftāndī bashī*, an official whose duty it was to take charge of and keep in condition the fur-robcs of honour. At the present day this garment seems to be very little worn. Hamdibey and Marie de Launay, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Constantinople 1873) only mention it (p. 238) when describing a Kurdish woman from Kharput: A kaftān of fine dark green cloth, open in front and widely cut out in the form of an escutcheon on the breast, leaves the upper part of the shirt quite exposed and does not entirely cover the lower half. . . . The very long sleeves of the kaftān ending in a quadrangular piece are taken in above the wrists so as not to conceal the silver armlets. The sleeves are edged with galloon and notched gold lace.

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KĀFÜR (also KĀFÜR and KĀFFÜR, cf. *Liṣān al-ʿArab*, s. v. *Kfr* and *Kfr*; in Sanskrit *Karpūra*, in Prakrit **Kappūra*, **kāpūra*, Malay *kapur*), camphor, the resin of *Laurus camphora* and *Dryobalanops aromatica*, was an object of commerce with India from the days of the ancient Persians; on the capture of al-Mada'in, the Arabs found rich stores of this drug, the use of which they did not know; they took it for salt (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 264; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 401). Ibn al-Baitār mentions different sorts of camphor, of which *fanṣūrī* and *riyāḥī* were considered the best; all these kinds were purified before being used. Marco Polo (ed. Soc. de Géogr., Paris 1865, i. 447; transl. Yule, revised by H. Cordier, London, 1903, ii. 299 and note 3, p. 302—4) says the camphor of Fansur was the best and most expensive; it was said to be weighed against gold. Fanṣūr — most probably an old name for Barus (cf. *Tijdschr. van het Kon. Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Series 2, xvii., 1904, p. 18—22, 27—29; *Encycl. van Nederl.-Indië*², i. 172 sq.) on the west coast of Sumatra (Residency of Tapanuli) from which the *kapur Barus* came — is frequently mentioned by Arab writers; from the first half of the third (ninth) century we find the name in different historico-geographical reports as the place of origin of an exceptional quality of camphor.

The name of this resin is also found in the *Kurʾān* (lxvi. 5): "The righteous shall drink there (in Paradise) out of a goblet, the contents of which are mixed with *kāfur*"; according to the Muslim commentators, either to indicate the pleasant flavour of the beverage or perhaps as the name of a spring in Paradise (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxix. 111 sq.). The latter explanation is based on the fact that at the beginning of verse 6 the word 'ain (spring) is found.

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(CL. HUART.)

KĀFÜR, ABU ʿL-MISK AL-IKḤSHĪDĪ, also AL-LATHĪ or AL-SURĪ, called AL-LĀBĪ in a poem by al-Mutanabbī after a place in Nubia, ruler of Egypt and Syria in the fourth century of the Hidjra. Kāfur was born in Nubia or Abyssinia between the years 291 (904) and 308 (320) (so greatly do the statements of the chronicles vary). The fact that he began life as a horribly ugly slave and rose to be ruler of Egypt and Syria and the celebrated patron of scholars and friend of al-Mutanabbī [q. v.], the greatest poet of his time, has aroused a great interest in him among the Arab historians and given him a greater fame than his importance really deserves. As the Maecenas of poets and scholars, he found kindly biographers who have praised him as a model of fidelity for his devotion — not always maintained — to the Ikḥshidids [q. v.]. His biography is adorned with numerous anecdotes about his humble origin and his rise and about his friendship with al-Mutanabbī. He is only of importance in history because he resisted the advance of the Fātimids [q. v.] in the west and of the Arab dynasties in North Syria and maintained by his ability for two decades the kingdom founded by the Ikḥshidids in 323 (935). After his death it soon broke up. As a young slave he is said to have expressed the ambitious wish to become one day ruler of Egypt, to a companion who had said his ideal was to become cook in a cookshop so that he might always eat his fill. As a slave he had the good fortune to be sold to the governor Muḥammad al-Ikḥshid (323—334 = 935—946); that he was almost immediately given away by him on account of a skin disease and again taken back, may well be an embellishment, to contrast his degradation with his all the more marvellous rise. Another narrator says that he was sent with money by his former master to the governor al-Ikḥshid but the latter sent the money back and retained Kāfur in his service instead. It is also related that he was the only one to remain by his master when his comrades had negligently left the governor's room to see a passing elephant. Both these stories only show that the governor had on some occasion had his attention specially attracted to him. He must certainly have early recognised his merit and put trust in him, for he made this ugly, despised slave the tutor of his children and a general. In the latter capacity he distinguished himself in 329 (940) in a battle near Aleppo which he captured for his master. When al-Ikḥshid felt his end was near at the close of 334 (July 946), he appointed him guardian of his younger son Awnudjūr (the name is very diversely written) whom the Caliph had previously appointed joint-ruler with his father. The real power remained in Kāfur's hands even after Awnudjūr became of age, although he provided for the preservation of the Ikḥshidid dynasty by getting Awnudjūr's brother ʿAlī recognised as joint-ruler and successor in 338 (949). Later in 343 (854) Awnudjūr, at the instigation of his friends, tried to shake of the tutelage of Kāfur, as he felt himself restricted in his freedom of action and expenditure — he only received 400,000 dinārs out of Kāfur's rich revenues. He therefore

went to Ramla in Palestine in order to be able from there to exert real authority over Syria and then on Egypt. But the plan did not come to fulfilment, as his mother and Kāfūr, warned in time, were able to appease him. The relationship remained unchanged till Awnudjur died in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 349 (Dec. 960). After the death of Awnudjur, Kāfūr had his brother 'Alī confirmed in office as governor by the Caliph towards the end of the year. Kāfūr remained his guardian, although 'Alī was 24, and only allowed him an income of 400,000 dinārs. The power of Egypt was again extended over Syria, so that 'Alī was mentioned next to the Caliph in the Friday service in Aleppo and northwards as far as Tarsūs. When 'Aḥ died six years later in 355 (966), Kāfūr himself assumed the government and was confirmed in office by the Caliph, as 'Alī's son Aḥmad was only 9 years old. He did not enjoy his independence long, for he died in 357 (968). His successor was the Aḥmad whom he had superseded.

Kāfūr was able to maintain order in Syria and Egypt. Shortly after the death of al-Ikḥshid, he recaptured from Saif al-Dawla, ruler of Aleppo, Damascus which the latter had taken. Kāfūr was able skilfully to maintain his position between the Baghdad Caliph and the Fāṭimid ruler of North Africa. His riches were celebrated; his estate consisted of art-treasures of all kinds rather than of gold. He was a man who loved pomp; like Saif al-Dawla, exceedingly liberal to scholars and poets, so that his court was a popular one and his favour sought. When al-Mutanabbī became estranged from Saif al-Dawla, he came on Kāfūr's invitation to Cairo, where he lived for some years. In the first period of his stay there he composed famous panegyrics on Kāfūr; but the intimacy did not last long, as Kāfūr did not give him a position in the administration which he is alleged to have promised him. He excused himself by saying that he could not trust an office to a man who had posed as a prophet. Kāfūr also devoted much time to scholarly studies and is said to have written poetry. Many scholars were in his service, of whom the best known is al-Kindī who composed a history of Egypt for him.

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(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

KĀGHAD, **KĀGHID** (from the Persian *kāghadh*, perhaps of Chinese origin), paper. In the early period of development of Muslim culture the east was only acquainted with papyrus (*kīrḫās*) as writing-material. It was Chinese prisoners of war brought to Samarkand after the battle of Aṭlakh near Tālās, that first introduced in 134 (751) the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp rags after the method used in China. The various kinds of

paper then made are the following: *fīr'awnī* (Pharoah's paper), a kind which was destined to compete with papyrus even in the land of its origin (the oldest paper with Arabic writing on it found in Egypt dates from 180—200 = 796—815); *sulaimānī*, from Sulaimān b. Rāshid, the treasurer of Khorāsān under Hārūn al-Rashid; *djā'fari*, called after Dja'far al-Barmakī; *ṭalḥī*, from Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, the second ruler of the Ṭāhirid dynasty; *ṭāhirī*, from Ṭāhir ii., of the same dynasty; *nūḥī*, in allusion to the Sāmānid Nūḥ I.

Paper mills were erected elsewhere on the plan of those in Samarkand: al-Faḍl, brother of Dja'far al-Barmakī, who had been governor of Khorāsān in 178 (794) probably founded the paper-mill in the Dār al-Ḳazz quarter in Baghdad. Soon afterwards others arose in Tihāma, Yemen and Egypt, where paper ultimately drove out papyrus, also in Damascus, Tripoli, Ḥamā, Manbidj, Tiberias, the Maghrib, Spain (at Xativa), Persia and India. *Kāghadh-kunān*, the "paper-makers", was the name taken by the people of the village of Khūnadj or Khūnā in Adharbaidjān, two days' journey from Zandjān, on account of the excellent paper made there. The place was destroyed by the Mongols, who however founded a colony, Mughuliya, there. (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 219; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihānnūmā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 298; transl. by Norberg, i. 365).

On the preparation of paper and the different methods of colouring it, interesting details are given by J. v. Karabacek, *Neue Quellen z. Papiergeschichte in Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Erzhr. Rainer*, iv. 75 sqq.

According to a statement of al-Makrizī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii. 34), Dja'far al-Barmakī had parchment replaced by paper in the government offices.

The paper used in the east is now almost entirely of European manufacture. In Persia we still find a Chinese paper, called *Khān Balīk* (Turkish name of Pekin), a scarce paper, sought after for its durability. The Cairo printers prefer a strong yellow-coloured paper called *nabātī* (Pers. *nabāt*, sugar-candy).

A paper-mill long ago destroyed (*Kāghad-Khāna*, popularly *K'at-Hāne*) has given its name to the Imperial Kiosk and the public promenade of the "Sweet Waters of Europe" in Constantinople.

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KAHF, Title of Sūra xviii. of the *Qur'ān*. — See also **ASHĀB AL-KAHF**.

AL-KĀHHĀR, one of the names Allāh, cf. **ALLĀH**, i. 303a.

KĀHIN (A., plur. *kūhān* or *kahana*; fem. *kāhina*, plur. *kawāhin*, abstract of profession *kīhāna*) is the name of the seer or soothsayer (μαντις, vates) among the pagan Arabs. It corresponds to the Hebrew *kōhen*, Aramaic, *kāhen*, *kāhnā* (priest); it is not an arabicised form of this however, but belongs to the original stock of the old Arabic

language (otherwise Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 36, note 6), for the Jewish kōhen, kāhen is entirely different in character from the Arab kāhin: the former, although in all probability at one time also a soothsayer, later appears only as a dealer in oracles and particularly as sacrificer and teacher of the Tora, while it cannot be shown that the latter, who is never a priest (which is contradictory to von Kremer — see below in the *Bibliography* — p. 74 sqq., and also to Wellhausen, p. 134 and elsewhere), ever held these functions, neither was he permanently connected at all with worship and places of worship, but seems to have been quite unrestricted in the exercise of his activities.

The kāhins of course have their origin in the shamans, medicine-men, and fetish-priests, but in the form in which we first meet them in the old Arabic tales, in the Ḥadīth and, much more rarely, in the pre-Islāmic poetry, they have already passed beyond the ruder forms of shamanism. Their mantic knowledge is based on ecstatic inspiration. They have also, it is true, visions by night which reveal to them future and other events and things hidden from the ordinary mortal (al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 379, 394 sq.; Sprenger, i. 176 sq. etc.), but they are not really visionaries. Their inspiration is of demoniacal origin: a *ḡinnī* or *shaitān* "demon" (δαίμωνιον) who is called their *tābī'* "companion", *sāhib* "comrade", *mawla* or *walī*, "friend" ("familiar spirit"), not infrequently also their *ra'i* or *ri'i* (probably "seer"), speaks out of them. This personification of their ecstasy, which at once stamps them as connected with the old fashioned *shā'ir* "bard" (literally "knower"), also endowed by ḡjinns with supernatural, magic knowledge (cf. *vates* = *poeta*), is conceived as being so substantial that the *dæmonion* regularly appears as the I — his *alter ego*, the kāhin, on the other hand, appears as the "thou" of the prophetic utterance, that the latter clearly notices the approach of the spirit, feels himself struck by his foot, hears his voice from a distance etc. (Sprenger, *loc. cit.*; Hölscher, p. 85), indeed, these familiars even have their own names (like the familiar spirits of the poets, see Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 914, 14 sq. and al-Djāhiz, vi. 69 = van Vloten, viii. 65). The kāhins give their utterances in the form of the *sadq'*, short sentences in rhythmic prose, with single or more rarely alternating rhyme, such as had been usual in Arabia from early times for all utterance in the higher and lower branches of divination and magic, etc. (Only very rarely is regular verse also used, e. g. *Aghānī*¹, xi. 161, 13). Besides the *sadq'*, the *zamsama* is characteristic of the kāhin's utterances, the mysterious "humming" with which it was delivered (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, i. 171, 7 and thereon ii. 58). The word *sadq'* may in this sense have originally meant nothing more than the "purring" or "chirping" or such like of an alleged demon's voice; the verb *sadja'a* is also used in other connections of "purring" or "chirping" of the ḡjinns, regularly of course, of the "cooing" of pigeons and also of the "groaning" of camels; cf. in the O. T. e. g. *Isaiah*, xxix. 4). The kāhins, the majority of whom are to be considered frauds, of course often express themselves in very obscure and ambiguous language. They give greater emphasis to their utterance by striking oaths, swearing by the earth and sky, sun, moon and stars, light and darkness, evening and morning, plants and animals of all kinds etc.

(For kāhins' utterances, see e. g. Hölscher, p. 87 sq., 95 sqq.; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 387 sqq.; al-Ibshihī, Ch. 60; *Aghānī*, xi. 161, 10 sqq.).

Kāhins play an extremely important part in public as well as private life. They are interrogated in all important tribal and state occasions — especially before warlike enterprises, *razzias*, etc. in which they take part themselves as a rule, indeed, they sometimes lead them in person (cf. Deborah in the O. T.). Kings and queens therefore keep their prophet or prophetess (D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Ikhl des Hamdānī*, i. 74, and al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 762, 5), and the tribes have a kāhin or kāhina as well as a *shā'ir* "poet" and *khaṭīb* "orator". In private the kāhins especially act as judges in disputes and points of law of all kinds, so that the conception of *kāhin* is closely connected with that of *hakam* "judge" (al-Ḥuṭai'a, No. xvii. 7; al-Ibshihī, Cairo 1321, ii. 73, 1). Their decision is considered as a kind of divine judgment against which there is no appeal. At the same time they interpret dreams, find lost camels, establish adulteries, clear up other crimes and misdemeanours, particularly thefts and murders, etc. In these proceedings they descend to a somewhat lower scale of divination, viz. to that of the *'arrāf* or *mu'arrif* (see above i. 460b and cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, iv. 40, al-Djāhiz, vi. 62, 5 *infra*, and al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 352). For such work they received an honorarium — forbidden in the Ḥadīth — (*ḥulwān*; al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl-Juynboll, ii. 43, 55 *et passim*). Of course, people liked to test their mantic abilities before paying them.

The influence of these men and women was naturally great and often stretched far beyond the bounds of their tribes. They were not by any means recruited solely from the lower strata of society, but sometimes belonged to most distinguished families, occasionally even the *saiyid* or chief of a tribe was also its *kāhin* (Lammens, p. 204, 257; al-Djāhiz, vi. 62 = van Vloten, vii. 184; also Wellhausen, p. 134 who, however, says wrongly that such aristocratic kāhins had inherited their office). They were in any case among the leaders or the intellectual aristocracy of their tribe (cf. the chapter *Asmā' al-kuhhān wa 'l-hukhām wa 'l-khuṭabā' wa 'l-ʿulamā' min Kaḥṭān* "The names of the seers, judges, orators and learned men of Kaḥṭān" in al-Djāhiz, *al-Bayān*, i. 136 *infra*, cf. also 113, 15 sqq., ed. Cairo 1333, i. 192, cf. 159).

Among famous soothsayers of both sexes were Saṭīḥ al-Dhi'bī in Syria and Shikḥ b. Ṣa'b of the Badjila, (who often appear together but are both quite mythical), the probably equally unhistorical Yemen princess Ṭuraifa, a kind of Cassandra, al-Ma'mūr al-Ḥārithī of the Madhḥidj, 'Amr b. Dju'aid al-Afkal, the chief of the Rabī'a, Sawda' bint Zuhra among the Kuraish, Zarkā bint Zuhair among the Qudā'a, etc. (Wellhausen, p. 136; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 352, 364 *et passim*; van Vloten, vii. 172, 174, 180 etc., etc.). The South Arabian soothsayers enjoyed a particularly high reputation (*Aghānī*, viii. 51, 4).

Practically synonymous with *kāhin* is the word *ḥāzī* (plur. *ḥāzāt*, also *ḥāza* and *ḥāzūn*, fem. *ḥāziya*, plur. *ḥawāzī*), which is not uncommonly found. It corresponds of course to the Hebrew *ḥōzē*, but is undoubtedly also a genuine Arabic word. On the other hand, we must sharply distinguish from the

kāhin, who, as above explained, owes his supernatural knowledge to internal inspiration, these practitioners of the lower forms of divination and magic, who employ external, technical means that is, who follow a mere routine that may be acquired by any one, namely the *ʿāṣif* or *zāḡir* who watches the flight of birds, the *ḡāṣif*, *ḡāzīr* and *ḡazzār*, who reads footprints, the *ʿarrāf* or *muʿarrif* (see also above on these terms), the water-diviner, the *munadjjim*, the astrologer, *al-nāḡir fī asrār al-kaff* or hand-reader, the *khāṭṭ* who tells fortunes from lines on the ground, *al-dārib* or *al-fārik bi ʿl-ḡāṣa*, who works by casting stones, the enchanter, *sāḡir* or *rāḡi*. These too are sometimes called *kāhin*, but only by an erroneous use of the word, which probably only came into vogue when Islām had put an end to the higher art of the soothsayer, *kihāna*, while external divination and magic survived. I should like here, again to insist (against Wellhausen, p. 134 and elsewhere) that the *kāhin* was not, like the Jewish *kōhen*, also supplier of oracles. It is especially noteworthy that we never find him in connection with divination by arrow (*istiḡṣām*).

The prophet Muḡammad disclaimed being a *kāhin* (Sūra lii. 29, lxix. 42; also passages like lxxi. 22 sqq.). But his earliest appearance as a prophet reminds us strongly of the manner of these soothsayers. He was an ecstatic and had "true dreams" like them; his *daimonion* (*ṡāḡib*) was the (holy) spirit, whose place was later taken by the angel Gabriel. His revelations are, like the utterance of the *kāhin*, comprised in *saḡṡ* and sometimes begin with the usual abstruse oaths; even the forms which he was still using for administering justice and settling disputes in Medīna during the early years of his stay there correspond in their main features to those of the pagan *kāhin* and *ḡakam*.

It is therefore not surprising that his Meccan countrymen regarded him as a *kāhin* and that his protestations that he was nothing of the kind, but a "prophet", a "messenger of God" made little impression on them. The anti-prophets also, Musalima, ʿṡalaiḡa, and particularly al-Aswad al-Anṡī, no less than Saḡḡāḡ, a lady member of the faculty, played their parts in the guise of *kāhins*.

Islām with its monotheism, its doctrine of the cessation of all revelation with Muḡammad and its regulation of all social customs through the *fiḡh* wiped out the old soothsayers, only gradually, it is true, for we still hear in 132 A. H. of a *kāhin* (al-ṡabari, iii. 21, 9; on *kahana* in modern Arabia, see Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, p. 70; on woman seers in Muslim N. W. Africa, see Doutté, p. 32 sqq.). Muḡammad himself probably never doubted the supernatural nature of the *kāhin*'s utterance. But when he declared the knowledge possessed by the demons, whom he at the same time degraded to devils, to have been stolen from heaven and to be falsified and confused (Sūra lxxii. 8 sqq., xxxiv. 13, vi. 112; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i. 131 sq.), he brought their prophecies into great disrepute, and thus those traditions arose, which warned believers against utilising the services of a *kāhin* (al-Suyūṡī, *al-Djāmiʿ aṡ-ṡaḡḡir*, sub *man atā kāhinan*; al-Bukḡārī, ii. 43, 55, et *passim*; cf. also the remark of Ibn ʿAbbās *iyāḡum wa ʿl-kihāna* etc. in al-Zamakhshari's *Kashshāf*, on Sūra xxxi. 34).

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arabi-*

*schen Heidentums*², p. 134 sqq., 143, 206 sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḡammad*², i., especially p. 255 sqq.; von Krenmer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte, vorzüglich nach arabischen Quellen*, iii. and iv. (*Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wiener Akademie*, cxx. N^o. 8), p. 73 sqq.; van Vloten, *Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern. Mitteilungen aus Djāḡitsʿ Kitāb al-haiwān* (in the *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii. 169 sqq., 233 sqq., viii. 59 sqq.; Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, i. 18 sqq., 69, 107 sqq.; Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², p. 218 sq.; Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 28 sqq.; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Life and Attitude in Islam*, p. 25—33 et *passim*; Hölscher, *Die Profeten. Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte Israels*, p. 79 sqq.; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, i. 204 sq., 257; Schrieke, *Die Himmelsreise Muḡammeds in Der Islam*, vi. 22 sqq.; al-Djāḡiz, *Kit. al-Hayawān*, *passim* (cf. v. Vloten); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḡj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, iii. 347 sqq.; al-Kazwini, *ʿAdṡib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 318 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḡaddima*, ed. Quatremère, *Not. et Extr.*, xvi. 181 sqq.; transl. de Slane, xix. 206 sqq. (ed. Cairo 1327, p. 112 sqq.); al-Iḡshīḡi, *al-Mustatraf*, Ch. lx. (A. FISCHER.)

AL-KĀHINA, the prophetess, the seer. Even her name (Damyā, Dihya) — for Kāhina is simply an epithet — is doubtful. According to Ibn Khaldūn, she belonged to the *Djarwa*, a Jewish(?) tribe in the Awrās [q. v.], which gave chiefs to the Berbers descended from al-Abtar. When ḡassān b. al-Nuʿmān [q. v.], had conquered the Byzantines, he advanced against the Awrās where the Kāhina reigned. The latter inflicted a heavy defeat on him at Miskiyāna (between ʿAin Baiḡā and Tebessa in the modern department of Constantine) or according to other authorities, in the Gabes territory or at the Oasis of Nini, and drove him back beyond the frontier of Ifriḡiya. The difficulties in which his wars in the east had involved the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, delayed the despatch of reinforcements. During this period the Kāhina is said to have extended her sway over the whole country, and to prevent the Arabs from making new inroads, she destroyed the towns, cut down the forests and laid the country waste. At the same time she is said to have adopted as a son a prisoner named Khālīd b. Yazīd al-Kaisī with whom she claimed foster-kinship, which, however, did not prevent her adopted son from afterwards betraying her. Her devastations estranged the people from her and when five years later ḡassān b. al-Nuʿmān returned with reinforcements, the Kāhina was defeated in a fierce battle at ṡabarḡa (82 or 84 = 701 or 703) and killed in the Awrās at the place called Bir al-Kāhina. By her advice two of her sons had gone over to the Arabs before the battle and even received commands in the Muslim army, which continued the war against the Berbers. In reality we do not even know for certain whether the Kāhina was a queen or simply an inspired woman like Lalla Fāṡima, who was the soul of the resistance of the Kabyls against the French in 1857. Almost all that is told of her is legendary, the voluntary devastation of North Africa, her defence in the castle of el-Djem (the amphitheatre of Thysdrus) and the circumstances of her death. A

Berber genealogist, Hānī³ b. Bakūr, even says that she ruled for 65 years and was 137 years old.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, vii. 8 sq.; partial Fr. transl. by de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 213—215, iii. 193 sq.; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 229; Ibn al-Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 20—24; al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, partially ed. by de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, p. 7 sq., 31; al-Tidjāni, *Riḥla*, transl. by Rousseau, p. 64—69; al-Nuwairī, in app. ii. to Vol. i. of *Histoire des Berbères*, p. 340—342; Ibn al-Nādjī, *Ma'ālīm al-Imān* (Tunis 1320, 4 Vols.), i. 56—61; Maḥmūd b. Sa'īd Maḥdīsh al-Safākusi, *Nuḥat al-Anẓar* (Tunis 1321, 2 Vols.), i. 76—80; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Kairawānī, *Kitāb al-Mu'nis* (Tunis 1286), p. 31 sq.; Mawla Aḥmed, *Riḥla* (Fās n. d.), p. 48—51; transl. Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie (Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, ix., Paris 1846), p. 234—241; al-Urthilāni, *Nuḥat al-Anẓar* (Algier 1326), p. 101—104; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, i. 212—218; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. 224—228; Faure-Biguot, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Paris n. d.), p. 25—27; Masqueray, *Traditions de l'Auras Oriental* (*Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, 1885, Part 1—2), p. 80—83 (where she is called Djema'a); De Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Auris* (Constantine 1904), p. 182.

(RENÉ BASSET.)

AL-KĀHIR BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MU'TADID, 'Abbāsīd Caliph. While his brother al-Muḥtadīr was still reigning he was proclaimed Caliph under the name al-Kāhir, but was deposed again in a few days. After the death of al-Muḥtadīr the Amīr al-Umarā' Mu'nis proposed al-Muḥtadīr's son Aḥmad, afterwards the Caliph al-Rāḍī as successor; instead of him, however, al-Kāhir at the age of 35 was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful (end of Shawwāl 320 = Nov. 1, 932). Although he wished to be regarded as devout and just, his treacherous and despotic nature was soon revealed. Through torture the mother of al-Muḥtadīr was forced to give up her whole fortune, and al-Kāhir also extorted considerable sums from the sons and officials of the late Caliph. On the advice of the vizier Ibn Muḥla [q. v.] Mu'nis had the Caliph carefully watched, which naturally did not please the latter, and when he was intending to dismiss Ibn Muḥla, the latter conspired with several others to overthrow al-Kāhir and put Abū Aḥmad, son of al-Muḥtadīr, in his place. But the plot was betrayed. While Ibn Muḥla escaped by flight, Mu'nis was dismissed and when he went to the Caliph, the latter had him arrested and some time afterwards executed. Abū Aḥmad was built into a wall, alive. Ibn Muḥla, however, did not cease in his efforts to incite the populace against al-Kāhir and in Djumādā i. 322 (April 934) an armed crowd broke into the palace. The half-intoxicated Caliph had to surrender; but when he refused to abdicate, he was blinded and thrown into prison. Eleven years later al-Mustakfi restored him to liberty and he lived as a beggar till his death in Djumādā i. 339 (Oct. 950).

Bibliography: al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, viii. 286 sqq., ix. 48, 52; 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje),

p. 142—144, 180—186; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. passim; Ibn al-Tiḡṭākā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 374—376; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 391 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 562—564, 642 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*³, p. 569 sqq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

AL-KĀHIRA. [See CAIRO.]

QAHRAMĀN-NĀMA (or DĀSTĀN-I QAHRAMĀN), a Persian epic in prose, which, like the *Dārāb-Nāma*, *Qirān-i Ḥabashī*, *Hūshang-Nāma*, *Faghfur-Nāma*, *Ṭahmūrāth-Nāma* etc. belongs as regards subject matter to the prose epics which form a cycle round Firdawsī's *Shāh-Nāma*; like the two first named it is ascribed to Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarṭūsī [Ṭarsūsī, q. v.].

The epic which takes us back to the days of the Old Iranian ruler Hūshang and describes the exploits of the hero Qāhramān called Qātil, the "slayer", has attained some importance in the popular literature of the Turks. Among them the very diffuse Persian version occupying eight books is compressed into one volume. The historical background is an effectively developed picture of the struggle between Islām and the Indian fire-worshippers. The legendary and fictitious however occupies a considerable space. In parts the Turkish version with its mixture of prose and poetry shows the favourite technique of the popular chivalrous romances and ballads. In it we also find many burlesque features which remind us very much of the *meddāh* tales and their humorous situations. In many passages the secondary figure of the cunning, sly and covetous paladin, Gerdēn-Keshān entirely overshadows the main hero Qāhramān. His foolish pugnacity is proverbial; cf. Bākī's *Divān* (lith. Constantinople 1256), p. 37 (*kaṣīda* 1).

The substance of the epic is briefly as follows. Qāhramān, son of the Persian king Ṭahmāsp, is carried off when three years old by a *diw* and educated as one of their own children by other *diws* on the mountain Kāf [q. v.]. His cousin and next successor to the throne, Qahtarasp, voluntarily renounces his claim to the throne of Irān after Ṭahmāsp had died prematurely from grief at the loss of his only son, and becomes a paladin in the service of Hūshang, who is chosen Shāh. Through the whole epic runs the idea, freely proclaimed, that heroism is better than a kingdom, for the king's throne is supported by the sword of the hero.

When Hūshang sets out to conquer India, he meets Qāhramān, who has now grown up into a hero of terrible valour, has escaped from the *diw*, and well armed, is going around as a free lance on the search for home and adventure. In his arrogance and boldness he becomes involved in a series of severe duels with Hūshang's heroes, in all of which he is victorious, until finally his identity is established by Qahtarān. He thereupon readily pays homage to Hūshang and goes to India with him as one of his paladins. There they succeed, after much fighting and many vicissitudes, in taking the capital by a cunning coup, in which the king of the Indians is killed.

Qāhramān to whom the principal exploits fall, mounted on a six-footed, four-eyed, unicorn sea-monster that he has tamed, wins by his heroism as a bride the daughter of the Indian ruler, who has taken part in the fighting, unconquered and

invincible (Amazon episodes are found also elsewhere in the epic). But Kaḥramān has to set out soon again to save the mother of Bahrām, another of Hūshang's heroes, from the power of a *diw* in the inaccessible crystal mountain. He succeeds in gaining the talisman of king Kārūn, in liberating his bride, who in the meanwhile had been carried off, and in freeing Bahrām's mother. Returning to Persia, he marries the Indian princess and remains in the service of Hūshang's successor, Shāh Tahmūrāth.

Bibliography: Firdawsī, *Shāh-Nāme*, Fr. transl. by J. Mohl (*Le Livre des Rois*, Paris 1876), p. lxxxvii, sq.; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur in the Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 318; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 149, footnote 6; Fleischer in *Cat. Libr. Manusc. quī in Bibl. Senatoria Civitatis Lips. asservantur*, p. 522 sq., No. 280; *Cat. Cod. Manusc. Bibl. Regiae* (Paris 1739), *Codices Turcici*, No. 320, 321, 343, 344; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr.* . . . zu Wien, ii. No. 799; Pertsch, *Die Türk. Handschr.* . . . zu Gotha, No. 254—257; do. *Verz. der türk. Handschr.* . . . zu Berlin, No. 476; do., *Verz. der pers. Handschr.* . . . zu Berlin, No. 1039; Rieu, *Cat. of the Turkish Manuscr. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 220a; *Kaḥramān-Nāme*, Turk. transl. by Mehmed Emin Yemenī el-Selmāniyewī (lithogr. Konstantinople 1285). (TH. MENZEL.)

KAHRUBĀ or **KAHRABĀ** is our amber; the Persian word means attracter or robber of straw. Usually, as in al-Kaẓwīnī, its peculiar quality is attributed to it without further note; Ibn al-Kabir, however, observes that it attracts straw quickly and strongly, when it is slightly rubbed. This attraction is used poetically as a metaphor for the attraction of lovers to each other.

Amber was brought partly from the Baltic lands of Bulghār in the region of Kasan and was considered to be the resin of the Greek nut, and partly from Spain. Al-Ghāfiḳī, who mentions both kinds, notes that it encloses flies, straw, etc.

Ornaments of amber from the earlier period have not survived in the east; al-Washshā', however, mentions specimens of yellow amber worn as ornaments by women, and the alchemist al-Djildakī signs engraved in amber as talismans. In modern times beads of rosaries and cigar-holders are made of it. It has always been in frequent use as a medicine. Just as we derive the word electricity from *electron* so the Orientals do *kahrabā'īya* from *kahrabā*. Amber is frequently confused with *sandarūs*, which, according to al-Anṭākī, attracts rubbed straw. On the other hand, we find the difference between them emphasized.

Bibliography: cf. G. Jacob in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlii. (1889), 313 sqq., xlv. (1891), 691 sqq.; Schneider, *ibid.*, xlv. (1891), 239 sqq.; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der Naturwiss.*, ii. in *Sitzungsber. der physik.-mediz. Soz. in Erlangen*, xxxvi. (1904), 314 sqq. and *Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. Technik*, i. (1909), 211.

(E. WIEDEMANN.)

KAḤṬABA B. **SHABĪB** AL-ṬĀ'Ī, an Arab general. We find Kaḥṭaba, whose real name was Ziyād, mentioned as early as the year 100 (718/719) among the twelve chiefs of the 'Abbāsīd faction in Khorāsān, who are said to have been chosen by the Kufan emissary Abū 'Ikrima al-Sarrādj to further

the 'Abbāsīd cause. When the long prepared revolution broke out in the summer of 129 (747), Kaḥṭaba was in Mecca to which he had gone in order during the pilgrimage to meet in person the leader of the 'Abbāsīds, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad [q. v.]. He did not return to Khorāsān till 130 (747/748) after Ibrāhīm had appointed him his general. Abū Muslim [q. v.] gave him the supreme command in the war against the Umayyads and he defeated Tamīm b. Naṣr, son of the Umayyad governor of Khorāsān, Naṣr b. Saiyār, at Ṭūs. Tamīm fell in the battle and Naṣr had to evacuate Nisābūr and flee to Djurdjān. When the governor of the 'Irāk, Yazid b. 'Omar b. Hubaira, sent an army under Nubāta b. Ḥanzala al-Kilābī to Djurdjān, Kaḥṭaba took the field against him; on Dhū l-Hiǧdja 1, 130 (Aug. 1, 748) Nubāta was defeated and slain, and Naṣr again took to flight with the object of making his way to Hamadhān, but died on the way in Rabi' i, 131 (Nov. 748). Kaḥṭaba then turned his attention to the west. While his son Ḥasan was besieging Nihāwand, where the remnants of Naṣr's army from Khorāsān had united with the governor of Hamadhān's Syrian troops who had fled from there, Kaḥṭaba gave battle on Raǧab 23, 131 (March 18, 749) at Djabalk near Iṣfahān to 'Amir b. Duḅāra al-Murri who was coming with a large Syrian army. The latter fell in the conflict. After Kaḥṭaba had joined his son, the siege of Nihāwand was continued with vigour, and after several months the Syrian garrison capitulated, while their comrades from Khorāsān, who did not know of the capitulation, were all cut to pieces. Thereupon Kaḥṭaba marched against Kūfa via Ḥulwān and Khāniḳīn, sending his son in advance by the direct route. Ibn Hubaira advanced to meet him with a strong army, but Kaḥṭaba succeeded in evading him and in passing the Tigris unscathed, and then camped near Anḅār. When Ibn Hubaira followed him and pitched his camp at Fām Furāt Bādāqlā on the east bank of the Euphrates, Kaḥṭaba crossed the river and marched along the west bank to a place opposite the enemy camp. In the night of Muḥarram 8, 132 (Aug. 27, 749) he crossed the river again with a small body of men and surprised Ibn Hubaira who had to seek safety in flight. In the confusion of the fighting, Kaḥṭaba disappeared completely; whether he was drowned or killed in the fight must be left undecided.

Bibliography: al-Yaḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 392, 398 sq., 410—412; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1358, 1727, 1769, 1916, 1951, 1953, 1962, 1964, 1988, 2000—2006, 2016, iii. 1—9, 12—19; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, v. s. Index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 117, 124 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 698 sq.; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 315, 319, 325, 335 sqq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

KAḤṬĀN is regarded by the Arabs of the Muhammadan epoch as the "father of (all) Yemen" (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, i. 4; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧ al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, i. 79; *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Sams al-'Ulūm*, ed. by 'Azimuddīn Aḥmad, p. 83 *et passim*) i. e. as the ancestor of all South Arabians, who therefore are usually described comprehensively as "Banū Kaḥṭān", "Kaḅā'il Kaḥṭān" or briefly "Kaḥṭān", when not called simply "Yemenis". Kaḥṭān is thus contrasted with 'Adnān, the symbol of ethnological unity of all the

North Arabians. In this we find agreement not only among the Arab scholars, genealogists, historians, geographers, etc. (cf. e. g. Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen der arab. Stämme u. Familien*, and the *Register* and Reiske, *Primae lineae historiae regnorum arabicorum*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 132 sqq.) but also in the ideas of the people, as they are still to be found in Arabia (see Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. 282) and as found at an earlier period notably in the poetry (see Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Aḫbār al-tīwāl*, p. 348; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1087, also ii. 1672, 1985; al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, ii. 142; do., *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishrāf* = *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, viii. 109, etc. etc.; in the statements, that reflect popular opinions, we indeed find as the counterpart of Kaḥṭān usually not 'Adnān but his fictitious son Ma'add, e. g. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 281; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1056, 1084; and al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, p. 88, or his imaginary grandson Nizār, e. g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v. 223, vi. 42 sq., 46, 143, 150, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iv. 273, or even his imaginary great-grandsons Muḍar and Rabī'a, e. g. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1969 *infra*, 1985 sq. Arabic sources usually give Kaḥṭān the following ancestry 'Ābar (not 'Ābir, see e. g. *Ḳāmūs*, s. v.) — Shālakh (or Shālāḥ) — Arfakhshadh (or Arfakhshad) — Sām — Nūḥ; they also give him a brother, Fālagh. (The line Kaḥṭān b. Fālagh b. 'Ābar b. Shālakh etc. in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 2400, and al-Dīmashqī, *Nukhbāt al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 249, 252 is obviously due merely to a slip). These names are of course simply arabicised forms of the Old Testament names 'Ēṣār (Eber) — Shālāḥ (Shelah) — Arpaxshad (Arphaxad) — Shēm (Shem) — Nōah (Noah) and Pālāy (Peleg) *Genesis* x. and i. *Chron.* i. Kaḥṭān is therefore identical with the O. T. Yoḳṭān (Ἰεκταν), son of Eber and brother of Peleg and ancestor of various South Arabian peoples (*Genesis* x. 25 sqq., and i. *Chron.* i. 19 sqq.); Yoḳṭān, probably to be taken as meaning the "smaller", the "younger", i. e. as compared with his brother Peleg, might be a mere ethnological invention with the object of connecting the Arabs with the Hebrews). The Arab genealogists, etc. are quite positive on their identity; they constantly assert: "Yaḳṭān (more rarely Yaḳṭān) is Kaḥṭān" (e. g. al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, p. 31; do. *Murūdj*, iii. 143; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, i. 57, *Tādī al-Arūs*, sub *ḳḥṭ*; see also Doughty, *op. cit.*, i. 229; Yaḳṭān, it is true, appears occasionally through confusion as the brother or son of Kaḥṭān, so Ibn Kuṭaiba, *al-Ma'ārīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 14; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 79 sq.; *Tādī al-Arūs*, *loc. cit.*, and al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 217). Indeed, several Arab scholars even assert — and on this they agree with von Kremer, *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Jemen*, p. 7 sq. — that Kaḥṭān is only an arabicised form of Yoḳṭān (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 143 and *Tādī al-Arūs*, *loc. cit.*). But Yoḳṭān could not possibly become Kaḥṭān by any phonological laws. The equation Yoḳṭān = Kaḥṭān has in all probability rather come to be made because some old Arab — probably a Yemenī — genealogist quite arbitrarily, simply from a certain similarity of the names, identified the Biblical Yoḳṭān with an actually existing South Arabian tribe Kaḥṭān, so that by this artifice, the Yemenīs might be linked up to the Biblical genealogical system, which reaches back to Adam, in the same way as had been

done with the North Arabians under the influence of the Qur'ān and the Bible by tracing 'Adnān back to Ishmael, the son of Abraham (see e. g. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 3 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1113 sq.; etc., etc.). Such a tribe of Kaḥṭān, which would surely have been of a certain degree of importance, cannot actually be proved with certainty to have existed in pre-Muhammadian Arabia. But it seems to me to be at least not impossible that the *Karavīrai* of Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, vi. 7, 20, 23) are to be explained as "Kaḥṭānites" (as Knobel has already done, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, p. 185, and more recently Moritz in Pauly's *Real-encycl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, new edition, s. v. *Katanitai*) and not as Katanites" (as von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 8, Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 207 and Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 283, 423). The fact, that of the two or more tribes of Kaṭān in question none could have been important enough to be known outside of Arabia, seems to me to be against the latter interpretation. The town of Kaḥṭān (between Zabīd and Ṣan'ā') mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim*, 2nd ed. = *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 87, 94 seems also to point to an old South Arabian tribe of Kaḥṭān (cf. also the Āl Kaḥṭān mentioned there p. 104 and described as the "oldest princes of Yemen"). Finally, it is not at all improbable that the beginnings of the modern clan Kaḥṭān (see below) reach back to the pre-Muhammadian period.

The great tribal confederation of the Kaḥṭān fell — in the Muhammadian period at least — into two groups, the smaller of the Ḥimyar and the larger of the Kahlān, whom the official genealogy put together as brothers and traced their descent from Kaḥṭān by the following line: Ya'rub — Yaḥdjub — Saba' — Ḥimyar + Kahlān (Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, i; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, p. 80, 6 etc.; other lists, the first of them in connection with *Genesis*, x. 26 sqq., are given in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, ii. 57). In the genealogical table in *Genesis*, Saba' (Sheṣā') appears as a son of Yoḳṭān. Why the Arab genealogists have inserted Ya'rub and Yaḥdjub between Kaḥṭān and Saba' (and the two are also found, but in the reverse order, in the genealogy of 'Adnān, as grandson and great-grandson or as great-grandson and great-great-grandson of Ismā'il; see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, p. 80), is a question that can hardly be answered with certainty. The Ḥimyar [q. v.], the epigones of the Minaean, Sabaeen and Ḥimyarite kingdom, were presumably for the most part settled, while the Kahlān may have for the most part been nomads or half-nomads; cf. the expressions: "the Ḥimyar and the Arabs among the Yemenīs", "the Ḥimyar and the clans (*ḥabā'il*) of Yemen" and similar expressions in Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 116 sqq. The numerous South Arabian tribes which we find in Muḥammad's time in most different parts of Northern Arabia and even in Syria and the 'Irāk belong principally to the Kahlān.

The Kaḥṭān and the Ma'add were apparently separated even in the pre-Muhammadian period by a racial hatred, perhaps originally mainly based on the opposition between the desert and the sown. This enmity was intensified by the repeated raids of the Yemenīs into the lands of the Ishmaelites [see above, i. 373] as well as later by the anta-

gonism between the Anṣār (Medinites) and the Quraysh, which came to a head after the death of the Prophet and influenced the history of the first two centuries of Islam in the most baneful fashion. It was perhaps this feud that first linked the Yemeni tribes on the one side and the Ishmaelite on the other into closer ethnological unities. One of its more innocuous results was the *muṣāḥara*, the struggle for rank and glory, which continually prevailed between the two antipodes (cf. e. g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi. 136, ii. 142 etc.). The Kahtān, in view of the splendour of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, had the more right at first to feel the more distinguished. But Islam with the mission of Muḥammad and the primacy of the Quraysh brought the Ma'add a tremendous superiority. The Yemenis endeavoured to counterbalance this in the most different ways. First of all they created an entirely romantic South Arabian saga, which pictured their past greatness in the most splendid colours (see below in the *Bibliography*). They then made Kahtān son of the Prophet Hūd [q. v.], known from the Qur'ān, whom they next partly identified with 'Ādār (Nashwān, *al-Ḥaṣida al-Hijriyya*, ed. von Kremer, p. 4; *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Nabataen's*, p. 83; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tarīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 220; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 57; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tamīh*, p. 81; Doughty, *op. cit.*, ii. 37, etc.). They then tried to connect themselves with the 'Adnān genealogy: perhaps by partly making the ancient Djuhim [q. v.], the brothers-in-law of Ismā'īl, to be direct descendants of Kahtān (Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Abu Ḥanīfa al-Dinawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 57; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tamīh*, p. 185; Abu 'l-Fida', *Mukhtasar Tarīkh al-Sulṭān*, partly edited by Fleischer as *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 130, etc.), but especially by the fact that some of their genealogists gave Kahtān a genealogy direct from Ismā'īl, who thus became "father of all the Arabs" (Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 5; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 2400; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii. 142; do., *al-Tamīh*, p. 81; al-Dinashīrī, *op. cit.*, p. 246, 252; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansīb*, f. 443b, etc.). They may be also responsible for the theory that the Kahtān, together with the 'Ād [q. v.], Ṭhamūd, Ṭasm, Imlik (Amalek, see *Amalik*), Hjadis [q. v.], etc., the so-called "lost Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-ḥāḍira*) represent the genuine (primary) Arabs (*al-'Arab al-ʿarība* or *al-'arīb* etc.), while the Ma'add on the other hand are "arabicised (secondary) Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-muṣawwiba*; cf. on this theory, as well as on the other, according to which only the 'Ād, Ṭhamūd, etc., are 'Arab 'arība, the Kahtān on the contrary 'Arab muṣawwiba and the Ma'add 'Arab muṣawwiba, Lane, *Lexicon*, sub *al-'Arab*; Knobel, *op. cit.*, p. 179 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 215; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tamīh*, p. 188; also above i. 372b sq.). Finally, we may here mention the eschatological ḥadīth of South Arabian origin, which prophesies the rule in time to come of a noble, pious Kahtānid; see Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir al-Maḍīnī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Tarīkh*, ed. Huart, ii. 183 sq., and Snouck Hurgonje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 12 (= *Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 156).

The native lexicons (*Lisān al-'Arab*, *Qāmūs*, and *Taḥḍīr al-'Arūs*, sub *ḥḥ*) give two nisbas from Kahtān, both "good Arabic": *Ḥaḥḥānī* and the remarkable form *Aḥḥānī*. A tribe Kahtān (more accurately Ghaṭān, sing. Ghaṭānī, plur. Ghaṭānī)

still exists, as was briefly mentioned above. It is exclusively Beduin and pitches its tents in the desert on the eastern borders of the northern Yemen and of the southern Hijaḥ (roughly between 18° and 23° N. Lat.); but little bodies of them penetrate in the summer far into the Nejd, as far as Washm, and even to the province of Kaṣīm. It is very numerous, rich in cattle and powerful, and also very proud as the "noblest blood of the South Arabians". Its nobility seems, however, to find expression primarily in a fanatical savagery and villainous cruelty, unparalleled elsewhere even among the sons of Arabia's deserts.

A clan, Kahtān, has also survived down to the present day (see i. 373b).

Bibliography (besides works mentioned in the text): Ibn 'Abdūn, *al-Thar* (Bulak 1284), ii. 46 sq.; al-Suwaidī, *Saḥīḥ al-Lihāḥ* fī Muṣrifat Kahtān al-'Arab (Bombay 1296), p. 16; Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir al-Maḍīnī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Tarīkh*, ed. Huart, iv. 103 sq., 110 *infra* sq.; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdāt Ibn 'Adnān*, ed. Dozy, p. 76 sq.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 4 sqq.; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 22 sqq.; Caetani, *Saudi et Sarrā Orientalis*, iii. 361; D. S. Margoliouth, Art. 'Jahūm in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; — on the South Arabian saga: von Kremer, *Die himjarische Kasidh*, ed. and transl. (Leipzig 1865); do., *Über die südarabische Sage* (Leipzig 1866); *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Yemen* (Leipzig 1867); D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Studien* (reprint from *Sprachgesch. d. phil.-hist. Klasse der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.*, lxxxvi, Wien 1877); do., *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Māh des Hamānī*, Parts i, ii. (Reprints from the above mentioned *Sitzungsber.*, xciv, and xcvi; Wien 1879, 1881); E. Griffini, *Il Poemetto di Qudām ben Qahtān. Nuova versione della Saga Fenicia del signore 'Abd Kahlā' (100—450 di Cristo)*, Arab. Text with introd. and notes in *Riv. degli Studi Orient.*, vii. (Rome 1916); — on the present day Kahtān: Niebahr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 275; Burckhardt, *Kreise in Arabien*, p. 672, 680 sq.; do., *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabites*, ii. 46; Sprenger, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xvii. 210; do., *Pres. u. Konservat. des Orients*, p. 130 sq.; Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i. 142, 208, ii. 2; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, ii. *Daḥmān*, p. 314, 550 sq.; J. J. Hess, *Kahtānische Beduinensiedler*, in the *Verhandl. des XIII. Internat. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, p. 302 sqq.; do., *Schäferwesen aus Zentralarabien* (*Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1912, N^o. 19), p. 10 sqq.; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Ind. s. v. Kahtān; H. St.-J. B. Philby, *The Desert of Arabia* (London 1922, 2 Vols.), Ind. s. v. Qahtān; *A Handbook of Arabia*, compiled by Geogr. Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, i. Ind. s. v. Qahtān tribes; al-Batānī, *al-Khāṣṣ al-Ḥijāzīya*, 2. ed. (Cairo 1320), p. 53, 54.

(A. Fischer)

QAHWA, an Arabic word of uncertain etymology, which is the basis of the usual words for coffee in various languages. Originally a name for wine, found already in the old poetry (see

Landberg, *Etudes*, ii. 1057 and *al-Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi. 110, 7; viii. 79, 16, xx. 180, 3), this word was transferred towards the end of the viith (xvth) century in the Yemen to the beverage made from the berry of the coffee tree. The assumption of such a transference of meaning is, it is true, not accepted by some who consider *kahwa* — at least in the sense of coffee — as a word of African origin and seek to connect it with the alleged home of the coffee tree, Kaffa, although they also assume contamination with *kahwa* "wine" (see Ritter, *Erkunde*, xiii. 566; Vollers in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* i. 657; *Hobson-Jobson*; Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii. 1057—66). On the other hand, it should be noted that the holders of this view do not prove that coffee was exported from Kaffa as early as 1400, and do not quote a similar word in the languages of Abyssinia and adjoining lands, while the usual word for coffee there (*būn* for tree, berry and beverage; see Ambruster, *Initia Amharica*, ii. Cambridge 1910, p. 58; Coulbeaux and Schreiber, *Dict. de la langue tigrāi*, Vienna 1915, p. 408; L. Reinisch, *Die Kafa-Sprache* etc., ii. in *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., 1888, cxvi. 273; see also Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii. 1055 sq.) has passed in the form *bunn* (in rhyme also *bīn*) as a name of the tree and berry into Arabic. But as it is probable that the drinking of coffee spread in the Yemen out of Ṣūfī circles and a special significance was given to wine in the poetical language of the mystics, a transference of the poetic name for wine to the new beverage would not be at all impossible.

The coffee tree was not indigenous to South Arabia and was probably introduced from the highlands of Abyssinia, where it is found in profusion growing wild, notably in Kaffa. But there is no trace of authority for the assertion (Desfers and *Handbook of Arabia*) that the coffee tree was already introduced into Yemen in the period of the Abyssinian conquest and of the fall of the Ḥimyar kingdom, about a century before the Hijra. In this case the older literature would hardly have left it unnoticed.

The earliest mention of coffee so far found is in writings of the xth (xvth) century. According to (Aḥmad) Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār, quoted by 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djazīrī in his essay (see below, *Bibliography*), the popularity of *kahwa* as a beverage in the Yemen was first known in Cairo in the beginning of the xth (xvth) century. It was there taken especially in Ṣūfī circles, as it produced the necessary wakefulness for the nightly devotional exercises. According to this authority, it had been brought to 'Aden by the jurist Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Dhahbānī (died 875 = 1470/1) who had become acquainted with it during an involuntary stay on the African coast and on his return devoted himself to mysticism; and it soon became popular.

Another reference in al-Djazīrī, however, ascribes the introduction of the beverage to 'Alī b. 'Omar al-Shādhilī. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Omar of the family of Da'sain died in 821 (1418) according to al-Shardjī. He also might have become acquainted with coffee in Abyssinia, for after entering the Shādhiliya order, he lived for a period in the entourage of the king Sa'īd al-Dīn (i. e. between 788 = 1386 and 805 or 807 = 1401/2 or 1404/5, cf. al-Makrizī, *al-Itmām bi-Akhbār man*

bi-Ard al-Ḥabash min Mulūk al-Islām, ed. Rineck, Leiden 1790, p. 24; Paulitschke, *Harar*, Leipzig 1888, p. 504 *infra*), who gave him his sister to wife. Even after he had founded his *zāwiya* in al-Makhā (to follow al-Shardjī) gifts continued to reach him from admirers in Abyssinia.

In the treatise by 'Abd al-Kādir (Ibn) al-'Aidārūs (see below, *Bibliography*) 'Alī b. 'Omar, the saint of al-Makhā, is alone mentioned as the introducer of the beverage *kahwa* (*muḥdith al-kahwa*, f. 341^b; *wāḍiḥā*, f. 347^b, in a verse by Shaikh b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aidārūs, died 990 = 1582). His claim to fame is, it is true, qualified by the note "that, before he prepared the beverage, only the kernel of the husk i. e. the *bunn* was used and the husks were thrown on the dung-heaps (f. 342^a). In a verse attributed to him, however, he praises the *kahwat al-bunn* as a dispeller of sleep and aid to devotional exercises (f. 342^b). While al-Shardjī says not a word of his connection with coffee, 'Abd al-Kādir al-'Aidārūs numbers the introduction of the beverage among his miracles (*karāmāt*, f. 342^a).

The legend as given by Ḥādījī Khalifa seems to have made two individuals out of 'Alī b. 'Omar, of whom 'Alī represents the founder of the Shādhiliya order, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 656 = 1258; see al-Shā'rānī, *Lawāḥiḥ al-Anwār*, Cairo 1299, ii. 5) and his disciple 'Omar the saint of al-Makhā (Mukhā). The latter was ordered to settle, by command of his teacher who had appeared to him at his own funeral, at the place where a wooden ball which he gave him should come to rest. This is how he came to Mukhā. On the charge of having miscondacted himself with the daughter of the king who was staying with him for a cure, he was banished into the mountains of Uṣāb (Wuṣāb, N. E. of Zabīd). He and his disciples, who followed him into exile, are said to have sustained themselves with *kahwa* (here the berry) and finally to have made a decoction from it. His visitors were cured of an itch, epidemic in Mukhā, by taking coffee and this procured the saint an honourable return.

The third person who is given credit for the introduction of coffee is Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aidārūs. The recent essay by 'Alawī al-Sakḥāf (see below, *Bibliography*) contains a statement from the *Tārīkh* of al-Nadīm al-Ghazzī (i. e. apparently *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-Manāḥib 'Ulamā' al-Mī'a al-'āshira* by Nadīm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Litt.*, ii. 291 sq.), according to which this Ṣūfī, who is called here a Shādhilī, once came upon a coffee tree in his wanderings and ate the berries. As he noticed their stimulating effect he took them as a food and recommended them to his disciples so that they became known in different countries. The reference here is probably to the Ṣūfī of this name who died in 'Aden in 914 (1508—9) (Abū Makhrāma, Leiden MS. 1956, f. 188; al-Nabḥānī, *Djāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'*, Cairo 1329, i. 263), whose grave is still honoured there. 'Abd al-Kādir (Ibn) al-'Aidārūs only mentions his fondness of coffee and quotes his *ḥaṣida* in praise of it. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī in his tractate *Iṣṭifā' al-Ṣafwa li-Tasfiyat al-Kahwa*, f. 2^b mentions Abū Bakr al-'Aidārūs as the introducer (*munshi'*) of the *kahwa*.

According to Glaser (*Mitt. der Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx. 25), it is stated in a Turkish source (which he does not give) that in the

xvth century the wālī Üzdemir (cf. Ahmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, i. 83 sqq.) transplanted coffee from Africa to Yemen.

This fact, that the merit of introducing coffee as a beverage is given to different individuals suggests that we have to deal with various local traditions. The tradition of Mukhā is the most firmly established and most widely known; therefore 'Alī b. 'Omar al-Shādhili — who is frequently confused with the founder of the Shādhiliya order (d'Ohsson, von Hammer, Rinn) — has become the patron saint of coffee-growers, coffee-house keepers and coffee-drinkers (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii. p. lxxxviii). In Algeria coffee is also known as *shādiliye* after him (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1871). He is popularly regarded as the founder of Mukhā, which is, however, already mentioned by al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifat Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 74, 16, 87, 5, 119, 18), although it owed its rise to coffee. A well, a gate and the mosque over his grave preserve the memory of al-Shādhili in Mukhā (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, I, Kopenhagen 1774, 438—440; cf. also the legend in Ḥādjdī Khalifa, and 'Abd al-Karīm Kashmiri, *Bayān-i Wāḳi'*, French transl. by Langlès entitled *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke par Abdoul Kérym*, Paris 1797, p. 202 sq.).

Al-Shādhili and al-'Aidarūs (probably not Haidar, as de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*², i. 461 thinks) have become Christian monks named Sciadli and Aidrus in the legend given by Naironi. The motif of the camels or goats in which the enlivening effects of coffee were first noticed has so far not been found in Oriental sources. — According to a popular legend, the coffee tree shot up from goat's dung sown by the saint (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchinese*, Leiden 1906, i. 260).

The legends are probably correct in saying that the taking of coffee in Arabia first began among Yemeni Ṣūfis. They were particularly fond of the beverage because its effects facilitated the performance of their religious ceremonies. They therefore considered this as its original destination (*maḥḍū' aṣlī*) and found that it incited to good and hastened on the mystical raptures (*fath*) (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa* f. 342b). The pious intention, with which it was taken, made the drinking of coffee a good work (*ḥaṣa*). It received a ceremonial character, being accompanied by the recitation of a so-called *rātīb*. This *rātīb* consisted in the repetition 116 times of the invocation *yā kawī*. This usage is based — apart from the similarity in sound between *kahwa* and *kawī* — on the fact that the numerical value of *kawī*, i. e. 116, is the same as that of *kawī*, i. e. *kawī*, "strong", one of the most beautiful names of Allāh [cf. above i. 303a]. According to Shaikh b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aidarūs, the recitation of the *fātiha* [q. v.] should precede it. Shaikh b. Ismā'il Bā 'Alawī al-Shihr, however, prescribed the fourfold repetition of the Sūra *Yā-Sin* (Sūra XXXVI) with a hundred-fold *taṣliya* on the Prophet as *rātīb* (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 344b *infra* sq., 345b, 347a). Thus when taken with a righteous intention and devotion and genuine religious conviction, coffee-drinking leads to the enjoyment of the *kahwa ma'nawīya*, the "ideal *kahwa*", also called *kahwat al-ṣūfiya*, which is explained as "the enjoyment which the people of God (*Ahl Allāh*) feel in beholding the hidden mysteries and attain-

ing the wonderful disclosures (*mukāshafāt*) and the great revelations (*futūḥāt*)" (*op. cit.*, f. 341b, 345a *supra*, 345b *infra* sq.). — 'Alī b. 'Omar al-Shādhili is reported to have said that coffee, like the water of Zamzam, serves the purpose for which it is drunk (*op. cit.*, f. 348a, cf. above ii. 588a *infra*), and the saying has been handed down of Ahmad b. 'Alawī Bā Djaḥdab (d. 973 = 1565/66; cf. al-Nabbānī, *op. cit.*, i. 330) who in his last years is said to have lived on nothing but coffee: — "He who dies with some *kahwa* in his body enters not into hell-fire" (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 344b).

Coffee was probably not known as a beverage in South Arabia much earlier than the turn of the viiith (xivth) century. Whether the tree was introduced long before this is doubtful. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī [q. v.] speaks in his *Ṭ'ab* (commentary on *al-'Ubbā*, probably by 'Alī b. 'Omar al-Saifi; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 403 sq.) of a beverage which appeared (viz. in Mecca) shortly before the xth century A. H. (i. e. about the end of the xvth century) and was prepared from the husk of the *bunn*, a tree introduced from the region of Zaila', and called *kahwa* (quotation in 'Alawī al-Sakḥāf, p. 9). Among the jurists who gave an opinion in favour of coffee, the oldest is Djamāl al-Din Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Kabbīn al-'Adanī (died in 'Aden 842 = 1438, cf. Abu Makhrama, f. 159b sq.; according to al-Nabbānī, *op. cit.*, i. 155 sq.: 829 = 1425/26).

An *ur-dūza* of Sharaf al-Din al-'Amriṭi gives the year 817 (1414/5) as the date at which coffee became domesticated in Mecca (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iv. N^o. 2107). According to the 'Umdat al-Ṣafwa, however, the drinking of a decoction of coffee husks first appeared towards the end of the ixth (xvth) century, while previously only the eating of the fruit as a delicacy (*naḥl*) was known. The drinking of coffee dropped out of use again for a time, indeed, but it finally established itself and soon people drank coffee even in the sacred mosque and regarded it as a welcome tonic at *dhihr* and *maḥḍid*. Coffee-houses (*buyūt al-kahwa*) were soon opened, where men and women met to music or where they played chess or a similar game for a stake. This and the custom of handing round the coffee on the manner of wine naturally aroused the indignation of the "unco guid" of whom many had from the first set their faces against the beverage as an objectionable innovation. They found a champion in Khā'ir Bey, who was appointed chief of the police in Mecca in 917 (1511) by Kānṣūh [q. v.]. He carried through the proclamation of coffee as forbidden (*ḥarām*) in the same year, in an assembly of jurists of the different schools in which the unfavourable judgment of two well-known physicians and the evidence of a number of coffee-drinkers regarding its intoxicating and dangerous effects ultimately decided the issue. The *ḥādīs* signed the protocol of the assembly. Only the then mufti of Mecca dared to decline his co-operation and became therefore the object of coarse suspicions. By putting the questions in a clever way they were at the same time able to get an opinion condemning coffee from the faḳīhs of Cairo. The rescript which Kānṣūh issued in reply to the protocol sent to Cairo did not completely fulfil the hopes of the opponents of coffee as it contained no absolute interdiction but only allowed measures to be taken

against any concomitant features contrary to religion. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, as late as about 950 (1543), had a vigorous discussion, at a wedding feast (*walimat ʿurs*) where coffee was offered to the guests, on the new beverage with a prominent mufti, who declared it intoxicating and forbidden. Ibn Ḥadjar refers to the assembly above mentioned and cannot find words strong enough to condemn its decision and the manner in which it was reached (*Safwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 352^b — 356^a, quotation from the *Muʿdjam Mashāʾikhihi*).

In accordance with this verdict, Khāʾir Bey forbade the taking and sale of coffee and had a number of vendors punished and their stocks burned, so that coffee husks (*kishr*) disappeared from the market. But Kānshūh's rescript again gave the coffee-drinkers courage and when in the next year one of the leading opponents of coffee was subjected to disciplinary punishment by a high official from Egypt and Khāʾir Bey was replaced by a successor who was not averse to coffee, they were again able to enjoy with impunity the beverage, to which these measures had only attracted the attention of wider circles. Only occasionally do we still read of action being taken against disgraceful proceedings in coffee-houses. An edict forbidding coffee issued by the Sultan of Turkey during the Ḥadjdī in 950 (1544) was hardly respected at all.

In Cairo coffee was first made known in the first decade of the xth (xvth) century in the Azhar quarter by Ṣūfis from Yemen, who held their *dhiḳr*'s in the mosque with their companions in opinion from Mekka and Madīna while partaking of coffee. After it had been publicly sold and drunk there for a time, the faḳīh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Sunbāṭī, famous as a preacher, declared it forbidden in 939 (1532/3). Two years later in a meeting for exhortation in the Azhar mosque he so incited his hearers against the beverage that they fell upon the coffee-houses, made short work of their contents and maltreated the occupiers. The difference of opinion thus emphasised caused the ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. Ilyās al-Ḥanafī to take the opinions of prominent scholars; as a result of personal observation of the effects of coffee he confirmed the opinion of those who considered the beverage a permitted one. Although in the years following coffee was from time to time for brief periods forbidden in Cairo, the number of its devotees, even among the religious authorities, steadily increased.

Several notable theologians had given *fatwā*'s in favour of coffee, for example, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī (died 926 = 1520), Aḥmad b. ʿOmar al-Saifi (d. 930 = 1523/24), Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (died between 950 and 960 = 1543—1553), who in verses in praise of the coffee also gives the advice that the opinion of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ should be set aside and the *fatwā* of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan followed (*Safwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 349^{a, b}; cf. also al-Ṣiddīqī's verses in Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Kashkūl*, Bulāḳ 1288, i. 19), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabidī (d. 975 = 1567/68) and others (*Safwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 348^b sq.). — Gradually the view came to prevail that coffee was in general permitted (*mubāḥ*), but that under certain circumstances the other legal categories could be applied to it also.

Intercourse with the holy cities and with Egypt brought coffee to Syria, Persia and Turkey.

Rauwolf in 1573 found the beverage widely known in Syria (Ḥalab). In Constantinople and Rūmilī coffee first appeared in the reign of Sulaimān I (926—974 = 1520—1566). In 962 (1554) a man from Ḥalab and another from Damascus opened the first coffee-houses (*kahwe-khāne*) in Constantinople. These soon attracted gentlemen of leisure, wits and literary men seeking distraction and amusement, who spent the time over their coffee reading or playing chess or backgammon, while poets submitted their latest poems for the verdict of their acquaintances. This new institution was by way of joke called also *mekteb-i ʿirfān* (school of knowledge). The coffee-house met with such approval that it soon attracted civil servants, ḳāḍis and professors also. Poets like Māmiyā al-Rūmī (cf. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, p. 147) and later Belighī sang the praises of coffee, and the opinion expressed in 928 by Sulaimān's court physician, Badr al-Dīn al-Kūṣūnī (Leiden MS. 945, f. 58) was not unfavourable. The coffee-houses increased rapidly in number. Among the servants of the upper classes were *kahwedjī*, whose special task was the preparation of coffee, and at the court they were subordinate to a *kahwedjibashī*. In religious circles, however, it was found that the coffee-house was prejudicial to the mosque, and the ʿulamā thought the coffee-house even worse than the wine-room. The preachers were specially eager for the prohibition of coffee and the way was paved for them by the muftis (according to d'Ohsson: Abu ʿl-Suʿūd) with an opinion that (roasted) coffee was to be considered coal and therefore forbidden (the same argument is found in the treatise by Muḥammad (ʿAlī?) Dedeh, Leiden MS. 682, i. f. 4^b). The fact that current politics were discussed in the coffee-houses, the government's acts criticised and intrigues woven, was the principal cause for the intervention of the authorities. Edicts issued in the reigns of Murād III (982—1003 = 1574—95) and Aḥmad I (1012—16 = 1613—17) were not strictly enforced and still less obeyed. The religious authorities met public opinion by declaring coffee legal, if it had not reached the degree of being like coal. The grand viziers also benefited as they levied one or two gold pieces a day on the coffee-houses, and were therefore anxious to increase their number.

Murād IV (1032—49 = 1623—40) issued a strict prohibition of coffee (and tobacco). He had all the coffee-houses torn down and many forfeited their lives for the sake of coffee. Under Mehmed IV (1058—99 = 1648—87), while the sale of coffee in the streets was allowed, the prohibition of coffee-houses was at first renewed by the grand vizier Köprülü for political reasons. This prohibition could not possibly be kept in force permanently, and later we even read of measures taken by the government to lower the high price of coffee. From Sulaimān's time a tax was levied on coffee which was at a rate of 8 aspers per *okḳa* for Muslim buyers and 10 for Christian; in 1109 (1697) there was added a super-tax of 5 paras the *okḳa*, which was called *bidʿat-i kahwe*, for both.

According to von Hammer, *Geschichte* etc., v. 713, the question of the correct spelling of *kahwa* with *h* or *k* has been disputed in Turkey. *Kahwa* is actually found in several manuscripts e. g. in the opinion of al-Kūṣūnī above mentioned.

The coffee tree flourishes in south-western Ara-

bia and does best on the western side of the Serāt at a height of 3400—6800 feet, where it finds in the depths of the valleys and on the slopes a fertile, moist soil and the uniform warm temperature necessary for it. The plantations on the slopes arranged in terraces (see the picture in *Handbook of Arabia*, Pl. xiv.), however, need regular watering; in addition, the mist ('*umā*'), *su-khaimāni*) that rises in thick clouds out of Tihāma brings them moisture. To protect the trees from the heat of the sun and from locusts they are surrounded by shady trees like carob trees, tamarinds, etc. The tree which is raised from seed (or propagated from layers) reaches a height of 6 to 16 feet with a diameter of 2—2½ inches and yields berries in the fourth year. It is an evergreen and throughout the year bears both blossom and berries in various stages of ripeness so that there is really no fixed harvest-time. The main harvest, however, varying with kind and locality, usually falls in the months from March to June. After the berries have been carefully gathered and allowed to dry they are shelled in a mill. The beans and the husks are then dried in the sun a second time.

The coffee tree is found as far north as 'Asir [q. v.] where it is said to flourish exceedingly on mount Sh-dh-y (Shadhā) in the land of the Zuhārān (north of the Wādī Dawka, Doka on Stieler's map). (Sharaf 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Barakātī, *al-Rihla al-Yamāniyya*, Cairo 1330, p. 16; cf. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, ii. 377; for other places in 'Asir see *Handbook of Arabia*, p. 136, 137). The most southern areas of coffee cultivation are Bilād al-Hudjriya, Wādī Warazān and Wādī Banā. To the east we find coffee grown in the land of the Yāfi' and in the Djawf. But it is the Ḥarāz mountains, the valley of al-Farsh belonging to the land of the Banū Maṭar, the Djabal Raima and the district round 'Udain that are particularly celebrated for their excellent coffee. (For further information see Grohmann's book [s. *Bibliography*] where, too, the varieties are detailed).

The cultivation of coffee was and still is of great economic importance for Yemen. In the time of Ḥādījī Khalifa, i. e. about the middle of the xviii century, the annual export was 80,000 bales. Ṣan'ā' and Bait al-Faḥih [q. v.] were centres of coffee trade. Mukhā, which the coffee trade brought to great prosperity, declined completely in the xixth century and has now lost all importance. Coffee is now exported through al-Hudaida, where already in Niebuhr's time an important traffic was found, and especially 'Aden (for details see von Neimans, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xii. 397—403, W. Schmidt, and in the *Handbook of Arabia*).

It has always been the custom in Yemen to drink preferably a decoction of the husks, which like the latter is called *kishr*, and is to be obtained in numerous coffee-houses (*miḥḥāya*). To *kishr* as well as to the coffee made from beans, flavourings such as cardamom, ginger, cloves, etc., are often added. In the social life of the Arab no ceremony or festival is complete without coffee, and coffee is the first thing offered to a visitor. An invitation to coffee in Mecca means an invitation to a meal. The Arabs drink coffee without sugar; only in South Arabia milk is occasionally taken; sugar has become the vogue among the Turks.

The fresh ripe fruit is pleasing to the taste and nourishing. The eating of the *bunn* — it is not

stated whether fresh or dried — is particularly recommended in a *qaṣida* by Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nāshiri (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 358^b sq.) on account of its various health-giving virtues. We have no information available as to whether the custom usual among the Galla and in Kaffa of eating ground coffee mixed with butter is also usual in South Arabia. In Persia the eating of dry ground coffee is not unusual.

For Arabic and Persian works on coffee in addition to those quoted above and in the *Bibliography*, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. der arab. Handschr. ... zu Berlin*, N^o. 5476—5480; Pertsch, *Die arab. Handschr. ... zu Gotha*, N^o. 94(9), 2105—2109, 2777; *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, iii. N^o. 1401; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litter.*, iii. 317 and 333, N^o. 16.

Kahwa is also the name of the room in which coffee is served and thus comes to mean receptionroom and "coffee-house". The word is also used in the sense of "tip" and "present". — On coffeehouses in the East, see the works mentioned below by Olearius, Chardin, Russell, von Hammer, Snouck Hurgronje. — On coffee-vessels see Lane, Snouck Hurgronje, von Oppenheim, Socin, Euting, Landberg.

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1. a), *Iṣṭifā'* (Var.: *Asfā*) *al-Ṣafwa li-Taṣfiyat al-Kahwa*, Ms. Leiden 1138 (*Cat. Cod. Orient.*, iv. 161); Dāūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat Uli 'l-Albāb wa 'l-Djāmi' lil-'Adjab al-'Udjāb* (Cairo 1294), i. 121 sq. (s. v. *bunn*), cf. p. 369 (s. v. *kahwa*); *Tādī al-'Arūs*, ix. 145 *infra*, x. 308 *infra*; *Kit. al-Dhakhīr wal-Tuhaf*, quoted in Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Philol.* (Leiden 1899), ii. LXXXVIII; Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Shardī, *Ṭabaḥāt al-Khawāṣṣ* (Cairo 1321), p. 100; 'Alawī b. Aḥmad al-Sakḥāf (wrote in 1295 = 1878), *Risāla fī Kam' al-Shahwa 'an Tanāwul al-Tunbāk wal-Kafta wal-Kāt wal-Kahwa*, Kairo 1302, p. 8—10; Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Djihānumā* (Constantinople 1145), p. 535—6 (French trans. in De Sacy, *Chrest.*, i. 480—3; cf. also Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch. der Araber*, vii., Vienna 1856, p. 435 sq.); Peṭewī, *Tārīkh* (Constantinople 1283), i. 363—5; Na'imā, *Tārīkh* (Constantinople 1140), i. 551—4; Rāshid, *Tārīkh* (Constantinople 1282), ii. 425 sq., v. 144 sq.; Mehmed Ḥafid b. Muṣṭafā, *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manthūra fī Iṣṭih al-Ghalaṭāt al-mashhūra* ([Constantinople] 1221), p. 367 sq.; al-Firūzābādī, *Kāmus*, Turk. trans. by Aṣīm Efendi (Constantinople 1230—33), iii. 911; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen wa-Ṣan'ā'* (Constantinople 1291), i. 312—5 (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Notice sur l'Arabie méridionale in Publ. de l'Ecole des Langues orient. viv.*, 2nd Ser., ix. 103—195); L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raissa, so er vor diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer selbs volbracht* etc. ([Laugingen] 1582), p. 102; Prosper

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AL-KĀ'ID (A.), "the leader". From the root-meaning of the word the term may be applied to any one who leads, a horse, for example; indeed, a leading-camel may be called *kā'id*. More prominent is its application to a military leader. In the general significance of "officer", "army commander" the word has been in use from ancient times to the present day wherever the Arabic language is spoken, and in the Maghrib it has further been applied to certain offices. That the east has not kept pace with this development in meaning is probably, in part at least, due to the way in which, as a result of its political history, the military language had been filled with Turkish and Persian titles. In the west *kā'id* means firstly the commander of a tribe liable to service or of a province, wielding both military and civil powers, who usually — in Morocco down to the present day — has a residence in the district jail (*ka'l'a*, *kašba*). Corresponding conditions among the Arabs in Spain are revealed in the Spanish *alcaide*, commander of a fortress or bailiff (Dozy-Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*², Leiden 1869, p. 79). A purely civil governor (in cities for example) is not *kā'id* but *āmil*; on the other hand, in Morocco the headman of a village, who has another title in his civil capacity, becomes *ipso facto* a *kā'id* when he takes his place at the head of a body of militia. Further titles in the Moroccan army are *kā'id er-rhā* (*rhā* "mill" = the circle of an encampment) = colonel, *kā'id el-mi'a* = captain, etc. If, then, the word *kā'id* is also used from Morocco to Tunisia with a genitive to describe a number of court, government or public offices, as a rule plainly endowed with authority (harbour-captain, chief of the roadways, etc., cf. Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dictionnaires arabes* and Beaussier, *Dict. arabe-français*), it is either a case of an originally military function or of a coined word like our "commander", "major", etc.

It is probably a case of borrowing from the military language when certain prominent stars, e. g. the last star in the Great Bear, or mountains (landmarks) are called *kā'id* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.). (G. KAMPEFFMEYER)

KĀ'IDA, (A.) (lit. "sitting"), basis, foundation, later also rule, principle, etc. Cf. the dictionaries.

KĀ'IF. [See KĪYĀFA.]

KAI-KĀ'ŪS, a mythical king of Persia of the Kayānid dynasty. Called Kava Uça in the *Avesta*, he is regarded by Firdawsī as the son of Kai-Kōbād and by other sources as his grandson. He was, it is related, a warrior king who undertook a campaign into Māzandarān, which was inhabited by demons and protected by the white *diw* (*diw-i safid*) who caused it to rain stones upon the invading army during the night; Rustam, son of Zāl, set out to deliver the king from his imprisonment and on his way met with seven adventures which have become celebrated in poetry [see RUSTAM]. The white *diw* was overcome in his sleep and the blood from his heart restored their sight to the king and his army. Another war led the king into Hāmāvarān, a land lying to the south of Persia, which might be the Yemen (Himyar), for he set sail for it by sea from Makrān. His adventurous spirit took him as far as the mountain of Kāf [q. v.] which was believed to surround the earth. He married Sūdāba, daughter of the king of Hāmāwarān (al-Tha'ālibī: Sūdāna, ar. Su'dā, daughter of Dhu 'l-Adh'ar) and in the course of a visit to his father-in-law was treacherously thrown into prison in a castle on the shore of the sea. It was Rustam who came to deliver him.

Being master of the demons, Kai-Kā'ūs used their forces to make them build castles in Alburdj (al-Tha'ālibī, p. 165: the Tower of Babel; do., Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 35; *Mudjmal al-Tawārikh*, *Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. iii., xi. (1841), p. 325). To revenge themselves for this forced labour one of them suggested to the king the possibility of rising up to heaven. For this purpose the king trained young eagles and attaching four to his throne had himself carried off towards the stars. When the eagles felt tired, they came down again and threw the king on the ground in the neighbourhood of Āmul [q. v.], in the middle of the forest, where he was found by the nobles who had set out to look for him. A son of the king, Siyāwakḥsh (Siyāwash, Ğyāvarshāna), was accused by his step-mother Sūdāba, whose overtures he had resisted, of having attempted her virtue; he cleared himself by the ordeal by fire, by walking unharmed through a narrow space between two blazing piles of wood. The young prince then asked leave to fight the Tūrānians, whom he encountered near Balkh [q. v.]. The death of Siyāwakḥsh, now the son-in-law of Afrāsiyāb [q. v.] and victim of the intrigues of Sūdāba, decided Rustam to invade Persia; the hero put the queen to death before the king's eyes and then hurled himself on Tūrān to avenge his country.

Kai-Kā'ūs reigned one hundred and fifty years the latter of which he passed in retirement; he left the throne to his grandson Kai-Kḥusraw [q. v.], son of Siyāwakḥsh.

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Tha'ālibī, *Ghurār Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs*, ed. and transl. Zotenberg, p. 153—234; Fr. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, i. 584 sqq.; do., *Awestā and Shāhnāme*, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft*, xlv. (1891), p. 195; Dubeux, *La Perse* (Paris 1841), p. 233 sqq.; J. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes* (Paris 1883), ii. 211 sqq.; *Grundr. d. iran. Philologie*, ii., Ind. s. *Kavi*; Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 2nd ed. (Berlin-Leipzig 1920), p. 1, 48, 52, 55, 60. (CL. HUART.)

KAIKĀ'ŪS, the name of two Seldjūq rulers in Asia Minor.

KAIKĀ'ŪS I, AL-SULTĀN AL-GHĀLIB 'IZZ AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN K. B. KAIKHUSRAW, BURHĀN AMĪRĪ 'L-MU'MININ, reigned from 606–616 (1210–1219). He at once made peace with Theodore Lascaris (see below Kaiḥusraw I) because he had to defend his rights against his uncle Toghrilshāh of Erzerūm and his brother Kaiḥobād, who were contesting his succession. The Armenians under Lifun (Leon), who seized the opportunity to capture Heraclea and Larenda and to plunder Kaiṣariya, were temporarily induced to retire on payment of a considerable sum. Toghrilshāh also soon retired to Erzerūm, but Kaiḥobād, who had seized the fortress of Anguria, held out for a considerable time and was only forced to surrender after several years' siege. He was thereupon provisionally imprisoned in the fortress of Minshar (*Μινσάρ*, now Mizere, S. E. of Malatya; cf. Defrémery, *Hist. des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, i. 143, note 3). By a lucky coup Kaika'ūs succeeded in capturing the king of Trebizond, Kīr Aleks, who had to purchase his freedom by ceding the important harbour of Sinope and paying a yearly tribute (611 = 1214). The town of Antālia, which had been taken by Kaiḥusraw shortly before, but had expelled the Turkish garrison with the help of Christian knights, was again reconquered. In 613 (1216) Kaika'ūs made an inroad into the land of the Armenians and besieged the fortress of Gaban (Ibn Bibī in place of this mentions two citadels, Ġinċin and Gānċin). The army sent to raise the siege included the Constable Constantine and several Barons of the Empire; it was completely routed by the Turks and the Constable with many Barons and knights were taken prisoner. Kaika'ūs then returned to Kaiṣariya, without having taken the fortress, after plundering the land and laying it completely waste. There was nothing left for the Armenians but to beg for peace and the release of prisoners. Both appeals were granted but their king had to pledge himself to pay tribute and to cede the important frontier fortresses of Lu'lu'a and Lawzad, which commanded the Cilician passes. When in 613 (1216) Kaika'ūs's ally, the Aiyūbid of Ḥalab, al-Malik al-Zāhir, died, Kaika'ūs arranged with the Aiyūbid lord of Sūmaisūt, al-Malik al-Afḍal, that the latter should receive Ḥalab with the Sultān as his overlord. This plan seemed at first to be successful; the Turkish troops occupied Marzbān without difficulty (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, p. 158, mentions Burdj al-Raṣāṣ, as does Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 604, and adds Tell Khālīd also), Ra'bān, Tell Bāshir and Manbidj, but in place of handing the places over to al-Afḍal, as had been agreed, Kaika'ūs put Turkish commanders over them. Friction thus arose and the Ḥalabīs gained time to appeal for help to al-Malik al-Ashraf (cf. i. 222^b) whose troops defeated the

advance-guard of the Turks at Tell Kabbāsīn (Yāqūt, i. 869). Kaikā'ūs then retired on Ablastin, while al-Ashraf drove the Turkish garrisons out of the fortresses they had taken. Furious at this failure, which he attributed to the treachery of his own emirs, Kaikā'ūs had several of them hanged and others imprisoned in a building called Rabaḍ Tartūsh by Yāqūt, which was then set on fire so that they were all burned to death. Soon afterwards he himself fell ill of consumption and died in 616 (1219). His body was buried in a hospital built by him in Siwās, where the inscription on his tomb, incised in 617, can still be read. Cf. v. Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Part 3, p. 5 sqq.

Bibliography: The chief source is Ibn Bibī, extract from his historical work in *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoudes*, iv. (Turk. trans., *ibid.*, iii.); also of importance are the *Chronicon Syriacum* of Barhebraeus; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Halab* etc., French transl. by E. Blochet, entitled *Histoire d'Alep* (Paris 1900); *Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, i. (Paris 1869); the universal histories by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Nuwairī, Khwāndamīr, Munadjjim Bashī, and other works still in manuscript; the coin catalogues: *British Museum Cat. of Oriental Coins*, Vol. iii. (1877); Ghālīb Edhem, *Numismatique Seldjoudice* (Constantinople 1892); Ahmed Tewhīd, *Cat. des Monnaies du Musée Impérial Ottoman*, Part iv. (Constantinople 1903); Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure* in *Revue Sémit.*, ii. and iii.; Konia, *Inscriptions der Seldschukischen Bauten*, by J. H. Löytved, Berlin 1907; Khalīl Edhem, *Kaşariye şehri Mabānī-i islāmīye ve Kitābeleri* (Stambol 1334). Cf. also Fallmerayer, *Gesch. des Kaisertums von Trapezunt* (München 1827); F. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* (Berlin 1896); do., *Konia, Seldschukische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin 1921). See also the bibliography to the article SELDJŪK.

KAİKĀ'ŪS II, 'IZZ AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN B. KAİKHUSRAW II. When Kaikhusrav II [q. v.] died in 643 (1245), according to the arrangements he had made, his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaikobād, whose mother was the Georgian princess Tamar, was to become Sultān, but he was barely 7 years old and had two older brothers — also still quite young — 'Izz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn Kīlīdj Arslān. 'Izz al-Dīn was the eldest. His mother was the daughter of a Greek priest (Frater Simon in Vincent de Beauvais, Book xxxi., Ch. 26, who has, however, confused 'Izz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn). The all-powerful vizier of the late Sultān, Shams al-Dīn Isfahānī, declared for him but did not yet dare to set aside the two other brothers, for the decision ultimately lay with the Mongol Khāns. The vizier therefore could not prevent Rukn al-Dīn, accompanied by several Turkish emirs, from travelling to the *urdu* of the Great Khān and being present at the great *kuriltai* at which Kuyuk was proclaimed Great Khān (1246). But in the meanwhile the Vizier (whom Frater Simon refers to as Losyr) was busy getting all power into his own hands and married 'Izz al-Dīn's mother to the great chagrin of the Turkish emirs. To attain his desires, he had several of them put to death, including, according to Vincent, a certain Salefadīnus, i. e. Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the governor of Arzandjān, a man well-disposed to the Christians, who understood French and German (*ibid.*, chap.

27). The result, however, was that the discontent emirs laid a complaint against him before Kuyuk, who gave them a *yarlık* appointing Rukn al-Dīn Sultān. In addition, the Khān ordered that the vizier should be handed over to the relatives of the slaughtered emirs. He also laid down definitely the conditions of peace; the Seldjūks were to pay a yearly tribute of 1,200,000 hyperpres (bezants), 500 silk robes with gold brocade, 500 horses, 500 camels and 5,000 head of smaller animals and also presents which doubled the value of the whole. This is Vincent's story (Ch. 28). Cf. thereon Barthold in *Zapiski Wost. Otd. Imp. Arkh. Obshch.*, xviii. 0128; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 83.

When Rukn al-Dīn then returned to Asia Minor, he was recognized as Sultān, and the vizier, in accordance with the orders of the Great Khān, handed over to his enemies and put to death in 646 (1249); we have therefore coins with the name of Rukn al-Dīn as early as the year 646 (1249). In the meanwhile, however, news arrived of the death of the Great Khān and it was not till 1251 that his successor Möngke assumed full authority. The Turkish emirs therefore worried little about the *yarlık* and agreed with one another that Kaikhusrav's three sons should reign jointly. From 647 to 655 all three names appear on the coins, with the single exception that in 652 (1254) Rukn al-Dīn struck coins with his name in Kaşariya, because he had been proclaimed sole Sultān there by the *subashī* of the town, Şamsām al-Dīn. Long negotiations followed between Rukn al-Dīn and 'Izz al-Dīn, which led to nothing, however, till finally the sword brought a decision and Rukn al-Dīn was taken prisoner and sent to Amasia and later to Burghlu. In the meanwhile Möngke had demanded that 'Izz al-Dīn should come to him, but the latter had little desire to undertake the dangerous journey and therefore sent his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaikobād with rich presents. On the way, however, the prince was murdered and an enquiry instituted by the Great Khān to find who had a hand in it led to no result. An encounter between 'Izz al-Dīn's troops and those of the Mongol *Noyon* Baidju at Akşara in 654 (1256), in which the former were routed, forced 'Izz al-Dīn at once to seek refuge with Theodore Las-caris. The imprisoned Rukn al-Dīn was thereon liberated and recognized as Sultān (coins of 655). But scarcely had Baidju retired with his Mongols than 'Izz al-Dīn returned to Konya, while Rukn al-Dīn was in Kaşariya. After long negotiations and occasional skirmishes between the troops of the two brothers, a division of the kingdom was decided upon. Rukn al-Dīn was to reign eastwards from the Kızıl İrmağ and 'Izz al-Dīn westwards. Both brothers were then to go to Hülāgū, who was then in the neighbourhood of Tibriz, to have the agreement confirmed. This was done, but soon afterwards the Mongols learned that 'Izz al-Dīn had entered into negotiations with their arch-enemies, the Mamlūks of Egypt, and put an end to his rule. 'Izz al-Dīn was still able to escape to Anṭālia and sailed from there with his relatives and a few faithful emirs to Constantinople, which after the fall of the Latin Empire, was again in the hands of the Greeks. There he was sure of a good reception on account of his having a Christian mother. But the presence of these Turks soon became embarrassing to the Emperor. They are

said to have begun a conspiracy to murder him and make 'Izz al-Dīn Emperor. When the Sultān's Christian uncles betrayed this plan, the Greeks lost no time in banishing the Sultān to Ainos, while his servants were incorporated as Turcopols in the Imperial armies, or imprisoned and put to death (662 = 1264). Six years later (668 = winter 1268/1269) 'Izz al-Dīn was liberated by troops sent to Constantinople by Mengü Timur and brought to the Crimea. There he married a daughter of Bereke Khān and died in 678 (1279/1280). On his son Mas'ūd see the separate article.

Bibliography: See that of the preceding article. Specially important here is Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale*, Books xxx. and xxxi., chap. 26, 27. Cf. also the Mongol and Byzantine historians (Nicephorus Gregoras and Georgius Acropolita); W. v. Tiesenhausen, *Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, i. 482.

KAI-KHUSRAW, a mythical king of Persia, of the Kayānid dynasty. Son of Siyā-wakhsh, who had left his father Kai-Kā'ūs and taken refuge in Tūrān where he had married the daughter of king Afrāsiyāb [q. v.], he was born after his father's death and brought up in this country among the shepherds of the mountains of Kalu (a valley near Bāmiyān), in ignorance of his illustrious origin; but this was soon revealed. At seven years old he was making bows and at ten he feared neither lions nor tigres. Then Pirān, the vizier of Afrāsiyāb, took him into his house. In a dream Gudarz, an Iranian noble, descendant of the smith Kāwa, learned that the heir to the throne existed in enemy territory and sent his son Gēw to look for him; the latter found him quite by chance and recognized that Kai-Khusraw had on his arm the black mark that distinguished Kayānids; he therefore took him, along with his mother Farīgīs back to Persia.

There he found a rival in his uncle Fārtīborz. To settle the question, Kai-Kā'ūs decided that the throne should belong to the one who captured the fortress of Bahmandiz, near Ardabil [q. v.], where Ahriman reigned. It was of course Kai-Khusraw who won, with the aid of celestial forces, and there he built a temple in honour of the sacred fire Ādhargushnasp. A journey through his empire showed him the devastations caused by the Tūrānians and he swore to undertake a war of vengeance against them. Aided by all the nobles, he sent out expeditions of which the first were unfortunate; but fortune soon changed and Kai-Khusraw took over the direction of the campaign. Afrāsiyāb, in spite of the help of the Emperor of China, was finally forced to fly and Kai-Khusraw sought him in vain beyond the seas. He was hidden in a cave in the mountains of Ādharbaidjān [q. v.] and his place of concealment could only be discovered by supernatural means. He was finally taken prisoner and beheaded. Thus was accomplished the vengeance due for the murder of Siyāwakhsh.

Having succeeded his grandfather Kai-Kā'ūs, for whom he wept for 40 days, Kai-Khusraw reigned peacefully without any incident more remarkable than the killing of a dragon which had taken up its abode on the mountain of Kūshid, between Fārs and Iṣfahān (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 36). At the end of his life, he asked God to

receive him into heaven and, after naming Luhrāsp as his successor, he undertook a mountain journey in the course of which he disappeared, after having washed in the water of a spring (the spring of eternal life). Those who had accompanied him perished in a snowstorm. It is clear that the figure of Kai-Khusraw corresponds to that of the Avestan hero Haosravanh, who belongs to Indo-Iranian mythology.

Bibliography: Firdawsi, *Shāh-nāme*, ed. Vullers, ii. 670—9, 701—3, 710—iii. 1442; ed. and transl. Mohl, ii. 416—430, 462—5, 476—iv. 273; al-Taḥālibi, *Ghurār Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs*, ed. and transl. Zotenberg, p. 214, 218—243; Dubeux, *La Perse* (Paris 1841), p. 248—261; Fr. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, i. 609, 656 sqq.; do., *Awestā und Shāhnāme*, in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xlv. (1891), p. 196; *Grundr. d. iran. Philologie*, ii., Ind. s. Kavi; Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 2nd ed. (Berlin—Leipzig 1920), pp. 1, 3, 5, 12, 45, 49 sq., 50, 52, 55, 60 sq. (CL. HUART)

KAIKHUSRAW, the name of three Seldjūk rulers in Asia Minor.

KAIKHUSRAW I, GHIVĀTH AL-DIN, b. KILĀDJ ARSLĀN. When the aged and enfeebled KILĀDJ ARSLĀN II died in 588 (1192), he was staying with his youngest son Kaikhūsrāw, who governed Burghlū (i. e. Uluburlu) in his father's lifetime. Kaikhūsrāw concealed his father's death and only made it known, when he had arrived with the body in Konya, in order to have homage paid to himself as Sultān there. His brothers, each of whom ruled over a part of the Seldjūk kingdom, troubled about him just as little as they had done about their father in his later years. It was some time, however, — according to some not till 592 (1196), according to others 595 — before one of them was strong enough to take Konya from him. Finally Rukn al-Din Sulaimān [q. v.] succeeded in doing this, so that Kaikhūsrāw had to take to flight and after several unsuccessful attempts to gain his throne with the help of Leon of Armenia and of the neighbouring princes of Malatya, Ḥalab and Āmid, wandered hither and thither (cf. the poem composed by him in Ibn Bībī, p. 29 sqq.), till he at length found a welcome with Alexius III in Constantinople. At this time he married a daughter of a distinguished Greek named Maurozomes, and the death soon afterwards of his brother in 600 (1204) opened up a good prospect of returning to Konya, because several emirs were dissatisfied with the rule of the latter's son KILĀDJ ARSLĀN III, who was a minor. The main part in the plot was played by several members of the dynasty of the Dāniṣhmandiyya [q. v.], which had been deposed by KILĀDJ ARSLĀN II. He actually succeeded in being proclaimed Sultān in Konya in spite of a *fetwā* of the kāḍī al-Tirmidhī, who declared him unworthy of the throne because of his Christian mother and his intercourse with the unbelievers, a *fetwā* which cost the issuer's life. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 160, Kaikhūsrāw besieged Trebizond in 602 (1206), apparently without much success. In 603 (1207) he took the important seaport of Antālia from Aldobrandini. From this capture date the first relations of the Seldjūks with the Venetians, to whom he granted a licence to trade (cf. Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels*, i. 334). In 605

(1208), in alliance with al-Malik al-Zāhir of Ḥalab, he undertook a campaign against the Armenians and took the fortress of Pertus. In the beginning of 607 (1210) he fell in the battle at *Khonās*, perhaps in single combat with Theodore Lascaris. Cf. Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. Bonn, i. 17—21, and Georg. Acropolita, ed. Bonn, p. 16 and thereon Houtsma, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Ser. 3, ix. (1893), p. 138 sqq.

KAIKHUSRAW II, *GHIYĀTH AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN* B. KAIḲOBĀD, ascended the throne after the assassination of his father in 634 (1237), although KaiḲobād had not designated him as his successor but the son 'Izz al-Dīn by the Aiyūbid princess [cf. KAIḲOBĀD I], apparently because KaiḲhusraw, as Vincent says, was the son of a concubine (she was called Māh-peri *Khātūn*, as the inscription on her tomb at *Ḳaṣariya* tells us) and, besides, was quite an insignificant man. But he had been appointed governor of Arzandjān by his father after the dismissal of Dā'ūd Shāh [see KAIḲOBĀD I] and was the candidate for the throne favoured by the Christian mercenaries.

The latter, with the Emīr Sa'd al-Dīn Gōbāk, carried through his proclamation as sultān, while the unfortunate 'Izz al-Dīn with his mother and a younger brother was put out of the way. Only the *Khwarizmis* [see KAIḲOBĀD I] were discontented with this, refused to obey orders and marched out of the Seldjūk kingdom in order to ravage the adjoining Aiyūbid lands. KaiḲhusraw on his side made peace with the Aiyūbids and endeavoured to cement it by a double marriage, at which the famous historian Kamāl al-Dīn officiated as plenipotentiary for the lord of Ḥalab. But as he did not trouble about the business of government, the Emīr Sa'd al-Dīn took all the power into his own hands and began a regular reign of terror. He even declared himself an illegitimate son of KaiḲhusraw I, and finally went so far that the Sultān had him treacherously put to death. The Sultān then celebrated his marriage with the beautiful Georgian princess Tamar [see KAIḲOBĀD I], whose portrait he even wished to put on the coins; when he had to give up this idea he chose the emblem of the lion and rising sun, as is still usual in Persia to-day. The internal weakness of the kingdom soon showed itself (638 = 1241) when a Turkoman rising broke out, caused by the appearance of a certain saint Bābā Ishāk, whose messengers traversed the whole country and in their sermons denounced the luxurious life of the Sultān and nobles. Soon armed bands from the district of Sumaisāt and Malatya advanced in the direction of Siwās, Tokāt and Amasia and put to flight the Turkish generals sent against them. The execution of the pious Bābā only increased the number of his followers because he was revered as a messenger of God. Only the summoning of troops stationed on the frontiers in Erzerūm, among whom were the Christian mercenaries, finally put a bloody finish to the rebels' activities. Cf. the report in Vincent de Beauvais, Book xxx. chap. 139, 140. Here the prophet is called Baba Roissole (= Rasūl Allāh), in al-Makrizī, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1908, p. 474. Il-Bābā (II is probably a wrong reading for the Arabic article or is for Ilyās, as the name Ilyās Bābā is also found). Cf. Kiöprülüẓāde Mehmed Fu'ād; *Ilk Mutaşavvirler*, p. 232. Scarcely was

this danger passed when in 639 (1241) Baidju Noyon appeared with his Mongols before Erzerūm and took and plundered the city after heavy fighting with the frontier troops. The vizier Muhaddhib al-Dīn and his Nā'ib Shams al-Dīn Isfahānī hastened to gather a large army, to hire Armenian and Aiyūbid mercenaries and to advance against the Mongols with them; but the incapacity and cowardice of the Turkish troops lost the battle at Kōzādagh (Muḥarram 6, 641 = June 26, 1243). Baidju thereupon marched on Siwās, which surrendered and was therefore spared, but *Ḳaṣariya* was taken by force of arms, plundered and its inhabitants massacred. He then went into winter-quarters and the vizier succeeded in concluding a temporary peace, which, however, had still to be confirmed by the Great Khān. But as Ügedei died just then and the next *kuriltai* was not held till 1246 (see above, i. 682a), the Turks had a few years' peace and the able Shams al-Dīn used the opportunity to seek the intervention of Batū Khān, on a ceremonious embassy with several other prominent Turks. He was entirely successful so that on his return he received the office of vizier rendered vacant by the death of Muhaddhib al-Dīn. The good for nothing Sultān, who after the battle of Kōzādagh, had been about to fly to the Greeks, again gathered some courage and in 1245 began a campaign against the Armenians, against whom he had a grievance because they had handed over to the Mongols his mother, who had taken refuge with their king, with her treasures. The objective of the campaign was Tarsūs on this occasion, but soon it had to be abandoned, because the rainy season began, after the land had been ravaged in fearful fashion. The Armenians by the treaty of peace bound themselves to pay tribute and to cede Bragana. When the leaders again appeared at the Sultān's court, the latter had died suddenly a week before.

Bibliography: See above under KAIKĀ'ŪS; of particular importance are here Vincent de Beauvais and the historians of the Mongols.

KAIKHUSRAW III, *GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN*, B. RUKN AL-DĪN KĪLDJ ARSLĀN was proclaimed Sultān, immediately on the murder of his father, by the all-powerful Perwāna Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān [q. v.], although he was still a minor. The events in Asia Minor during his reign will be better discussed in the article SULAIMĀN. After the execution of the Perwāna (676 = 1277) KaiḲhusraw's reign was soon at an end, as his youth rendered him a mere tool in the hands of the Mongol rulers. His nephew Mas'ūd [q. v.], when he returned to Asia Minor after his father's death, was so successful in gaining the favour of the Great Khān Abāḳā [q. v.] that we have coins of his name as early as 681. The unfortunate KaiḲhusraw, who was entirely in the power of the Mongol prince and claimant Ḳun-ḳuraṭai, became involved in the latter's fall and was put to death in 682 (1283) in Arzandjān by order of the Ilkhān Aḥmad.

KAI-ḲOBĀD, a mythical king of Persia, of the Kayānid dynasty. The *Avesta* knows his name in the form Kavi Kavāta, but nothing more of him; tradition only preserves of him the fact that he was grateful to the Yazatas for having made his empire glorious and for having re-established the legitimate line of kings of Irān. The only source to consult is the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. To defend Irānian soil against the inva-

sions of the Tūrānian Afrāsiyāb, the Sace Zāl, father of Rustam, after ripe reflection and consultation with the *mōbedh* decided on Kai-Ḳobād, who was living in the mountains of Alburdj (Hare-berezaity) and sent his son to look for him. The latter found him in the midst of a banquet surrounded by boon comrades; he greeted him, but already the new king had seen in a dream two white falcons place a golden tiara on his head and was thus informed of the coming of the embassy; the care which he had taken to make himself remote had not prevented destiny from putting the messenger on his track. Becoming commander of the Irānian army, Rustam completely defeated Afrāsiyāb, who would have been made prisoner if the girdle by which he was being carried off had not broken. As a result of this victory, a peace was concluded which gave Persia its former frontier of the Oxus. Kai-Ḳobād spent his time in organizing the empire and traversing it, in founding cities and in lavishing riches on the heroes who had rebuilt the empire: Rustam, Ḳārin and others. He died at the end of a reign of a hundred years.

The *Mudjmal al-Tawārikh* (*Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. iii., xi. (1841), p. 320) which says that Kai-Ḳobād came from the mountains of Hamadhān, Alwand, and not from Alburdj, and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 35) only mention his building cities, notably Ḳobādiyān on the Oxus, and the expansion of Iṣfahān. The *Bundihish* only gives fifteen years to the reign of this king instead of a hundred.

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(CL. HUART.)

KAİḲOBĀD, the name of three Seldjūḳ Sultāns in Asia Minor.

KAİḲOBĀD I, 'ALĀ' AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DİN ABŪ 'L-FATH K. B. KAİḲHUSRAW. How he had been taken prisoner in the reign of his brother has already been told under KAİKĀ'ŪS I. The death of this brother in 616 (1219) opened to him not only the gates of the fortress of Guḏharpet, where he was then interned, but also placed him on the Seldjūḳ throne. All the Turkish emirs do not seem to have been quite agreed about this, as they declared for another brother, Kaiferidūn, but KaiḲobād succeeded in gaining possession of Ḳonya, the capital, and in soon afterwards rendering the malcontent emirs harmless. He probably received valuable help from the Christian auxiliary troops, as Ibn Bibī relates that the Emir Comnenus played an important part in these events. We know from the account in Vincent de Beauvais (Book xxx. ch. 144), which, however, refers to the reign of his successor, that the Greek emperors of Trebizond and Nicaea as well as the prince of Lampron had pledged themselves to place a number of troops—settled in a treaty—at the disposal of the Seldjūḳ. It is certain that this agreement was already in force in the reigns

of KaiḲhusraw I and KaiḲā'ūs I, perhaps with the single limitation that it was not till the reign of the last named that this pledge held good for the Armenians also, and was renewed under KaiḲobād. At the beginning of his reign the Armenian king Leon II died (1219) and his daughter Isabella married the son of the Catholic prince of Antioch, which aroused a great dispute among the Armenians, the result of which was that the discontented barons under the leadership of Constantine, prince of Lampron, captured the prince, poisoned him and married his widow to Haithum, the son of Constantine. A war with the prince of Antioch was thereby rendered inevitable; the Templars and Knights of St. John received orders from Rome not to take part in it so that Bohemund could not do much against the Armenians and, according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, had even to appeal for help to KaiḲobād. In any case, the latter took advantage of the dissensions among the Christians by seizing several Armenian forts on the Mediterranean coast and elsewhere, including the castle of Galonoros (καλὸν ὄρος), Candelor or Scandalor, which he chose for his winter residence and made a considerable seaport by his buildings there, so that the place became called Alaya ('Alā'iya) after him. In these circumstances there was nothing left for the prince of Lampron on his side, but to acknowledge the suzerainty of KaiḲobād and to support him with auxiliaries in his wars.

An attempt by Mas'ūd, the Ortuḳid of Āmid and Hiṣn Kaifa, who succeeded his father as lord of these towns in 619 (1222), to leave KaiḲobād's name out of the *khutba* and to make an alliance with the neighbouring Aiyūbid princes, cost him the fortresses of Kiakhta and Čemishkezek. The troops sent to his assistance by al-Ashraf (see i., 222^b) were scattered by the besieging army, but KaiḲobād hastened to heap tokens of honour on the captured commander and to release him, because much depended for him on the friendship of the Aiyūbids. Indeed he even sought the hand of an Aiyūbid princess. His request was granted and the marriage took place a little later. In 622 (1225), the prince of Arzandjān, Bahramshāh, died after a sixty years' reign, as also did the Seldjūḳ of Erzerūm, Tuḡhrilshāh. KaiḲobād thought this a good opportunity to seize where possible the lands of these rulers. Dā'ūdshāh, Bahramshāh's successor, did his best to avert the danger by entering into alliances with Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh, with 'Alā' al-Dīn, Grand Master of the Assassins and with al-Ashraf, but in vain. KaiḲobād forced him to cede his territory and he was equally successful with another member of the Menguček family, Muzaḡfar al-Dīn Muḡammad, who ruled over Coghonia (Shabīn Ḳarahīṣar). But before he could take Erzerūm too, he had to wage a difficult war with Djalāl al-Dīn, who was an ally of the prince of Erzerūm. After embassies had gone several times to and fro between the two rulers, KaiḲobād made an alliance with al-Ashraf, who then fought with Djalāl al-Dīn for the possession of the town of Khilāt. As soon as the Khwārizmshāh heard of this, he endeavoured by a hurried march to anticipate the union of the two enemy forces, but in the battle of Arzandjān on Ramaḡān 28, 627 (Aug. 10, 1230, cf. *Actes du 10^e Congrès internat. des Orientalistes*, iii. 19) he suffered a terrible defeat. The fate of the prince of Erze-

rūm was thus decided at the same time; his territory was annexed by Kaikōbād. A war with the Georgians in 629 (1232) was speedily concluded by a treaty of peace, in which the queen Russudān agreed to the marriage of her daughter with Kaikōbād's son Kaikhusrāw. In the meanwhile the Mongols had again appeared in these regions; Djalāl al-Dīn had met his death and large bands of Khwārizmis were raiding up and down for their own hand. Kaikōbād then decided to occupy the district of Khilāt, which al-Ashraf had received after the defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn but did not defend, and to take the roving bands of Khwārizmis into his service as mercenaries. This brought about a coalition of all the Aiyūbid princes under the leadership of al-Kāmil of Egypt against Kaikōbād. Soon their troops were on the Asia Minor frontier but they did not succeed in forcing the passes to enter the land; in addition the Aiyūbid leaders soon began to quarrel among themselves. In the end they had to be content with defending the town of Khartbart against the advancing Turks. But the latter could not be kept back. Al-Muzaffar, the Aiyūbid of Hamā, on whom the conduct of the defence fell, was captured along with the Ortuqid ruling in Khartbart. The town henceforth (from 631 = 1234) belonged to the Seldjūks. Kaikōbād next besieged and captured Harrān, Edessa and Raḡḡa (632 = 1235) which, however, were soon lost again to the Aiyūbids. Āmid also was unsuccessfully besieged by him and when in 634 (1237) he was about to undertake a new campaign, he was poisoned in Ẓaisariya, by order of his son Kaikhusrāw, it is said, because Kaikōbād had appointed as his successor not him, but a younger son, borne to him by the Aiyūbid princess.

During Kaikōbād's vigorous reign the Seldjūk kingdom attained its greatest extent and highest prosperity, for Kaikōbād was not only an indefatigable soldier but also undertook great building operations, the remains of which in Ẓonya, Siwās, 'Alaya and elsewhere keep alive the memory of the great Sultān to this day. He busied himself in opening up his lands to commerce and in developing the natural wealth of the country; with this object he even undertook an expedition to the Crimea, no doubt at the wish of the Italians. As a result his kingdom was at that time considered the richest in the world.

Bibliography: See above under KAİKĀ'ŪS. Cf. also for the war with Djalāl al-Dīn: al-Nasawī, *Sirat al-Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Mankobirti* (Publ. de l'École des Langues Or. Viv., Ser. iii., Vol. ix. x.), Arabic text and French transl. by Houdas; for the Banū Menguček: v. Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscript. Arab.*, iii. 55 sqq.; Houtsma in *Keleti Szemle*, 1904, p. 277 sqq.

KAİKÖBÂD II, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN B. KAİKHUSRAW, reigned together with his two brothers, Kaikā'ūs and Kīlīdj Arslān, as was briefly described in the article KAİKĀ'ŪS II. Here we shall only refer to a coin described by Ghālib Edhem, *Taḡwīm-i Maskūkāt-i Seldjūkiya*, No. 113, which bears the date 663 and the name Kaikōbād alone, although Kaikōbād had died 8 years before.

KAİKÖBÂD III, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN K. B. FARĀMARZ B. KAİKĀ'ŪS was installed as Sultān by Ghazān Khān in 697 (1298). Of his history practically nothing is known with certainty. His name still

appears on a coin of 701, so that the statement in Munadjjim Bashī that he was again deposed in 700, seems to be wrong. Cf. v. Berchem, *Matériaux*, iii. 92 note. But as there is also a coin of Mas'ūd with the date 700, both princes seem to have borne the title Sultān in this year. That on the other hand Kaikōbād was Sultān as early as 683, as has been deduced from the diploma alleged to have been given by him to 'Othmān Ghāzī (Feridūnbeg, *Munsha'āt*, i. 48—55) is certainly wrong, as is the calculation in Djannābī, which gives him a reign of 20 years, 3 months and 13 days.

KAİKÖBÂD, MU'IZZ AL-DĪN, king of Dihlī, was the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā, king of Bengal and second son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balbān [v. BALBĀN] of Dihlī. On the death of his eldest son, Muḥammad Khān, who was slain by the Mughuls, Balbān made his second son, Bughrā Khān, who was governor of Bengal, his heir, but the prince could not endure the restraint of his father's court, and was absent in Bengal when, in 1287, the throne became vacant, and the amīrs made his son, Kaikōbād, king. Kaikōbād, who was barely eighteen years of age at the time of his accession, had been most strictly educated by his grandfather, and signalized his sudden emancipation by unbridled licentiousness. He put to death his cousin, Kaikhusrāw, son of Muḥammad Khān, and disgraced the minister, Khaṭir al-Dīn, after whose degradation Nizām al-Dīn, nephew and son-in-law of the *kotwāl* of Dihlī, became supreme in the state. Early in the reign a horde of Mughuls, which had invaded India, was defeated; the prisoners taken were treated with great cruelty, and a large number of Mughuls who had accepted Islām and settled in India were massacred.

In 1288 the king's father, Bughrā Khān, marched from Bengal with the object of asserting his superior claim to the throne of Dihlī, but was met by Kaikōbād on the banks of the Ghāgra and changed his attitude. The meeting was affectionate on both sides and the father privately warned his son against his evil courses and against the ambition of Nizām al-Dīn, and although these counsels effected no improvement in the young king's morals, they induced him to remove his minister by poison. Late in 1288 Kaikōbād was struck down with paralysis, the result of his debauchery, and the kingdom was thrown into confusion. Malik Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz Khaldjī, recently appointed governor of Baran, attempted to maintain order in the capital, but was suspected, with good reason, by the Turkish amīrs, who proclaimed Shams al-Dīn Kayūmarth, the infant son of Kaikōbād. The strife of the two factions continued while the king lay helpless, but Firūz Khaldjī at length overcame his opponents and ascended the throne. The wretched Kaikōbād was murdered in June, 1290, and his body was thrown into the Djamna.

Bibliography: Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi*; Badā'unī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, transl. G. S. A. Ranking; Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (Bombay 1832); *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii. (T. W. HAIG)

KAIL (A.), the most general term for measure. The word next has the special meaning of measure for dry goods such as grain and cereals of all kinds and finally (like *kaila*) means

contents (or weight of the contents) of a definite measure of capacity. Another series of meanings is: measure, correct measure, tested, adjusted or official measure (or weight). In this meaning it is found on the Egyptian glass weights (e. g. *dirham kail*) and in the papyri as *kail al-dimūs* (μέτρον διμύσιον) -- a well known official measure for corn in general use for the levying of taxes, to be distinguished from *kanḳal*, which apparently means the varying, local measure.

Kaila is usual as meaning a definite measure, but we also find *kail* used, without any obvious differentiation, as a definite measure of capacity. The *kaila* is not part of the traditional system of capacity-measures of the Arabs (cf. *ḳafiz*) but like many other metrological terms in other languages has entered official language from the marketplace. We therefore nowhere find the *kaila* definitely coordinated with the system of measures. In the reign of the Mongol Il-Khān of Persia, Chāzān Khān (694—703 = 1295—1304) we already find the attempt being made to make the *kaila* the standard measure of the corn trade. Rashīd al-Dīn tells us that this ruler proclaimed the *kaila* of Tabriz as the official unit of capacity and fixed its weight at 2600 dirhams (8.87 kg. = 19 lbs.). The further regulation that special measures, whose contents were to correspond to the above mentioned weight for the kind of grain in question, were to be prepared for every kind of cereal (oats, wheat, rice, peas, beans, sesame, millet etc.) shows that then as now business was done by weight and not by measure. In the Turkish empire also the *kaila* was the official unit in the corn trade and the *kaila* of Stamboul (*lingua franca* = kilo of Constantinople) of about 35 l. (7½ gallons) was ordered to be the standard measure. But every centre of trade had (and frequently still has) a local *kaila* which often differs considerably from the normal. The same is true of the *kailadja*, dealt with below. (E. VON ZAMBAUR)

KAILADJA, a measure of capacity in local use and varying very much, whose size varies between ½ and 2 l. (or kg. = ¾ to 3½ pints). The term existed as early as the 3rd century A. H.

Bibliography (for the preceding article also): Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, in *Journ. As.*, Series 8, viii. (1886), 126 sq.; S. Lane Poole, *Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum*, No. 47, 51; Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 31 and 72; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), *Glossarium*, p. CDXXXIV and CDLXII; Behnauer, *Institutions de Police chez les Arabes in the Journ. As.*, Series 5, xvi. (1860), 131; al-Kh̲wārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 15. (E. V. ZAMBAUR)

KĀ'IM (A.), "standing upright", "perpendicular". Hence *ḳā'im-maḳām* "standing in place (of another)", "deputy"; *Ḳā'im al-Zamān* [q. v.]; *ṣāwiya ḳā'ima* "right angle". Also: "existing" for example in *ḳā'im bi-naḟsihi* (or *bi-dhātihī*) "self-existent" (said of God). *Ḳā'im bi-* also means "executing anything"; hence *al-ḳā'im bi-amrī'lāh* "He who executes God's command".

KĀ'IM-MAḲĀM (A.), "deputy"; pronounced and written *ḳaimaḳam* in Turkish, the name of a rank and office in Turkey. In the period before the *tanẓīmāt* reforms the word meant the officer (*riḳiābī humāyūn* or *āsītāne ḳaimaḳamī*), temporarily commissioned to act as deputy at the court or in the capital in the absence of the Grand

Vizier, the so-called *ḳaimaḳam paṣha*. The case is an isolated one in which the Grand Vizier appointed an *ordu ḳaimaḳamī* to represent him in the camp (Luṭfi, *Tārīḳh*, iv. 19); we also find *ḳaimaḳams* for the Seraskers and the Kapudan Paṣha (*Djazīr Ḳaimaḳamī* for the *eyālet* of the Archipelago, which was under the Grand Admiral); for the regular representatives of the lower categories of officials the now obsolete term *yer* (e. g. *ḳiāyā yeri*) was used, for the judicial officials *nā'ib*.

In the reorganization of the army and the provincial administration on the European model under Maḥmūd II and ʿAbd al-Majīd *ḳaimaḳam* became in the army the equivalent of Lieutenant-Colonel and in the civil service the name of the official entrusted with the administration of a district (*ḳazā*).

Bibliography: v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, ii. 96 sq., 102 sq., 286 sq.; Ahmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje-i ʿothmānī*, s. v. (wrong in Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*, s. v.). (J. H. MORDTMANN)

KĀ'IM AL-ZAMĀN (A.) i. e. "Lord of the Age", a Shīʿa term. The phrase includes the two theological meanings of "representative of God on earth" and "Deputy" of the Prophet. Among the earlier Shīʿis for example the Imām is called "the *ḳā'im*", "our *ḳā'im*" or "the *ḳā'im* of his age", synonymous with *ḥudjdja* or *ḳhalīfa*. The political application of the word brought in the meaning of "rebellious", current among all the seceding sects, e. g. also among the Khāridjīs. Through chiliasm the name is given to the Mahdi as "resurrected" from (apparent) death who is active in the "age" through the *naḳīb* and *dāʿī* until as *ḳā'im al-ḳiyāma* he brings about his kingdom and the judgment. Among the Imāmīs the twelfth Imām, and among the Ismāʿīlīs the seventh is therefore *ḳā'im al-zamān*. But the more the Imām becomes like to God in the subdivisions of the latter, the more he falls into the background and is only occasionally referred to as "the *ḳā'im*" simply, with reference to Sura iii. 16, xiii. 33, while the name and powers are transferred to heads of sects, who are mostly not ʿAlids. Gnostic speculation equates the *ḳā'im al-zamān* to the first emanation, e. g. among the Druses to the *intelligentia prima*, *ʿaql*, i. e. Ḥamza. The term is mystically amplified by the interpretations of the mysteries of the initial letter *ḳāf*, the symbol of the girdle of the world.

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l'Inst. royal de France, ix. (1831), 53 sq., x. (1833), 95; do., *Exposé de la religion des Druzes* (Paris 1838), also Index s. v. Hamza and his *Théogonie des Druzes* (Paris 1863); W. A. Ivanow, *Ismaelitica in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii. (1922), 1—76; S. Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélites in Notices et Extraits*, xxii. (1874), 194, 201, 283, 299.

(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-ḲĀ'IM BI-AMRI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJĀ'FAR 'ABD-ALLĀH, 'Abbāsīd Caliph. He is said to have been born in Dhu 'l-Hijjdja 391 (Nov. 1001); his father was the Caliph al-Ḳādir [q. v.], who had homage paid to him as his successor shortly before his death; his mother was an Armenian or Greek slave. When he ascended the throne (Dhu 'l-Hijjdja 422 = Nov.—Dec. 1031), the Caliphate had almost entirely lost its secular power and anarchy reigned practically supreme in the capital. To make himself obeyed, he ordered in 426 (1034/35) that all judicial offices should temporarily suspend their activities, which was, however, entirely without success. In his reign ended the Buyid dynasty and their place was taken by the Seldjūks. On Ramaḍān 22, 447 (Dec. 15, 1055) the Seldjūk chief Toghrul Beg was officially prayed for and on the 25th the latter entered Baghdād in state, nominally as vassal but in reality as master of the Caliph (see KHUSRAW FIRŪZ), who soon afterwards in 449 (1058) granted him the Sultanate and the title of honour of "King of the East and of the West". In Dhu 'l-Ḳāda of the following year (Dec. 1058) the Turkish general al-Basāsiri [q. v.] took possession of the capital, while the Caliph took refuge with the 'Uḳailid Ḳuraish b. Badrān [q. v.], and on the 13th (Jan. 1, 1059) prayer was offered in Baghdād for the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. Al-Ḳā'im, however, was soon again recognized as Caliph (end of 451 = 1059/1060) and although he was only a tool in the hands of the Seldjūks, he was treated with respect both by Toghrul Beg and his successors. He died in Sha'bān 467 (April 1075).

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-ḲĀ'IM BI-AMR ALLĀH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, the second ruler of the Fāṭimid [q. v.] dynasty, born in 280 (893), succeeded his father 'Ubaid Allāh al-Mahdi in 322 (934) on the throne, assumed the praenomen Muḥammad and at his proclamation took the name of al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh. His father had designated him his successor as early as 298 (911), when after the death of al-Shī'ī [q. v.] he thought his own rule sufficiently secure, and had had his (viz. the prince's) name mentioned in the Friday prayer; the prince commanded the army and conducted most of the campaigns while 'Ubaid Allāh was still on the throne; for his father had never placed himself at the head of his troops nor ever even taken a personal part in any of the numerous wars, but used to entrust his emirs with their con-

duct and after failures, or on particularly difficult expeditions, he used to appoint his eldest son to the supreme command.

Of al-Ḳā'im's campaigns, while heir-apparent, may be mentioned the conquest of Constantine and Tripolis as well as his efforts to conquer Egypt. He gained great successes especially in the second expedition against Egypt in 307—309 = 919—921. He had conquered Alexandria and Djiza (Giza) and occupied the Faiyūm and Ushmunain. But disease, deficiencies in the supply of reinforcements and a strengthening of the 'Abbāsīd governors' troops on the other side and the defeat of his fleet at Rosetta forced him finally to withdraw. He had, however, consolidated Fāṭimid sway as far as Barḳa. In 316 (928) he developed the town of Masila as his capital and called it al-Muḥammadiya.

When in 322 (934) he succeeded his father, he had at once to turn his attention to an imposter, who gave himself out to be the son of al-Mahdi. After defeating him without difficulty, he turned his attention westwards to secure his authority there. He then devoted himself to various expeditions, sent his fleet to the coast of France, where the crews plundered and took prisoners, to Genoa, which was captured for a short time, and to Calabria. In 323 (935) he sent an army of 10,000 to Egypt, which conquered Alexandria, but was soon afterwards defeated by Muḥammad b. Tughdj al-Ikhshid, brother of the 'Abbāsīd governor. At home al-Ḳā'im had to wage a continual struggle with rebellious tribes, his most redoubtable opponent being the rebel Abū Yazid [q. v.]. After heavy fighting and many misfortunes, he succeeded in driving his opponent out of al-Mahdiya but soon afterwards in 334 (946) he was hard pressed at Sūsa with his army and finally surrounded. During the siege, he fell ill and died in a few weeks.

Al-Ḳā'im was a fanatical champion of fāṭimid doctrines. His reign was a period of ceaseless wars, which were waged in the fiercest and most barbarous fashion. Courage, ability and tenacity cannot be denied him. He laid sound foundations for the greatness of his successors. In this period of war-mania, it was impossible for him to attend to the works of peace. The *Bibliography* is found in Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimid. Chaliphen* (*Abh. der Kön. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxvi., xxvii., 1881) and above ii. p. 92a, at the end of the article FĀṬIMIDS and i. p. 114a, article ABŪ YAZID. (SOBERNHEIM)

KAIMAK. [See KIMĀK]

ḲĀ'IME (T. originally A.; cf. ḲĀ'IM), the name for paper-money in Turkey, an abbreviation for *Sehim ḳā'imesi* ("revenue bonds"); the word was originally used of drawings and documents which were written on large, long leaves in such a way that the lines ran parallel to the narrower side, as was the case with the first issues of Turkish paper-money; later the term *ewrāḳī naḳ-dīya* took its place.

The first *ḳā'ime* appeared in 1840 and were manuscript. They bore interest at the rate or 12%, were to be accepted as money at the public banks and to be current throughout the kingdom. They were replaced in 1842 by printed notes of a primitive style; the smaller notes bore no interest; the rate of interest for the others was reduced to 6% and at the same time the

circulation of paper-money was limited to the capital and its vicinity. The total of this first issue was not to exceed 60,000,000 piastres; but in a very few years, as a result of the wretched condition of Turkish finances, it was swollen enormously and in 1862 calculated at approximately a milliard piastres. In this year, with the help of a foreign loan, the paper money was redeemed for 40% cash and 60% Turkish Consols (so-called *consolidés*) and made no longer legal tender.

In 1876 and 1877 the Porte found itself forced by the bankruptcy of the state and the outbreak of war with Russia to take refuge in paper-money for a second time. *Kā'ime* were issued for 1600 million piastres, which, however, depreciated in a very short time and at the beginning of the 80's of last century were called in along with the depreciated copper-money.

A third issue of a paper currency of a total value of 16,702,106,360 piastres dates from the world-war; it is still (1923) in circulation.

Bibliography: Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, i. (Paris 1851); Eichmann, *Die Reformen des Osmanischen Reiches* (Berlin 1858), p. 335 sqq.; [A. D. Mordtmann], *Stambul una das moderne Türkenthum* (Leipzig 1878), p. 182 sqq.; Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat* (Paris 1882), i. 72, ii. 258; Ch. Morawitz, *Die Türkei im Spiegel ihrer Finanzen* (Berlin 1903), *passim*; *Tuḡwini Waḡyāt*^c [Turk. Gazette], Series i. year 1256 (1840/41), N^o. 206, 210, 213, 216; *The Near East*, N^o. 620 (of March 29, 1923), p. 328. — These books are in many points contradictory. The history of the *kā'ime* has still to be written. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

KAIN. [See HĀBIL]

AL-KĀIN (B. DJASK), usually BANU 'L-KĀIN or, with ellipsis of the syllable *nu*, BAḲKĀIN, nisba *Kāinī*, an Arab tribe. The official Arabic genealogy gives as its true name al-No'mān b. Djasr (see Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, Tab. 2, 20; Ibn Duraid, *al-Ishāḡ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 317; *Tādī al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *ḡyn*; Ibn Ḳhallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. de Slane, Article *Wathīma b. Mūsā*, about the middle; etc.); it therefore interpreted as originally a nickname — and probably rightly — al-Kāin, which means, as a name, "smith", "metal worker", "swordmaker" etc. (cf. Aram. *ḡenāyā*, *ḡaināyā*, "smith") and is in a wider application applied to artisans generally (for the meaning "slave", which the native lexicons also give and which Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgesch.*, p. 152 uses for his deductions, I have no really certain reference). This might be derived from the Banu 'l-Kāin having been at one time actually metalworkers, perhaps miners. Thus the Farān b. Balī, who worked the celebrated Sulaim or Farān mine were also called *Banu 'l-Kāin*, "sons of the smiths" or *al-Ḳuyūn* "the smiths"; see Yāḡūt, *Muḏjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 865 sq.; al-Bakrī, *Muḏjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 20 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen der Arab. Stämme*, in *Abh. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xiv. 28 (Nöldeke wrongly refers this passage, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xl. 181, note 6 to our Banu 'l-Kāin); Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, § 419 and 28, 1 and Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 162. Our tribe, however, appears in the old poems and historical references to it to be in every respect a genuine Beduin tribe. The period of

industrial activity of the Banu 'l-Kāin would therefore have to be looked for in the very remote past (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, § 420). Another explanation of the name Banu 'l-Kāin seems to me to be not quite impossible. The names *al-Kāin* and *Banu 'l-Kāin* are used by the Beduin Arabs, who scorn every kind of manual labourer, as terms of contempt; cf. the glossary to the *Naḡā'id al-Dīār* wa 'l-Farazdaq, under *Kāin*, where Bevan gives about 60 references, all from the *Naḡā'id*; al-Farazdaq himself appears here 18 times as "Ibn al-Kāin" or "Ibn al-Ḳuyūn", and his family three times as "Banu 'l-Kāin", cf. also Kais b. al-Ḳhaṭim, *Diwān* (ed. Kowalski), Nr. 10, 11; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān* (ed. Hirschfeld), Nr. cxxix, 4; Ḥamāsa of al-Buḡhurī (ed. Cheikho), Nr. 1333, 1 and Ṭirimmāh, *Diwān* (ed. Krenkow, still going through the press), N^o. 19, 5. It is therefore imaginable at least that in our case also, we have an original term of abuse, which has remained attached to the tribe.

The Banu 'l-Kāin formed a branch of the great system of tribes of the Ḳuḏā'a, who, in origin probably South Arabian, were settled in the historical period in the upper north, in Syria, in Mesopotamia and in the Irāk and to all appearance had gone over entirely or at least for the most part to Christianity there (see Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iḡd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, ii. 58, etc.). That the *Ṣiḡāḡ* and following it the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and the *Tādī al-ʿArūs* under *ḡyn* and the scholion to al-Hariri, *Maḡāmāt*², p. 90 include them in the Banū Asad, is probably due simply to carelessness, to a confusion of Asad, who in the Arab genealogical scheme appears as the great-grandfather of our al-Kāin (cf. again Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, Tab. 2) with the eponymous hero of the great Muḏarī tribe of the Banū Asad. As foolish as it is isolated is the statement that they had belonged to the Tamim (*Tādī al-ʿArūs*, *loc. cit.*). Their tribal area — corresponding roughly to Arabia Petraea — extended from the Sinai Peninsula along the Syrian frontiers far into the land east of Jordan (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 371, where all is not quite correct; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, § 420 sq.; Causin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii. 232, iii. 345, 352; Nöldeke, *Über die Amalekiter u. einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliten*, in Benfey's *Orient u. Occident*, ii. 635; al-Hamdānī, *Dīḡāṭ al-ʿArab*, ed. Müller, i. 131 sq. = Sprenger, *op. cit.*, § 32; 'Urwa b. al-Ward, ed. Nöldeke, p. 32 = Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, i. 228, Schol.; *Aḡḡānī*¹, xiv. 124; al-Yaḡḡubī, *Kit. al-Buldān*, in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, vii. 326; Yāḡūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 459, iv. 413; al-Wāḡidī, *al-Maḡḡāzī*, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 315; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Propheten Moḡammad*, iii. 295; Ibn al-Aṡṡir, *al-Kāmil fī 'l-Ta'riḡḡ* (ed. Tornberg), vi. 87 sq., and the maps in Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 559, and in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 2, at the end of the volume. They can hardly be considered a pure stock (in Ibn Ishāḡ they are often called "Musta'riba") along with all sorts of neighbouring tribes, see al-Ṭabārī, *Ta'riḡḡ*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1611 and 2347).

History. In the poetry and tales of the

"battles of the Arabs" and of other events in olden times the Banu 'l-Ḳain appear in typical Beduin feuds with the tribes of Kalb (*Ḥamāsa*, loc. cit., p. 77; Yāqūt, loc. cit., iii. 241; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, loc. cit., i. 370; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, III/I. 27 sq. = Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Uṣd al-Ḡhāba*, ii. 224 = Ibn Ḥadjār, *al-Iṣāba*, ii. 45 = Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Propheten Moḥammad*, i. 401, also Yāqūt, op. cit., iv. 49), Bahra' (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 283 = Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, v. 182 sq.), Ḡhassān (Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, *Ta'riḫh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 121, where *bōny 'l-ḳyn bn* should be read for *yōny 'l-ḳbryn*), Ḡhaṭafān (*Aḡḥānī*, ii. 194), etc. At Mu'ta, on the Yarmūk (Hieromax) and perhaps also at Fihl, they fought in alliance with other Ḳuḏā'a tribes and the Lakhm and Djudhām under the banner of the Byzantines, whose authority was recognised more or less by all the Arab tribes camped along the frontiers of Syria (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 792; al-Tabarī, op. cit., i. 1611, 2347; (Pseudo-) Abū Ismā'il al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. Lees, i. 97, 114; Caussin de Perceval, op. cit., iii. 212; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre*, iii. 292, note 2; Caetani, op. cit., II/I. 83, III/I. 206 etc.). In al-Tabarī, op. cit., i. 1872 Saif b. 'Omar says that the wave of apostasy which swept over almost all Arabia on the death of the Prophet, also affected the Banu 'l-Ḳain (cf. Caussin de Perceval, op. cit., iii. 345, 352 and Caetani, op. cit., II/I. 583, 585). From this statement it might be deduced that our tribe had become subject to the state of Medina while the Prophet was still alive; but it does not appear to me to be quite credible. In the civil war between Marwān I and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair we naturally find the Banu 'l-Ḳain as South Arabians on the side of the former (al-Tabarī, op. cit., ii. 478; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishraf*, in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, viii. 308, etc.) and on the occasion of the rising of Bahlūl b. Bishr Kuthāra in 119 = 737 we again find them in the pay of the Umayyads (al-Tabarī, op. cit., ii. 1623 sq., and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil fī 'l-Ta'riḫh*, v. 156). They again played a very important part in the Damascus troubles of 176 (792) in the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd, in which they and Ḳaisīs (Nizārīs) fought against the other Yemenīs (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, op. cit., vi. 87 sq.). They then disappear from our knowledge.

According to Nashwān's *Shams al-Uṭūm* Luḳmān was a slave of al-Ḳain b. Djasr al-Kuḏā'i (see *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Nashwān's im Šams al-Uṭūm*, ed. by 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, p. 95).

The best known member of the tribe is the poet Abu 'l-Tamahān al-Ḳainī, who flourished about 600 A. D. (see Guidi, *Tables alphab. du Kitāb al-Aḡanī*, p. 417; Ibn Ḳuṭaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, p. 229 sq.; Ibn Duraid, op. cit., p. 317; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Bulāḳ 1299, i. 18 and *Ḥamāsa*, loc. cit., p. 558; — wrongly in Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, Tab. 2, 24 and *Register*, p. 441, who has misunderstood the passage in the *Ḥamāsa*).

H. Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 337) has with all reserve connected the Old Testament Ḳayin (= Ḳain) or Ḳēnites (*Κεναῖοι*, *K[ε]ινῶν*) with our Ḳain. Nöldeke has followed him, at first only as a possible hypothesis but later with more confidence (*Über die Amalekiter*, op. cit., p. 634 sq.,

Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. xl. 181 and in Cheyne and Black's *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 130. The Ḳēnites were settled in the south of Palestine in the ancient Negeb, the later Idumaea; this would actually be the region where we find the Balkain. Besides, the Ḳēnites were obviously nomads like the Balkain (Stade, *Zeitschr. für d. Alttest. Wiss.*, xiv. 287 and Sayce, *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, p. 91 sq., and do. in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Kenites* recognise in them from the name — see above — a tribe of smiths; but they fail to give their readers any proof that they were such in historical times. Stade's identification, following Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 305, of the Ḳēnites with Cain, the brother of Abel, op. cit., p. 285 sqq., which Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 395 sqq., Procksch, *Die Völker Alt-palästinas*, Vol. i. part 2 of *Das Land der Bibel*, p. 37 etc. have adopted, I consider, with Nöldeke, *Encycl. Bibl.*, loc. cit., very problematic). But the two coincidences mentioned do not seem sufficient yet to justify us in identifying the Ḳēnites with the Balkain. The Ḳēnites disappear from literature with the Exile (with the exception of the Rēkhābites, whose inclusion in the Ḳayin is, however, not absolutely certain). They may nevertheless have continued to exist. But that so small a clan, which never appears as completely autonomous in the Old Testament should have continued to exist for a millenium after the Exile and at the end of this period still possess considerable strength and prosperity, — even as the result of incorporating other tribes — I consider a very daring assumption. The name Ḳain besides was obviously not at all a rare one (see Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 371, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemītischen Epigraphik*, p. 362, also Likmann, *Zur Entzifferung d. thamud. Inschriften*, p. 45). Cf. thereon Ed. Meyer, op. cit., p. 399.

Bibliography (besides the works already mentioned): al-Tabarī, *Ta'riḫh* (ed. de Goeje), *Aḡḥānī* and Yāqūt, *Muḏjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), see the indices thereon; Ed. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 115 sq., and Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, s. v. *Kain*.

(A. FISCHER)

ḲAINUḲĀ^c (BANŪ), one of the three Jewish tribes of Yaṭhrib. The name differs from the usual forms of Arabic proper names but at the same time has nothing Hebrew about its type. Nothing certain is known regarding their immigration into Yaṭhrib. They possessed no land there but lived by trading. That their personal names known to us are for the most part Arabic says as little regarding their origin as the occurrence of Biblical names among them. But there seem to be no valid reasons for doubting their Jewish origin.

In Yaṭhrib they lived in the south-west part of the town, near the *Muṣallā* and close to the bridge over the Wādī Buṭhān, where they occupied two of the castles (*āṭām*), characteristic of Yaṭhrib. They practised the goldsmith's art among other trades; al-Bukhārī (*Farḍ al-Khums*, Bāb i.) incidentally mentions a goldsmith of the Ḳainuḳā'. On their expulsion they left behind them arms and tools, which were divided among the Muslims after Muḥammad had received his fifth share. The number of their fully equipped fighting men varies in the references to it between 400 and 750.

After the dominating power in the old Yathrib had passed from the Jews to the Banu Kaila the Kainukāc were in alliance with the Khazraj [q. v.]. In Muḥammad's settlement of the relations of believers and other sections of the community they are not mentioned by the name of their tribe any more than the Naḍir [q. v.] and Kuraiza [q. v.] but are described as "Jews of the Naḍjdār, Hārith, Sā'ida and Djuḥam" (articles 26—29) i. e. as allies of different subdivisions of the Khazraj.

After the battle of Badr (Ramaḍān 2 H. = March 624) Muḥammad's relations with the Jews of Medina became troubled. The Jews as a body had adopted an unfriendly attitude to the Prophet. From the religious point of view therefore they became inconvenient; and from the political side, as a powerful foreign body within the just converted town, they were a great danger. When Muḥammad felt his position strengthened by the battle of Badr, the idea of expelling his enemies must soon have entered his head. The Kainukāc, as they lived in the city itself, were those he wished to be rid of first. With this description of the situation, his attack on the Kainukāc (in all probability as early as Shawwāl 2 H. = April 624) is sufficiently explained. What the Muslim writers give as special reasons for the attack has hardly more than anecdotal value. Sometimes it is said to have been a jest that a Muslim made to a Jewish woman, sometimes the Kainukāc are said to have behaved with particular arrogance. Sūra iii. 10 sqq. and viii. 60 sqq. are said to refer to these incidents. Sūra iii. 11 refers to the victory at Badr as an example and warning, and viii. 60 speaks of vengeance against people, from whom treachery is feared.

After a fourteen days' siege, the Kainukāc surrendered without striking a blow; the men were bound and seemed to have to fear the worst. The energetic intervention of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, chief of the Khazraj and leader of the Munāfiqūn, however, effected an amelioration of their lot. They departed first to the Jewish colonies in the Wādī 'l-Kurā, north of Medina, and from there they went to Adhri'āt in Syria.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 383 sqq., 545 sqq.; al-Wāḥidī, *al-Maḡhazī*, ed. v. Kremer, p. 177 sqq. (= abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen entitled *Muḥammed in Medina*, p. 92 sqq.); al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1359 sqq.; al-Diyārbekri, *Ta'rikh al-Khamīs* (Cairo 1283), p. 408 sqq.; al-Ḥalabī, *Sira* (Cairo 1292), ii. 273 sqq.; the European biographies of Muḥammad; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 520 sqq.; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden 1908), p. 39, 146—151; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds* (Berlin 1910), p. 60 sqq.; Müller, *Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. p. 96—119.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-KAIRAWĀN (French Kairouan) a town in Tunisia, 112 miles south of Tunis and 40 west of Susa to which it is joined by a railway; it lies in 35° 40' N. Lat. and 10° 2' E. Long. (Greenwich). The population in 1910 was 22,000 including 800 foreigners of whom 300 were French.

Kairwan lies 250 feet above sea-level in the middle of a great plain traversed by the Wādī Zerūd and the Wādī Merguelli, which ultimately disappear in sebkhas or salt lakes. These rivers are subject to sudden floods, which sometimes

transform the environs of the town into a lake extending up to the foot of the walls. When the rains have been sufficiently abundant, the soil yields a rich harvest; al-Bakrī mentions that in the western part called "Faḥṣ al-Darrāra", the grain sown is sometimes returned a hundredfold. But usually the ground, lacking trees or herbaceous vegetation, and covered with salt efflorescence, gives the country a desert appearance. The temperature shows considerable variations (24.8° in winter and 120.2° in summer). The rainfall is not heavy (14.5 inches per annum) and therefore running waters and springs are scarce, so that the inhabitants have to use cisterns to collect their drinking-water.

Kairwan really consists of two towns, the city proper surrounded by a battlemented wall of brick, flanked with buttresses and round towers as well as a ḡaṣba, 3350 yards round, and secondly a vast faubourg stretching to N. and N.W., the faubourg of the Zlas (Djās) so called from the popular name of the tribe occupying the neighbouring country. To the south finally there has grown up a little European quarter. The interior of the town is a network of narrow and tortuous streets. Commerce and industry are fairly busy, although Kairwan has lost much of its economic importance. The principal industries, which, it may be added, are of the nature of home-industries, are the manufacture of carpets, which occupies a thousand looms and that of woollen blankets. The working of leather (saddle-making, shoe-making) for which the artisans of Kairwan were at one time very famous, and that of copper, are still followed by several hundred workers. The importance of Kairwan in the past is particularly shown by the number of religious edifices to be seen in it. The principal is the great mosque of Sidi 'Oḡba, one of the largest buildings in North Africa, the foundation of which dates back to that of the city itself. Among the others may be mentioned the Mosque of Sidi Ṣāhib (vulgo Ṣāḥab, Mosque of the Barber) dating from the first century A. H., but rebuilt and extended in the xvth century A. D., the mosque of the Three Gates (Djāmi' Tlāta Bībān), contemporary with the preceding, the Madrasa Sidi 'Abid al-Ḡharyānī (xvth cent. A. D.) and the Mosque of the Sabres (Djāmi' 'Amar 'Abbāda), finished in 1871. The oldest mosques, for the building of which were used materials from Hadrumetun (Susa) and even from Carthage, show an interesting mixture of Byzantine and Oriental influences. The latter are clearly seen in the decorative motifs (faiences, woodwork) analogous to those of 'Irāḡ and Baghdād. The more recent buildings show examples, sometimes remarkable, of wooden ceilings in compartments, arabesques cut in plaster showing Hispano-Moorish inspiration. We may add that the buildings of the xvth and xviii centuries often reveal the intervention of European architects and workmen, especially Italians.

History. The foundation of Kairwan dates from the Arab conquest. The town was in fact built by 'Oḡba b. Nāfi' in 50 (670) to give his troops a base of operations and depot for supplies and also to keep in awe the Berber tribes. "I intend", the historian al-Nuwairi makes him say, "to build a town which can serve as a depot of arms (Kairawān) for Islām to the end of time" (al-Nuwairi in Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl.

de Slane, i. 327). Kairwan was built on — or very near — the site of a small Roman town called *Kamūdah* or *Kamūnia*, the materials of which were used by the Arabs. The site of the new town, two days' journey from the shore, had been chosen to put the Muslims out of danger from an attack by the Byzantines, who still held the towns on the coast. 'Oḳba first of all built a mosque, the palace of the government, then houses for his soldiers as well as a wall 2750 yards long. Legend was not long in embellishing this foundation with marvellous tales. The site of Kairwan was, it was related, covered with impenetrable thickets inhabited by deer and reptiles which disappeared at 'Oḳba's command. A vision revealed to the conqueror the exact position of the *qibla* and of the *mihrāb* of the mosque, and the existence of a spring indispensable for the inhabitants, etc. The buildings were hardly completed when 'Oḳba was disgraced and called back to the East (55 = 675). His successor Dīnār Abu 'l-Muhādīr hastened to destroy Kairwan and built a new town called Takrouan or Takrūn two miles to the North. Restored to the favour of the Caliph and sent back to Africa, 'Oḳba rebuilt Kairwan on the original site.

Kairwan was henceforth the capital of Muslim Africa and the residence of the Arab governors, but during the century which followed the death of 'Oḳba it had to submit to numerous vicissitudes. After the rising of Kusaila it was occupied by the Berbers and remained for four years in their power (64–68 = 684–688). During the *Khāridjī* rising it was taken and pillaged by the *Wafardjuma* (139 = 756–757), who committed such excesses there that the population scattered over the surrounding country. At the end of fourteen months, the *Abādī* Abu 'l-Khattāb [q. v.], chief of the *Huwāra* [q. v.], drove out the *Wafardjuma* and re-entrusted the government of the town to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam [q. v.] (141 = 758/9). In 145 = 762/3 Ibn Ash'ath was victorious over the *Khāridjīs* and re-established the seat of the government at Kairwan. He endeavoured to repair the damage done by the Berbers, and to protect the town from a new attack he surrounded it with a wall of brick, 12 cubits thick. These precautions did not, however, prevent the *Abādī* tribes under the command of Abū Ḥātim [q. v.] from laying siege to Kairwan (154 = 771) in which the governor 'Omar b. Ḥafṣ, who had escaped from Tōbna, was shut up. After the death of 'Omar, who had been killed during the siege, his successor *Djamil* (or *Hamid*) b. Ṣaḡr capitulated and opened the gates to the enemy. There were, however, no massacres. The inhabitants were allowed to go freely and the victor was content to demolish the fortifications. The *Khāridjī* occupation was of short duration. By 155 = 772, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, victorious over the heretics, had taken Kairwan again. He rebuilt the great mosque, had bazaars built for each trade-guild and earned the title of second founder of the city (*al-Nuwairī*).

Under the *Aghlabids* (800–909 A. D.) Kairwan underwent considerable expansion and reached the zenith of its prosperity. The princes of the dynasty vied with each other in enriching the town with rich monuments and multiplied the works of public utility. Ziyādat Allāh I and Ibrāhīm built waterworks and cisterns to secure the town's

supply of drinking water, for the reservoirs built for the purpose in the time of the Caliph *Hishām* had become insufficient. "The largest and most useful of these reservoirs", says al-Bakrī, "is circular in form and of enormous size. In the centre rises an octagonal tower covered by a pavilion with four doors. A long series of arcades of arches resting one upon the other ends on the south side of this reservoir". These waterworks have not completely disappeared and one of the reservoirs restored by French engineers is still called the "reservoir of the *Aghlabids*". The great mosque was rebuilt from top to bottom. The primitive edifice built by 'Oḳba had already been destroyed by Ḥasan b. al-Nu'mān [q. v.] who had rebuilt it and adorned it with pillars of marble which, without doubt, came from the ruins of Carthage. Soon becoming too small, the mosque was again enlarged in 105 = 723/724, then entirely rebuilt with the exception of the *mihrāb* in the time of Yazīd b. Ḥātim (155 = 772). Ziyādat Allāh I in his time had the whole building taken down including the *mihrāb*, which was enclosed between two walls so as to be preserved without being seen except through a narrow grill, and replaced it by the present mosque. According to al-Bakrī, 80,000 *mithkāl*s (about £ 320,000) were expended on this work. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad completed the work of Ziyādat Allāh; he lengthened the principal building and built above the nave abutting on the *mihrāb* a cupola called *Qubbat Bāb al-Bahw* (the cupola of the gate of the pavilion). 220 cubits long, 150 broad, divided into 17 naves by 414 columns, the great mosque could rival the most famous monuments of the East. Other religious buildings restored in the same period also claimed the attention of visitors, like the Mosque of the Three Gates, the Mosque of Sidi Ṣaḡab (Mosque of the Barber), the Mosque of the Anṣār, which according to the legend was built even before the arrival of 'Oḳba by one of the companions of the Prophet, Ruwaif' b. Thābit, and the Mosque of Ismā'il b. 'Obaid al-Anṣārī.

Outside the town rose the royal residences, *Qaṣr al-Qadīm* and *al-Raḡḡāda*. *Qaṣr al-Qadīm*, also called *al-'Abbāsiya*, was built in 184 = 800, 3 miles S. E. of Kairwan by Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab, who settled there under the protection of his negro guard and made it the seat of government. It is the "Castle of the Moat", where were received the ambassadors of Charlemagne. Around the palace there grew up a town provided with baths, caravanserais and bazaars and surrounded by a wall with five gates. Al-Bakrī mentions in it a mosque flanked by a cylindrical minaret ornamented with seven tiers of columns. Some distance off was another castle called *al-Ruṣāfa*. *Al-Raḡḡāda*, four miles S. W. was a creation of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad (263 = 876/877). This prince built here in a place celebrated for the purity of its air, a castle around which grew up an important town with bazaars and baths. It measured 24,000 cubits in circumference but enclosed large areas filled with parks and gardens.

A venerated sanctuary and capital of a powerful state, Kairwan was also a great commercial city. The shops of the merchants stood on either side of a covered street about two miles in length. It was also a city of learning where the study of *Mālikī* law was particularly honoured. Celebrated professors like Asad b. al-Furāt [q. v.], Ibn Rashīd

and Saḥnūn had numerous pupils there. The teaching of medicine was equally flourishing. The Jew Ishāk b. Imrān, physician to Ziyādat Allāh II and his pupil Ishāk b. Sulaimān founded a regular school there.

This prosperity did not end with the Aghlabid dynasty; it continued under the Fāṭimids and the early Zirids, although the Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh, after living some time at Raḡḡāda, had moved the seat of government to al-Mahdiyya. The town suffered a great deal, however, from the revolt of Abū Yazīd [q. v.], "the man with the ass." The Nekkārīs captured it in 333 = 944 and pillaged it in spite of the appeals of the notables and scholars who had come to implore the clemency of the conqueror. But in 334 = 946, the Caliph Ismā'il retook Kairwan and after having defeated the Khāridjis built some distance away the town of Sabra to which he gave the name of al-Manṣūriya, in memory of his victory over Abū Yazīd, and in which he established his residence (337 = 948). His successor al-Mu'izz moved to al-Manṣūriya the bazaars and factories of Kairwan to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants. The new town was surrounded by a wall with five gates of which the principal, Bāb al-Futūḥ (gate of conquest) was used by the sovereign when he took the field at the head of his army. The town of Raḡḡāda on the other hand abandoned by its inhabitants and half destroyed by the Nekkārīs was razed to the ground. The gardens alone were spared. During all this period Kairwan and al-Manṣūriya still had a very active economic life. The manufacture of carpets, of woollen and cotton goods flourished there. Cultivated land and orchards extended round the town. The wealth of the inhabitants is evidenced by the fact that the agents of the Fāṭimids were able to exact from them 400,000 dinars on a single occasion. According to al-Bakrī the taxes levied each day at one of the gates of al-Manṣūriya amounted to 26,000 dirhems (about £ 600). The people of Kairwan, however, complained of the tyranny of the Fāṭimids and the bulk of them remained attached to orthodoxy. Their hostility showed itself in serious bloodsheds under the earlier Zirids. In 407 (1017-18) 3,000 Shī'īs were massacred in a rising and the town of al-Manṣūriya was pillaged by the populace. Al-Mu'izz's break with the Fāṭimids was therefore received with enthusiasm by the people of Kairwan.

This act of rebellion let loose on Ifrīqiya the Hilālī invasion of which Kairwan very soon felt the disastrous results. After the defeat of Haidērān, al-Mu'izz ordered his soldiers to evacuate the town; they sacked it first of all and he withdrew to al-Manṣūriya. He then rebuilt the walls of Kairwan on a length of 22,000 cubits and joined Kairwan to al-Manṣūriya by two walls half a mile apart (444 = 1052). In spite of these precautions the attacks of the Hilālīs became more and more serious. Kairwan was abandoned by a part of the population and in 449 = 1057, al-Mu'izz decided to evacuate al-Manṣūriya and retire to al-Mahdiyya. The Arabs then entered the town and wrought the most frightful havoc. "They destroyed all the beauty and all the splendour of the monuments of Kairwan. Nothing that the Ṣanhādji princes had left in their palaces escaped the greed of the brigands. All that there was in the town was carried off or destroyed."

(Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 37). The inhabitants were scattered in all directions, "some went to Egypt, others to Sicily and Spain; a considerable body to Fās." ('Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushi *al-Mu'djīb fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy², p. 259).

The capital of Ifrīqiya never recovered from this disaster. Pillaged again in 1060 by the Huwāra, its possession disputed between the Zirids and the governor, the Ka'id Ibn Maimūn, who tried to set up in it for his own benefit an independent principality with the support of the Hammādids, Kairwan remained under the domination of the Arabs and defenceless against the exactions of the nomads. "The latter levy contributions on every thing; the inhabitants are few in number, their trade and industries in a miserable condition" (al-Idrīsī, transl. de Goeje, p. 129). Stayed for a time in the reign of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who restored the town in part, its decline continued its rapid course under his successors and under the Hafsids as a result of the continued troubles of which Ifrīqiya was the theatre. At the end of the xivth century A. D. the town was almost deserted; its only inhabitants were the peasants who sought shelter there. It was gradually repopulated, but it was still very wretched at the beginning of the xvth century A. D. "The inhabitants", writes Leo Africanus who visited Kairwan in 922 (1516), "are at present all poor artisans, of whom some are carriers of the skins of sheep and goats, the others furriers whose handiwork is sold in the cities of Numidia, where no European cloth is to be had. But of all these trades there is not one, which is able to make a good livelihood and those who follow them live a miserable existence and are in very great poverty." Ill-treated by the rulers of Tunis, the people of Kairwan were in an almost continual state of revolt. They even definitely threw off the authority of the Hafsids when the latter had accepted the Spanish protectorate after the capture of Tunis by Charles V. in 1535 and recognized as chief the Marabout Sidi 'Arfa of the tribe of Shabbiya. In spite of the help of the Spaniards Mulay Ḥasan could not dispose of this pretender, who was supported by the Arab tribes and the Turks of the corsair Dragut. His successor Aḥmad Sulṭān was no more fortunate.

Under Turkish rule Kairwan felt the repercussion of all the troubles of the xviith century A. D. In 1701 the Bey Murād, to punish a rising of the inhabitants, destroyed the walls and the houses and only left the mosques and zāwiya standing. On the other hand Ḥusain b. 'Alī, founder of the Ḥusainid dynasty made great efforts to raise Kairwan from its ruins. He reconstructed the fortified wall round it and restored over fifty mosques, according to the author of the chronicle *al-Mashra' al-Malikī* (French transl. by V. Serres and Muḥammad Lasram, Tunis 1900). He had a "bardo" there, where he used to stay while his troops were going through the Djerid to collect the taxes. The inhabitants showed their gratitude to the Bey by supporting him vigorously against his nephew 'Alī Pasha, who could only capture Kairwan, where Ḥusain had taken refuge after a five years' siege (1735-1740). The town was once more razed by the victor, but it was rebuilt and, according to Desfontaines, was in 1784 "the largest town of the kingdom next to Tunis and even better built and less filthy than it".

Trade and industry were quite busy there and the people were exempt from taxes in return for the fidelity of their ancestors to the Bey Husain. Kairwan had also preserved its character as a place of sanctity and the inhabitants were very hostile to Christians. Very few Europeans, among whom were Peyssonnel, Shaw and Desfontaines had been able to visit the town. The fanaticism of the inhabitants persisted down to the end of the sixteenth century. After the signing of the treaty of Bardo (1881) which placed Tunisia under the protectorate of France, Kairwan was one of the centres of native resistance. To put an end to this, three columns under the supreme command of General Saussier set out from Tebessa, Tunis and Susa and united before the walls of the town. It was occupied without fighting on October 29, 1881.

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KAIS, a little island in the Persian Gulf, in that part of it which the mediaeval Arab geographers call the “sea of Omān”, in 54° E. Long. (Greenw.) and 26° 30' N. Lat. Kais, which next to Kishm [q. v.] may now very well be considered the most important of the Persian islands of the Gulf, is about 10 miles long and five broad; it is separated from the mainland by a strait about 12 miles wide, which affords a very secure passage. Apart from a few rocky places, the island is quite flat; it is better cultivated than most of the islands of the Persian Gulf. The mediaeval Arab and Persian geographers make special mention of its prosperous condition,

noting particularly its wealth in trees (mainly date-palms) and refer to the cultivated fields, gardens and cisterns. Besides agriculture, navigation and trade, the then fairly numerous population of the island was also engaged in the pearl-fishery; for the latter see the remarks in Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāqūt, al-Dimashqī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*op. cit.*].

The name Kais is an arabicised form of the Persian Kis or Kish (the form Kās is also found; see al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*). In the Portuguese and Dutch authors of the xvth and xvith centuries we find forms like QUIXI, QUEIS, CAEZ or QUECHE, QAS, GUESS etc.; cf. Vincent and Tomaschek, *op. cit.* Kenn (Khenn) is also sometimes given as the name of this island, e.g. by Vincent, Kinneir, Morier (*op. cit.*, p. 31), Ouseley, Kempthorne, Ritter and Tomaschek, and in *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, N° xxiv. 20, 596. But it is, however, doubtful, whether the existence of some such second name for Kais, which we know mainly from English sources (see on the other hand Schlāfi, *op. cit.*, p. 150), can be maintained. Could Kenn, the Khain of Ibn Khurdādhbeh (p. 62, 1), be the earlier name of another island near Kais, perhaps of the island of Farur (east of Kais)? See Schwarz, *Iran*, etc., p. 87. The circumstance that an Arab prince named Kais b. 'Umaira took possession of the island of Kish — it was henceforth occasionally called Djazirat Kais b. 'Umaira or Bani 'Umaira, see Yāqūt, i. 503, 2, ii. 711, 8 — may have effected the arabicisation of the old name. The latter itself does not, however, date only from the Arab chief just mentioned, as Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, thinks, but goes back into the pre-Muḥammadan period, for we find Kish already mentioned in the Sassanian period, as one of the seven bishoprics of the Nestorian ecclesiastical province of Persis; for this reference to Kish about the middle of the sixth century in Syriac literature, see Guidi in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xliii. 413; Chabot, *Synodicon orientale* (Paris 1902), p. 680; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in der Persis* (= *Abh. der Berl. Akad.*, 1919, N° 1), p. 58.

Historical. In classical literature the island is only twice mentioned: in Arrian's *Indica* (37, 8) under the form *Karaiṇ* and in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. 110) as Aphrodisia; cf. Vincent, *op. cit.*, Ritter, viii. 774, xii. 458 and Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 2727 (s. v. Aphrodisia, N° 7) and x. 2462 (*Karaiṇ*). Perhaps we have in *Karaiṇ* or *Kar* the prototype of *Kāsh* (Kish).

In the Muḥammadan period, Kais formed a part of the province of Ardashīr Khurra in Fārs. It was only in the later middle ages that the town attained greater importance, when, as already mentioned, a prince of South Arabian origin captured it, built a fleet there and gradually began to extend his power. After the capture of Sirāf, which then enjoyed great prosperity as the main staple of the Persian-Indian-Chinese trade, the Arab dynasty of Kais rose under the last Būyids in the first half of the vth (xth) century to unlimited control of the whole Persian Gulf. This Sirāf, which was previously often regarded wrongly as a town on the coast near the island of Kais — actually confused with Kais by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 244, 2)! — lay much further to the north; the ruins of this famous commercial

centre are near the village of Tāhiri (north of Rās Nābend, in 27° 40' N. Lat. and 52° 20' E. Long. Greenwich; cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 59 sq. and the article SĪRĀF). Sīrāf gradually became more and more deserted under the suzerainty of the princes of Kais, as they diverted the very considerable trade and shipping from the captured Persian seaport to their own island. They also extended their power to several other districts of the mainland opposite the island of Kais. Their predecessors in the occupation of this strip of land had been a South Arabian tribe, the Banū 'Umāra; cf. on their territory, the so-called Sif 'Umāra (the 'Umāra-coast), Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 77 sq., 76. In the little town of Huzū there, a little dynasty of a family of the Banū 'Umāra, of whom coins still survive, ruled before the coming of the ruling house of Kais; cf. v. Bergmann in the *Numism. Zeitschr.* (Vienna), viii. 38—39 and Tiesenhausen in the *Rev. Numism. Belge*, 1875, p. 337; Huzū (probably the modern Ġirū) and Sāwiya (reading uncertain, probably the modern Tāwānah), both almost opposite Kais (in the N. W. or N. E. of it), were the most important ports of the island-rulers on the mainland. On Huzū and Sāwiya see Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p. 141; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, text p. 120, transl. p. 118; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 257. A caravan route from Shīrāz ended in Huzū, the more important of these two towns; cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, p. 185, 16, 186, 7. The same author (p. 171, 15, 184, 5, 186, 11 sq.) also gives the routes and distances from Kais to Baṣra, to Sulṭāniya and to the islands of Sarandīb (Ceylon) via Hormūz. Most of the smaller islands near Kais likewise became subject to the rulers of the latter, for example Dīāsak (probably the modern Lārek in the strait of Hormūz), where, according to Yāqūt ii. 9, 7, the "king" of Kais maintained a garrison celebrated for its seamanship; see also Dīāsak, i. 1025. At its period of greatest power, the dynasty of Kais also ruled over the opposite coast on the Arabian side (district of 'Omān), wherefore they are called by Yāqūt and al-Dimashqī "the lords of 'Omān".

The journey of the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela falls within the period of Kais's prosperity (second half of the twelfth century). He notes with admiration the rich market of the island, whose chief business consisted in the exchange of Indian and Persian manufactures and produce; see the edition of the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela by Grünhut (transl. Jerusalem 1903), p. 77 sq. The Jewish traveller wrongly gives the island, which he calls Kish, much too large an area; but there can be no doubt that he refers not to Kishm (so Grünhut, *op. cit.*, and Asher in his edition, ii. 175 sq.), but to our Kais. Benjamin of Tudela says that there were 500 Jewish families settled on the island. There must, of course, have also been a number of Persians living there. The bulk of the inhabitants, however, in the middle ages (as it is still the case to-day) were not Persians but Arabs, who were the chief settlers on most of the islands on the Persian side of the Gulf. The Venetian Marco Polo (*Travels*, Book i. Chap. 7, iii. Chap. 44) of the second half of the xiiith century knows Kais under the name Kisi (in Ital. orthography: Chisi) as a place of call for ships sailing from Babylon to India.

The decline of Kais was caused by the com-

mercial rise of the little kingdom of Hormūz [q. v.], also under an Arab dynasty. Even under the Saldjūk prince Malik Dīnār of Kermān (582—591 = 1186—1194) the ruler of Kais of that time had vainly endeavoured to get Hormūz on the mainland from the latter in return for a yearly tribute; see Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Tawārikh Āl Saldjūk*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1886, p. 160, 5 sq.; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgent. Gesellsch.*, xxxix. 395). Further information on the relations of Kais with Hormūz is given in the *Relaciones* (1610) of the Portuguese Teixeira; the book contains from a Persian source a fairly full history of the kingdom of Hormūz; see W. F. Sinclair, *The Travels of F. Teixeira*, (= Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, vol. ix., London 1902), p. 161 sq., 169 sq., 183 sq., 259 sq. and cf. Schwarz in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgent. Ges.*, lxxviii. 531 sq. and HORMŪZ, ii. 325 sq. According to Teixeira (*op. cit.*, lxxviii. 534; cf. Ritter, viii. 777) about 700 (1300) the then king of Hormūz obtained from Nu'aim of Kais by purchase the island of Djarūn which lay opposite his capital. A few years later, he moved his residence to this island, which offered more protection; cf. above i. 694 sq., ii. 325 sq.). This New-Hormūz, thanks to its favourable position near the narrowest part of the Gulf, soon began to compete vigorously with the rulers of Kais and attracted more and more of the trade with India to itself. This led to long wars and feuds between the two kingdoms, which fill a great part of their history. For a time Kais was actually under Hormūz. In the end Kais completely lost its previous dominating position as the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf. Hormūz now took its place and from the tenth century to its capture by Shāh 'Abbās I in 1622 formed a great centre of international commerce. Its place was in turn taken by Bender 'Abbās [q. v.], which had to give pride of place to Būshīr [q. v.] after the middle of the xviiith century; the latter is now the most important trading port on the Persian Gulf. In the later middle ages the commercial centre of gravity within the Persian Gulf thus gradually shifted from north to south (Sīrāf-Kais-Hormūz) and returned in modern times to the north, although less adapted by nature. We know little of the later history of Kais. When the islanders became dissatisfied with their rulers, they finally called in the help of the governor of Shīrāz and as a result of his intervention Kais became permanently incorporated in Persia. According to Schlāsi, who spent 14 days on the island in 1862, there are 8 little settlements on it; he estimated the number of the inhabitants (Arabs and 1/10 Suaheli negro-slaves) at 2500—3000.

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Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* (ed. le Strange), p. 136, 17 sqq., 234, 4, 7 sq.; Ibn Baṭṭūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti), ii. 244, 2 (thereon ii. 456, note), iv. 168, 9; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-latinum*, ii. 935; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 257; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographien* (Leipzig 1896 sqq.), p. 88 sq.; W. Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus*, (London, 1797), p. 334—339; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*³, transl. by Yule-Cordier (London 1903), i. 63, 64 note, 84, ii. 340, 452; Cornelis Cornelisz. Roobacker's *Scheepsjournaal Gamron-Basra (1645)*, ed. by A. Hotz in the *Tijdschr. v. h. Kon. Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, second Ser., xxiv. (1907), 318 sqq., 357 sq., 382 sq.; I. N. Kinneir, *A Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire* (London 1813), p. 17; J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia etc.* (London 1818), p. 31, 33 sq.; W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, i. (London 1819), p. 167—173; Kempthorne in the *Journ. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, v. (1835), 281 and id. in the *Transact. of the Bombay Geograph. Soc.*, new series, vol. xii. (Bombay 1856), p. 115; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 773—777, x. 276, xii. 378, 391, 458 sq.; *Geographi Graeci Minores* (ed. Müller), i. (Paris 1854), p. 360; *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, N^o. xxiv. new series (Bombay 1856), p. 20 sq., 45—48, 596 sq. (with maps); A. Schläfli, *Reisen in den Orient* (Winterthur 1864), p. 149 sq.; W. Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant* (Leipzig 1885/6), i. 164 sq., ii. 133 sq.; Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs in die Sitz-Ber. der Wiener Akad.*, cxxxi. phil.-hist. Cl., Abh. 8 (1890), p. 52 sq. (M. STRECK)

AL-KAIS, apparently an ancient Arab idol. He must have early disappeared as a deity, for Hishām b. al-Kalbī does not mention him in his *Kitāb al-Aṣṇām* and he is not given in the various passages in Arabic literature that give lists of the gods of the Djāhiliya. But that he was at one time worshipped as a god may be deduced with considerable certainty from the tribal name 'Abd al-Kais [q. v.] and from the well-known personal and tribal name Imru' al-Kais [q. v.]; cf. the Arabic names Imru' Manāt, Ἀμριαμανός and Μανουλάας in Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 5 sq. and אִמְרַאֲלִי (= Imra' allāhi) and אִמְרַאֲלִיּוֹת (= Imra' Yaghūth) in Lidzbarski, *Handb. der nordsemit. Epigraphik*, i. 500, as well as the Hebrew Meri-Ba'al i. Chron., ix. 40^b and ²Āshba'al (Septuaginta, Luc., and also Cod. Sin. I^oβααλ, = 'Ish-Bōshāth) i. Chron., viii. 33, ix. 39]. Further from statements like the following: "and it has been asserted that al-Kais was the name of an idol, which explains the name 'Abd al-Kais", *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, i. 85, schol., and "others have thought that al-Kais was the name of an idol and for this reason al-Asma'i (in verse 14 of the *Mu'allaka* of Imru' al-Kais) has rejected the reading "ya-mra'a 'l-Kaisi fa-nziū", and has preferred "ya-mra'a 'l-lāhi fa-nziū", 'Āsim b. Aiyūb al-Baṭalyūsi, *Sharḥ Diwān Imr'i 'l-Kais*, Cairo 1308, p. 3, and further from the name of the god קִישַׁי in the Nabataean inscription. of al-Hijr, which can hardly be other than as Aramaic adaptation of al-Kais (cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 363; Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 104; Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xl. 167; Baethgen, *Beitr. zur*

semit. Religionsgeschichte, p. 108, etc.). From the Nabataean inscription *Corp. Inscript. Semit.*, N^o. 209, 9 (= Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften aus Arabien*, N^o. 12, 9) it would seem that the deity possessed a sanctuary in al-Hijr, in which copies of documents used to be deposited; nothing else is known about his character or the area of his cult. The appellative meaning of *Kais* is obscure; according to the native dictionaries, it means: "misfortune", "need", "famine", "membrum virile" and "proud gait". But none of these meanings is suitable as the name of a deity, quite apart from the fact that I cannot find a single one actually occurring in literature. De Goeje has deduced the meaning "Lord" from al-Hamdāni, *Djazirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i. 3, 9 and perhaps p. 221, 14 (see W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, London 1894, p. 170, note 4, German transl. by R. Stübe, p. 132, note 219). "Lord" would, of course, be a good name for a deity, almost too good! But in view of the poor condition of the manuscripts available for D. H. Müller's edition of the *Djazirat al-'Arab*, and the problematic character in any case of the two passages in al-Hamdāni, this meaning can at best only be said to be a possible one.

As to the connection between al-Kais and the frequent personal and not uncommon tribal name *Kais* (see Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen der arab. Stämme u. Familien*; the indices to Ibn Duraid, *al-Ishtikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ed. de Goeje, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii./11 and vi., *Nakā'id Djarir wa 'l-Farazdaq*, ed. Bevan; Guidi, *Tables alphabét. du Kitāb al-Aḡāni*, s. v., etc., and note also the Nabataean personal name קִישַׁי, Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 363 and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 104), as well as the personal name 'Abd Kais (*Nakā'id Djarir wa 'l-Farazdaq*, Indices, s. v.; Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 275; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 30; Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 137; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i. 987) no definite statement can be made. But at any rate we should not, as has always been done hitherto, overlook the fact that *Kais* always has the article (which the Nabat. קִישַׁי, קִישַׁי also shows) in the nevertheless in all probability theophoric form Imru' al-Kais as well as in the tribal name 'Abd al-Kais, while in the personal and tribal name *Kais* and in the personal name 'Abd Kais it is as regularly found without the article. (That the poet 'Abd Kais b. Khufaf, *Aghāni*¹, ix. 165, *Hamāsa*, loc. cit., p. 352 and *Lisān al-'Arab*, ii. 206 appears as 'Abd al-Kais b. Khufaf may be due to an error; see *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Nr. cxvi. sq., ed. Cairo, ii. 85 sq. and *Aghāni*, vii. 148, 152 sq.). I would consider *Kais*, as opposed to the god's name al-Kais, as a simple personal name. Wellhausen sees in it the god's name before which the concept 'Abd has disappeared (*op. cit.*, p. 8). But he does not tell us why in this contraction the article of the name of the god should also have been dropped. W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², p. 239) had practically anticipated Wellhausen.

Halévy (*Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa*, in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 1882, p. 321), Wellhausen (*loc. cit.*, p. 67) and Gottheil (*On קִישַׁי וקִישַׁי, Journ. of Bibl. Literature*, xvii. 200) have identified our deity with the Edomite god *Kaus*, *Kōs*, *Kaush* or *Kōsh* (on the latter see especially Schrader,

Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd edition, revised by Zimmern and Winckler, p. 472 sq. and W. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 31). I consider the identity of the two to be exceedingly improbable. The comparisons of Ḳais with another Edomite god, the Koḫe of Josephus, are, of course, utterly untenable (Koḫe = Arab. Ḳuḏah, see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 81 sq.; Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xli. 714; Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 121, note 1; Gottheil, *op. cit.*, p. 201, etc. and cf. Thamud. and Nabat. קוח, Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften*, in *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1904, i. 46; Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 362; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 104), as well as the identification with the Nabataean קציו (on this cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 364; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 105), with the Semitic deity (Ζεύς) Κάριος (on this see Drexler, in W. Roscher's *Ausführl. Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, Col. 970 sqq.) and with אלקשי Nahum, i. 1 (De

Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 105; H. Derenbourg, *Le poète antéislamique Imru'ou l-Ḳais et le dieu arabe al-Ḳais*, in *Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses*, Vol. vii.: *Études de critique et d'histoire*, 2nd Series, p. 122; Gottheil, *loc. cit.*, p. 201 sq., etc.). On the other hand the name Ḳais perhaps appears in קיש (Septuag. Κεῖσ) 1. Sam., ix. 1, 3 etc. and the appellative Ḳais in קישיו (Septuag. Cod. Vat. Κεῖσαι, Cod. Alex. Κεῖσαι) 1. Chron., vi. 29 = קישיו (to be read קישיו); Septuag., Cod. Vat. Κεῖσαι, Cod. Alex. and Luc. Κεῖσαι) 1. Chron., xv. 17.

Bibliography (in addition to the works already mentioned): E. Osiander, *Studien über die vorislämische Religion der Araber*, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vii. 500 sq.; Nöldeke, Notice of W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, *ibid.*, xl. 166 sq. and Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vakid's Kitab al-Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, p. 212, note 1. (A. FISCHER)

ḲAIS-ʿAILĀN (*Ḳaisu ʿAilāna*), one of the largest and most powerful tribal groups of northern Arabia in ancient times.

Name. For Ḳais ʿAilān we often find also Ḳais b. ʿAilān, most frequently *Ḳais* alone (in the poetry occasionally also simply ʿAilān, see *Naḳāʾid Djarir wa l-Farasaḍ*, ed. Bevan, iii. Index iii. s. v.; the "Ḳaisites" are naturally called al-Ḳaisiyyūn, but as an ethno-political group more usually al-Ḳaisiya, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫh*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 66, 180, 777, 1614, 1663, etc.; the nisba to Ḳais-ʿAilān or Ḳais b. ʿAilān is, however, ʿAilānī, see al-Samʿānī *al-Ansāb*, p. 404^b and Ibn Ḳhallikān, *Bulāḳ* 1299, ii. 128 sq.). All three forms occur in prose as well as poetry, the middle one, Ḳais b. ʿAilān, remarkably rarely in poetry (Ḳais-ʿAilān in poetry: *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, p. 160, 659; *Naḳāʾid*, i. 117, 362 sq., 370, 375, 390; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 486; *Taḏj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ʿyl, etc.; Ḳais b. ʿAilān: Zuhair, *Dirwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, iii. 36, *Naḳāʾid*, i. 373, Abu l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarri, *al-Luzūmiyyāt*, Cairo 1891, i. 47 and also *Taḏj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ʿyl; Ḳais: ʿAntara, *Dirwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, xxiv. 3, Append. xxi. 5; al-Nābigha, *Dirwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, Append. lxiii. 1; Zuhair, *op. cit.*, ix. 17; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. cit., 260, 302, 318, 657—660; *Naḳāʾid*, i. 374, 376

sq., ii. 902, 1041; *Aghānī*, xvii. 106, etc.). We never find before any of the three forms the word *Banū* ("sons") (wrongly in the indices to Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-Taʾriḫh*, ed. Tornberg, to Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, ii. 1422 and vi. 145, and even to al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, etc.). What we are to understand by ʿAilān, is difficult to conceive. Those who use the form Ḳais b. ʿAilān — these are primarily the genealogists (see *Taḏj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ʿyl and ʿkys) — see in him naturally, at least the great majority of them (see below), the father of Ḳais and they further explain that he was the son of Muḍar and therefore brother or al-Yās (Ḳhindif) b. Muḍar. According to them his real name is al-Nās (which, according to Ibn Duraid, *Kit. al-Ishṭiqāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 162 comes from al-Nāss; according to al-Wazīr al-Maghribī in the *Taḏj al-ʿArūs* s. v. ʿkys, al-Nāss would be the only correct form), so that ʿAilān would be his epithet (Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 162; *Taḏj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ʿkys; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḍāʾ al-farid*, Cairo 1305, ii. 51; Abu l-Fidāʾ, *Muḫṭaṣar Taʾriḫh al-Baḫṣar*, partly ed. by Fleischer as *Historia antislamica*, p. 194; Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen der arab. Stämme u. Familien*, D; Caetani, *op. cit.*, i. Intro., § 49; also al-Samʿānī, *op. cit.*; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 260; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbih wa l-Ishraf*, in *Bibl. Geogr. arab.*, ed. de Goeje, viii. 208; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 908; Ibn Ḳhallikān, *op. cit.*, ii. 130; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *Ḳhiṣnāt al-ʿAdab*, ii. 449; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. 192, etc.). But this view is contradicted directly by Ibn Ḳhalḍūn, *al-Ibar*, ii. 305 and indirectly by many others — practically by all who say Ḳais ʿAilān and these are, as we have said, the majority —; according to them ʿAilān disappears as a separate member in the genealogical table; Ḳais ʿAilān is identical with al-Nās or al-Nāss (Ḳais ʿAilān here also is said to be only an epithet, al-Nās(s) on the other hand the proper name) and is son of Muḍar and brother of al-Yās. At the same time they explain the genitive ʿAilān in the most different ways: as the name of a famous horse of Ḳais (by calling him after this horse, an endeavour has been made to distinguish our Ḳais from Ḳais b. al-Ḡhawṭh of Baḍjila, who also possessed a celebrated horse called Kubba and who was similarly called Ḳais-Kubba, *Taḏj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ʿkys and ʿyl, and Ibn Ḳhallikān, *loc. cit.*), or as the name of a dog or of a bow, which were in his possession, or as the name of a slave or of some other man who had brought him up (in an isolated case in the form of the name Ḳais b. ʿAilān, the word ʿAilān is regarded as the name of such a slave, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, i. 67, ii. 449; cf. the exactly analogous interpretation of the tribal name Saʿd (b.) Hudhaim in Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kit. al-Maʿarif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51, Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 319, *Ḳanūs* and *Taḏj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *hahm*, etc.), or as the name of a mountain, where he is said to have been born or lastly, — and most stupidly as no notice is taken of genitive relationship in the form *Ḳaisu ʿAilāna* — as an otherwise quite unknown adjective, interpreted as qualifying Ḳais with the meaning "needy, dependent" (see also Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*; *Ṣiḥāḥ*, *Lisān al-ʿArab* and *Ḳamūs*, s. v. ʿkys and ʿyl; al-Samʿānī, *op. cit.*; Abu l-Fidāʾ, *op. cit.*; Ibn Ḳhalḍūn, *op. cit.*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, and

Hamāsa, *op. cit.*, i. 124; Reiske, *Prima lineae historiae regnorum arabicorum*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Tables v. and viii. on p. 136; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Propheten Moḥammad*, iii. p. cxxxix, etc.). Only very rarely do we find the statement that ^ʿAilān was an epithet of Muḍar (Ṣiḥāḥ and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. ^ʿyl) and most strange is the assertion twice made by Ibn Kutaiba (*op. cit.*, p. 31 and 38) and hardly reconcilable with his other statements, that Kais ^ʿAilān is identical with Ḳamaʿa b. al-Yās b. Muḍar.

These confused statements seem to me to be nothing but guesses. I should like to think myself that Kais ^ʿAilān is the real name of our confederation of tribes and that it was the genealogists who first made Kais b. ^ʿAilān out of it. As Arab tradition obviously knows absolutely nothing of a tribe or group of tribes called ^ʿAilān, I should further like to assume — of course with all reserve — that the combination *Ḳaisu ʿAilāna* is not to be interpreted on the model of *Taghlibu Wāʿilīn*, "the Taghlib of the tribal group of Wāʿil", *Taimu ʿl-Ribābi*, "the Taim of the al-Ribāb confederacy", *ʿAdiyu ʿl-Ribābi*, "the ʿAdi of the al-Ribāb confederacy", *Djarmu Ḳuḍʿata*, "the Djarm of the Ḳuḍʿa confederation of tribes", *Wāʿilu Bāhila*, the Wāʿil of the Bāhila group of tribes", also *Aʿshā Banī Ḳaisin*, "the Aʿshā of the Banū Ḳais", *Aʿshā Bāhila*, "Aʿshā of Bāhila", etc., (see e. g. *Naḳāʿid*, iii. Ind. iii. s. vv.), but on the model of *Ḳaisu Kubba*, "Ḳais, the owner of the horse Kubba" (see above; the name is everywhere so explained), *Rabīʿatu ʿl-Farasi*, "Rabīʿa with the horse", *Anmāru ʿl-Shāʿi*, "Anmār with the sheep", *Rabīʿatu ʿl-Djūʿ*, "Hunger-Rabīʿa", *Zaidu ʿl-Khaili*, "horses-Zaid", etc. (see e. g. *Naḳāʿid*, iii. Ind. iii. and also *Tādī al-ʿArūs*, s. v.). What we are to understand, however, in this case by ^ʿAilān, whether, with the native explanations quoted, a horse or a dog or something of the kind is quite uncertain. According to the native dictionaries (I cannot quote an actual reference in literature) ^ʿAilān as a noun means a "male hyena". As a name, it is not found elsewhere, according to the native lexicons and according to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, i. 67 (see, however, *Tādī al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ^ʿyl). — The Arab genealogists may have simply invented the name *al-Nās* (see above) as a counterpart to *al-Yās*.

Branches of the confederation: Kais (^ʿAilān) and *Khindif* (according to the genealogical legend, the wife of al-Yās) comprise together the whole of Muḍar (Ibn Kutaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 31, al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1298, al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 324, al-Bakrī, *al-Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 56, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 463, Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305, Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, i. 192, etc.). Between the two groups there were very ancient points of dispute (see e. g. al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 56 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen der arab. Stämme*, from vol. xiv. of the *Abhdlg. d. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.*, p. 81). To Kais-^ʿAilān were reckoned the following large tribes or more accurate tribal groups: *Ghatafān* [q. v.], with ^ʿAbs [q. v.], *Dhubyān* [q. v.], the two main branches of the *Dhubyān* are *Fazāra*, q. v. and *Murra*, q. v.) and *Ashdja*-*Hawāzin* [q. v.], with *Thakīf* [q. v.], in whom many saw descendants of *Thamūd* [q. v.] (see e. g. *Aghānī*, iv. 76), ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿsaʿa [q. v.], *Kilāb* [q. v.], from them descended the dynasty of *Mirdāsids* of Aleppo, q. v.), *Kulaib*,

Ḳushair, *ʿUḳail* (q. v.; this is the tribe of the ^ʿUḳailid dynasty of Mosul), *Hilāl* [q. v.] and *Djusham* — *Sulaim* [q. v.] — *Bāhila* [q. v.] — *ʿAdwān* — *Ghanī* [q. v.], etc. (On the branches of the Kais ^ʿAilān see especially Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 162 sqq.; Ibn Kutaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 38 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 sqq.; Abu ʿl-Fidā, *op. cit.*, p. 194 sqq.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 51; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, Tab. D sqq. and Reiske, *op. cit.*, Tab. viii. sq. on p. 136.

Distribution. The Kais ^ʿAilān, according to legend, were originally settled in the low lying parts of the *Tihāma* (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 57 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. Arab. Stämme*, p. 81 = Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 463 sq.). Somewhere about the time of Muḥammad they spread, in keeping with the large number of their subdivisions over vast areas of central and northern Arabia; we find them (still?) in the *Tihāma* (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305), then again S. E. and N. E. of Mecca (the *Thakīf* here owned the valuable town of *Tāʿif* and the *Sulaim*, *Hilāl* and ^ʿUḳail all sorts of famous mines; see e. g. al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 316, 312), in the region of Medina (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 sqq., 312), in other parts of the *Ḥidjāz* (al-Ḥamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i. 50; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 60 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Sitze und Wanderungen*, etc. p. 84), in the *ʿAliya* (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 688, 697; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v. 53), throughout the highlands of *Nadjd* (al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 209; al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, p. 312), in the *Yamāma*, where they occupied the important *Falaḳj* (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 60 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Sitze u. Wanderungen* etc., p. 84; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 238, iii. 908; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 312 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Bahrein u. Jemāma*, from the *Abhdlg. der Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.*, xix. 40; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, s. v. *Kaʿb ben Rabīʿa*), in *Bahrain* (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1968) and as far as in the *ʿIrāk* and therewith the former kingdom of the *Lakhmids* of al-*Hira* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, v. 65; Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muḥammads an die Stämme Arabiens*, reprint from the *Mitteilg. d. Seminars f. Orient. Sprachen zu Berlin*, xix./ii. 38); see also Blau, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 583 and the map on p. 559, Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, i. 192 and Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. the map on p. 376.

The great Arab campaigns of conquest which began with the rise of the Caliphate and the tremendous political revolutions produced by them in Western Asia and North Africa brought the Kais-^ʿAilān like most Arab tribes out of their ancient dwelling-places. To all appearance, however, several branches of them had emigrated northwards even before Islām. At any rate we find them later, partly even under the earlier Caliphs, throughout Syria: at *Ḥalab*, in the region of *Ḥims*, in *Damascus* and the *Ghūḷa*, in the *Ḥawrān* with its capital *Boṣrā*, in *Bathaniya* with its capital *Adhriʿāt*, in the *Djawlān* with its capital *Bāniyās*, in the *Balkā* and in *Palestine* (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 451; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 312; Abū Ḥanifa al-Dinawarī, *al-Aḳhbār al-ʿiwāl*, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, p. 183; al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 325 sq., 329; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v. 331; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 744 etc.), in N. W. Mesopotamia, in the large

district called after them Diyār Muḍar [q. v.], with the important towns of Ḳarḳisiyā’ (Circesium), al-Rahba, ‘Arābān, al-Ḳhānūka, al-Rakka, Bālis (Barbalissus), Ḥarrān (Carrhae), Ḍjīr Manbidj, Sarūdī, Tell Mawzan, Sumaisāt (Samosata), etc. (Ibn Ḥawqal, *al-Masālik wa ’l-Mamālik*, in the *Bibl. Geogr. arab.* ii. 155; al-Balāḍhūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 178 = Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iv. 391; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 72 = Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, iii. 373; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1891; Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 310; Caetani, *Studi di Storia orientale*, i. 271 and Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, i. 192), in the ‘Irāq, where they also formed an apparently large fraction of the population of al-Ḳūfa and al-Baṣra (al-Balāḍhūrī, *op. cit.*, 451; al-Ya’qūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 310; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 2986, 3454, ii. 777; *Aghānī*¹, iii. 52; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Bulḍān*, in *Bibl. Geogr. arab.*, v. 170; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 116, v. 59), in Baḥrain (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, vii. 341; Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 313) and even near Iṣbahān (al-Ya’qūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

In the time of Ibn Ḳhaldūn (xivth cent.) only remnants of the once so powerful group of tribes of the Kais ‘Ailān were still settled in Central Arabia; considerable bodies of them had settled in different parts of North Africa, ‘Adwānī tribes for example in Ifrikiya, Sulaimīs there also and in the far west, near Fes (according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, x. 401, — whether rightly or not is another question — ‘Abd al-Mu’min, the founder of the Almohad dynasty traced his descent from the Sulaim), Fazārīs and Rawāḥīs in Barqa, other Ḍhubyānīs in Barqa, in Tripolis and in Fezzān, Aṣḥdja’īs in the marches of Algeria and Morocco, Hilālīs in Ifrikiya and at Bône and Constantine, Ḍjushamīs in Morocco etc. (Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 sqq.).

History. The history proper of most Arabian Beduin tribes begins for us with their (“battle”) days” (see AIYĀM AL-‘ARAB). So it is with the Kais-‘Ailān. Their feuds were particularly numerous, which is not remarkable in so large a group with its multitudinous ramifications. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi discusses them in the first place in his account of the Aiyām al-‘Arab in the *Ikd al-Farīd* (iii. 47—93). He describes in this place the following entirely or essentially civil Kaisi battles (cf. Reiske, *op. cit.*, 204—252, following al-Nuwairī, who on this matter is dependent entirely on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi): the Yawm Man‘adj (Man‘adj, also called Yawm al-Radha, between Ḡhanawīs and ‘Absīs), the Yawm al-Nafrāwāt (between ‘Amiris and ‘Absīs), the Yawm Baṭn ‘Āḳil (between Ḍhubyānīs and ‘Amiris), the Yawm Shīb Djabala (between ‘Amir, ‘Abs, Ḡhanī, Bāhila and Baḍjila on one side and Tamīm, Ḍhubyān, Asad, Lakhm and Kinda on the other), the endless war of Dāḥīs and al-Ḡhabrā’ (between ‘Abs and Ḍhubyān), with the “days” of Ḍhu ’l-Muraiḳib, Ḍhū Ḥusā, al-Ya’mariya, (Ḍjafr) al-Habā’a, al-Farūk, Ḳaṭan and Ḡhadīr Ḳalyād (?), the Yawm al-Rakam (or al-Rakm, between Ḡhaṭafān and ‘Amir), the Yawm al-Nutā’a (al-Bathā’a?, between ‘Abs and ‘Amir), the first and second Yawm Ḥawza (between Sulaim and Ḡhaṭafān), the Yawm ‘Adanīya (other Milhān, between Sulaim and Ḡhaṭafān), the Yawm al-Liwā (between Ḡhaṭafān and Hawāzin) and the Yawm al-Salā’a (between Hawāzin and Ḡhaṭafān). Also the following encounters

between Kaisīs and Non-Kaisīs: the Yawm Raḥraḥān (between ‘Amir and Tamīm), the Yawm Dhāt al-Aṭhl (between Sulaim and Tamīm), the Yawm al-Kadid (between Sulaim and Kināna), the Yawm Burza (or Buzra?, do.), the Yawm al-Ḳiḳa’ (do.), the Yawm al-Su’bān (between ‘Amir and Tamīm), the Yawm Akrun (between ‘Abs and Banū Ḍārim), the Yawm al-Marrūt (between Banū ’l-‘Anbar and Banū Ḳuṣhair and the Yawm Dārat Ma’sal (between Tamīm and Kais). Al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, i. 261 also mentions as Kaisī the “days” of al-Baidā’, Faif al-Rīḥ (between Ḳhath’am and ‘Amir), al-Milbaṭ and al-‘Urrā. Cf. also the section in Ibn al-Aṭhīr on “the ‘days’ of the Arabs in the pagan period” (*op. cit.*, i. 367—517), pp. 411 sqq., 435 sqq., 420 sqq., 482 sqq., 478 sq., 473 sqq., in the chapter which ‘al-Maidānī in his *Madjma’ al-Amthal* has devoted to the “names of the days of the Arabs” (Chap. 29), nos. 76, 12, 11, 66, 96, 122, 30, 53, 22, 55 and *Naḳā’id*, iii. Ind. iv. under the separate place-names. Within the scope of this article at least, no attempt can be made to give these wars and feuds in more accurate historical and chronological sequence. Indeed, speaking generally we may say that it is a difficult, indeed for the most part an insoluble task, to get at the historical basis of the essentially legendary traditions of the Aiyām al-‘Arab, — which we may call the epic of the Arabs. The most important and therefore also the most celebrated in poetry of the above-mentioned “days” is certainly that of Shīb Djabala (see DJABALA, also ḌHUBYĀN and also Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 583, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, ii. transl., p. 251 and especially *Naḳā’id*, iii. Ind. iv., s. v. *Djabalatu*). Of the encounters in the Dāḥīs wa ’l-Ḡhabrā’ war [see ḠHAṬAFĀN, ‘ABS and ḌHUBYĀN], the most celebrated is that of al-Habā’a. It need not surprise us to find that the Kaisī tribes, as we see from the above, were also continually quarrelling with one another. The individual members of the great tribal confederacies never thought of maintaining peace as a principle within the limits of their group. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi and al-Nuwairī really ought also to have described the al-Fidjār battles as Kaisī, as in them the Hawāzin, who were Kaisī, with the Ṭbaḳīf at their head formed one of the two contending parties (see FIDJĀR and HAWĀZIN, also Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, i. 439 sqq., al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūdī al-Dhahab*, iv. 120, 153, al-Mas’ūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa ’l-Ishrāf*, p. 208 sq., al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Ḳhamīs*, Cairo 1283, i. 288, 293, Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Mekka*, Vol. iv. of the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, p. 51 sqq., Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i. 148, Caetani, *Annali*, Introd., § 140, Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 92, etc. The question at issue in this was really the endeavours of the Hawāzin to deprive the Kināna of Mecca and the Ka’ba (cf. *Aghānī*, xiii. 3 sq.).

Like the other great central Arabian Beduin tribes the Kais-‘Ailān belonged to the short-lived empire of the Kinda (q. v. and Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *Ta’rīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 140; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, i. 376, 406; Reiske, *op. cit.*, 98; Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, ii. 287; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, *op. cit.*, transl., p. 250). Otherwise the only thing regarding the pre-Muhammadan history of the Kais-‘Ailān handed down to us is the statement that they had worshipped Sirius (?), Pococke, *Specimen hist. Arabum*, p. 4; Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*,

i. 349; Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislam. Araber*, p. 24), and that the ‘Adwān had owned the *ifāda*, i. e. the management of the course run between ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifa in the Meccan Ḥadjj ceremonies [see ḤADJĠ II, 198] (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 77 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1134, Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305, etc.).

The Kais-‘Ailān were, of course, thoroughly antagonistic to Muḥammad at first. The Ghatafan and Sulaim [q. v.] especially proved very unpleasant neighbours to Medina in the first seven years after the Ḥidjra. But a clan of the Ghatafan, the Ashdja‘, who dwelled N. E. of Medina, considered it advisable as early as 627, after the “Battle of the Ditch” to conclude with Muḥammad a — purely political — treaty of alliance (Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stämme Arabiens*, p. 8 sq.) and the vastly more powerful Sulaim along with a number of Ashdja‘is took part in 630 in the “conquest” of Mecca on the side of the Prophet, and indeed, shortly after, we find them fighting at Hunain under the Muslim flag against their brother-tribe, the Hawāzin, although they must have seen that the latter’s resistance to the state of Medina was the last possible attempt to break Muḥammad’s hegemony over Arabia (Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 810, 828–864; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1647; al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 326, 358; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, ii./i. 97, 109; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 308; Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 147, 153, 444 etc. When Muḥammad died all the Kaisi tribes had probably submitted to the law of Islām (Ibn Sa’d, *op. cit.*, i./ii. 41 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, iv. 139 sqq.; Sperber, *op. cit.*, 38 sqq. etc.). After the Prophet’s death, it is true, the majority of them joined more or less openly in the apostacy which set in over all Arabia. The Ghatafan once more were the most active in this. They several times endeavoured to overrun Medina and finally joined Tulaiḥa, the prophet of the Asad. But the old days of Arabia were past. Tulaiḥa and his followers were defeated at the well of Buzākha by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, “the sword of God” (end of 632) and the rebellious central Arabian tribes had again to submit to the yoke of Medina and Islām (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1870, 1885, 1889, 1898 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ii. 264; Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. 604 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- u. Abendland*, i. 174 sqq. etc.).

Henceforward the Kais ‘Ailān show themselves good Muslims. Bodies of them took part in the battles against the Persians under Khālīd b. al-Walīd, under al-Muthannā al-Shaibānī and under Sa’d b. Abī Waqqās (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 2219 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ii. 347; Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. 954 sq., iii. 155, 281 sqq.). In the “battle of the Camel” (656) and at Siffin (657) they fought on the side of ‘Alī (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 155 sq., 183 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 3174, 3224, 3309; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iii. 189).

In the period of the great Muslim conquests in which they — in so far as they had not done so earlier (see above) — had moved their settlements northwards, especially to Syria, their power had become such that from the beginning to the end of the Umayyad period they formed one of the deciding political and military factors in the Caliphate. In this capacity they were in constant antagonism to the Kalb, the

chief tribe of the Qudā’a, who inhabited the strip of territory between the ancient Moab and Palmyra, an antagonism, at the root of which probably lay ethnic differences (but see Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 112) — the Kais were Ma‘addis (Nizāris and Muḍaris), that is North Arabians, while the Kalb were — or at least were considered — Yemenis, South Arabians [see KALB B. WABARA and KAHTĀN]. — This antagonism being augmented through the Baṣra-Khurasān trouble between the Tamim and the Asd [q. v.], very early developed into a general vendetta between Muḍar and Yemen. The Umayyad Caliphs relied sometimes on the Kais and sometimes on the Kalb according to their family connections, the result of marriages into these two extremes, which had as a result that, for example between 719 and 745, i. e. within 26 years, the actual control of the government passed five times from one group of tribes to the other. This state of things was, of course, intolerable and, in fact, the fall of the Umayyad dynasty was really due in the end principally to this feud between Muḍaris and Yemenis.

Mu‘āwiya I had relied on the Kalb and Yazīd I, who was born of a Kalbi mother had also depended mainly on them. As a result, the Kais refused their homage to their successors Mu‘āwiya II, whose mother was likewise a Kalbi, and Marwān I, and declared themselves for the anti-Caliph ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.]. In 684 the Sulaim, the ‘Amir and the Ghatafan — that is all Kaisis — fought under al-Daḥḥāk al-Fihri on the Mardj Rāhiṭ in the Ghūta of Damascus for Ibn al-Zubair against Marwān, whose army consisted of Kalbis and other men of Yemen. They suffered an unusually severe reverse, which plays a great part in the songs of the Kalbi and Kaisi poets and by the laws of the Arab vendetta necessarily perpetuated the hatred of the Kais for the Kalb (see AL-DAḤḤĀK B. KAIS AL-FIHRI and in addition to the literature quoted there al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, v. 201; al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Tanbih wa’l-Ishraf*, p. 308 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v. 204; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 743 sq.; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdat Ibn ‘Abdūn*, ed. Dozy, p. 184 sq.; Ḥamāsa, ed. Freytag, p. 260 sqq., 317 sqq.; al-Maidānī, *op. cit.*, ii. 338, and Huart, *op. cit.*, i. 264 sq.). But they remained partisans of Ibn al-Zubair and maintained themselves with great tenacity in Mesopotamia under their important chief and leader Zufar b. al-Ḥarith al-‘Amirī al-Kilābī and his lieutenant ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who did not capitulate till 691 in the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik after a siege of considerable length in their strongholds, Qarkisiyā and Ra’s al-‘Ain (Resaina) (Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich u. sein Sturz*, 115 sqq., with references to the most important sources, al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 643, 777; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 188, 192, 242, 259, Dozy, *Gesch. der Mauren in Spanien*, German ed., i. 86, 101 sqq.; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 373, 385). ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb was the commander of the Kaisi force which fought against the Shī‘is under Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in August 686 on the banks of the Khazir, a tributary of the Great Zab, in the Umayyad army led by ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, but to revenge the day of Mardj Rāhiṭ, they deserted in the battle (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 301 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 708 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 215 sqq.; al-

Mas‘ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, p. 312; al-Maidānī, *op. cit.*, ii. 339; Weil, *op. cit.*, i. 380 *sqq.*; Dozy, *op. cit.*, i. 100; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 381; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in the *Abhdlg. d. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., n. F., v. N^o. 2, p. 84; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich u. sein Sturz*, p. 116). In spite of this collapse of the Kaisis in their great war against the Umayyads, their smaller struggle against the Kalb continued without interruption, at first mainly under the leadership of ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb. It took the form of a series of “days” fought mainly in the Samāwa, the desert between the ‘Irāk and Syria and forced the north-eastern part of the Kalb to migrate for a time to the Ghawr of Palestine. The most celebrated of these “days” is the battle of Banāt Ḳain between the Fazāra and the Kalb in 692 or 693. When ‘Umayr with his Sulaimis settled on the Great Khābūr (Chaboras) there resulted encounters with the Christian Taghlibis, who dwelled in eastern Mesopotamia; these led to a bitter tribal and blood-feud, fought out chiefly on the Khābūr, the Balikh (Bilechas), the Tharthār and in the Tigris region. The best known “days” of this conflict, which gradually reduced the weaker Taghlib to great extremity, are those of al-Ḥashshāk, where ‘Umayr fell (in 689; the *Naḳā‘id*, p. 373, 400, 508 give for this event the battle of Sindjār), and that of Mount al-Bishr (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 125—130; *Naḳā‘id*, p. 401, 508, 899, also 902, 1038 and 1041; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 632; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 179; al-Maidānī, *op. cit.*, ii. 329, 339). We hear of bloodshed as a result of this enmity between the Kais and the Taghlib as late as 814 in the reign of al-Ma‘mūn (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 213).

After the capitulation of the Kais, ‘Abd al-Malik showed himself a clever statesman and above party; he summoned Zufar b. al-Ḥārith and later also his sons to his court at Damascus and married a Kaisi lady of the ‘Abs, called Wallāda, who became the mother of his sons Walid I and Sulaimān besides other children. Walid I was most probably a Kaisi at heart, but he took care not to irritate the Kalb. Sulaimān seems in spite of his fondness for the Yemenī (Azdi) Yazid b. al-Muḥallab to have at least had the intention of placing the interest of the empire before that of parties. As might well be expected in his reign the Kaisis were partisans of the great Ṭhaḳīfī al-Ḥadjdīdī [q. v.] and of the Bāhili Ḳutaiba b. Muslim (q. v. and *Naḳā‘id*, iii. index III, s. v. *Ḳaisu ‘Ailāna*). In the reign of ‘Omar II, who was a pronounced advocate of the policy of conciliation, the dissensions between the two great tribal groups did not make themselves felt. On the other hand in the reign of Yazid II, who in his struggle with the Azdi Muḥallabids had naturally to rely on the support of the Kais, the result was a purely Kaisi party government. His brother and successor Hishām endeavoured to do away with this by withdrawing the Fazāri ‘Omar b. Hubaira, whom Yazid II had appointed viceroy of the ‘Irāk and the East, and replacing him by the Baḳīlī Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, a distinguished statesman, but the Caliph finally found himself forced to allow the latter to be overthrown and replaced by a Kaisi, the Ṭhaḳīfī Yūsuf b. ‘Omar, a relative of Ḥadjdīdī. Under Walid II, who appeared to have fallen entirely under the influence of Yūsuf

b. ‘Omar, the wrath of the Yemenis ultimately found vent in a rising stirred up by personal enemies of the Caliph, which led to the murder of Walid II and the enthronement of Yazid III. The new Caliph sought his support exclusively among the Yemenis, especially the Kalb, the last Umayyad, Marwān II, relied no less exclusively on the Kais, into whose territory — to Harrān — he even removed his capital. Marwān II fell before the ‘Abbāsids. Even in the decisive battle on the Great Zāb which he fought against them in January 750, the feud between the Kais and the Ḳuḍā’a proved fatal (cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 131 *sq.*, 140 *sq.*, 162 *sq.*, 194 *sqq.*, 199 *sqq.*, 203 *sqq.*, 224 *sqq.*, 229 *sq.*, 235 *sq.*, 341, where the necessary sources are everywhere given; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 408, 435 *sqq.*, 445 *sq.*; also the pertinent sections in Weil, *op. cit.*, Dozy, *op. cit.*, Huart, *op. cit.*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise Decline and Fall*, etc.). The quarrel between Kais and Kalb had its effect in history not only in Syria, the ‘Irāk and Khurāsān, but also in the other provinces of the vast Arab empire, notably in North Africa and Spain, where the two parties just as well were at deadly enmity (for North Africa and Spain see especially Dozy, *op. cit.*, i. 138 *sqq.*).

In the severe fightings of the later Umayyad period, the Kais had suffered losses from which they never again recovered. What we learn of them during the ‘Abbāsīd period is not of any great historical interest. The following are the main outlines: In the years 790, 792, 796 and 803, i. e. in the reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, they had all sorts of new encounters in and around Damascus with their hereditary Yemeni enemies (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 609, 625, 639 *sqq.*, 688; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 87 *sqq.*, 129; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 490; see also above AL-ḲAIN B. DJASR). They rebelled under Ḥārūn in 794 and again under al-Ma‘mūn in 828, in combination with the Yemenis, in Egypt (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 629, 1099; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 97, 288; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 146 *sq.*; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 490). In 811 under al-Amin, they fought the pretender ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī chiefly because he had Kalbī blood in his veins (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 172 *sq.*; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 187); after the death of al-Mu‘taṣim in 842 they stirred up a revolt in Damascus but were quickly brought back to obedience by a severe defeat inflicted on them by al-Wāthik’s army on the for them ill-omened Mardī Rāhiṭ (see above) (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 376). The Kaisis of Bahrain played a certain part in the initial stages of the Ḳarmāṭian movement in 894 *sqq.* (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vii. 341; cf. Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 508, note 3).

The Kais appear, compared with the Kalb, to have been in general more savage, less civilised, more hardy, more treacherous and more cruel. The reason, no doubt, is that they were in much closer contact with the life of the desert than their rivals, who had been for centuries already settled in Syria, a home of ancient culture, and had naturally not remained uninfluenced by the refining influences of the Byzantine empire, whose eastern marches had been their home before the Muslim conquest. Their readiness to face battle or death is occasionally celebrated, not only in poetry (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1930).

Famous Kaisis (with the exception of those already mentioned). The best known poets of the

Kais were: al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, ‘Antara, Labid, ‘Amir b. al-Tufail, Tufail b. ‘Awf, ‘Urwa b. al-Ward, al-Shammākh, al-Khansā, Abū Mihdjan, al-Huṭai’a, Ta’abbata Sharā, Dhū ‘l-Iṣḥā al-‘Adwānī, Duraid b. al-Simma, al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās b. Mazarrid, Khidāsh b. Zuhair, al-Nābigha al-Djā’idī, etc. [see the pertinent articles]. The great philologist al-Aṣma’ī [q. v.] was a Bāhilī. — Other Kaisis of historical importance are given by Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 sqq., Ibn Kṭaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 38 sqq., Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 51 and Abū ‘l-Fidā, *op. cit.*, p. 194 sqq.

The Dialect of the Kais-‘Ailān. The Arabic philologists give us the following — as a matter of fact they are in the main common to most tribes of the Nadjd — phonetic and grammatical linguistic peculiarities of our group of tribes: They still pronounced the *hamza* as a guttural stop and they had even changed it to ‘ain when initial (in part only? so that they said ‘an, ‘anna, ‘aslama, ‘idhan for ‘an, ‘anna, ‘aslama, ‘idhan). They had a tendency to *imāla* and to *ishmām*; and they said *iṣlamu*, *tintaliḥu*, *tistakhridju* etc. for *taṣlamu*, *tanṭaliḥu*, *tastakhridju* etc., *hublay* for *hubla* or *hublā*, *kū* and *ki* for *huwa* and *hiya* (? always) and *min ladunihī* for *min ladunhu*. Cf. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, iv. 930, ii./iii. 425, iv. 739, 824, 1313, 1476, note 4, ii./iii. 11 sq., iv. 135, note to 1435, l. 8, i. 523, iv. 835, i. 780; Sibawaihi, ed. Derenbourg, ii. 168 sqq., 275 sqq., 279 sqq.; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, § 527, 580, 643, and thereon Ibn Ya’ish; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Mukhtār*, p. 104, 109; Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣā’iṣ*, p. 411; al-Ḥariri, *Durra*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 183 sq.; ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Omar, *op. cit.*, iv. 495; Ibn Hishām, *Sharḥ Banat Su’ādu*, p. 97; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, xx. 283; Lane, *Lexicon*, sub ‘an’anatun and taltalatun; *Lisān al-‘Arab* and *Taḍj al-‘Arūs*, sub *lān*; de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*², ii. 154, note 1; Sarauw, *Die altarab. Dialektspaltung*, in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, xxi. 31 sqq.; Schaade, *Sibawaihi’s Lautlehre*, p. 78 sq., etc. On words and expressions peculiar to the Kaisis see Freytag, *Einl. in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, p. 87 sq., al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i. 109 (anṭā for ‘aṭā, see thereon Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 147, note 1 etc.), Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, 385, 3 etc.

Bibliography given in the article itself. (A. FISCHER)

KAIS B. AL-KHAṬĪM B. ‘ADĪ, with Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.] the most important poet of pre-Muḥammadan Yathrib, the latter Medina. He belonged to the Banū Zafar, a family of the Nabit of al-Aws [q. v.]. In the desperate fighting between the two tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, he championed the former with tongue and sword. Very little is known of the facts of his life, if we except the later, very doubtful stories. The account of the revenge he took on the murderers of his father and grandfather is however quite authentic, and by this he won particular fame with posterity. This event was later embellished with all sorts of fictitious details, some of which are echoes of the Cyrus saga and form a parallel to the legend of the young Parzival (see Singer, *Arab. und europ. Poesie im Mittelalter* in the *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft.*, 1918, phil.-hist. Kl., N^o. 13, p. 7 of the reprint). All else that we know of the life of the poet is that he took an active

part in the political and military activities of his tribe. His *Diwān* contains references to a whole series of *Ḍiyām* of the Aws. In the decisive battle of Bu‘āth [q. v.], later often celebrated in song, he did not take part, apparently on account of a wound received previously. Not long after this battle and before the Hijra he was treacherously murdered. Kais was involved in polemics with almost all the Khazrajī poets of his day, notably with Ḥassan b. Thābit and ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [q. v.], both of them survived him by a considerable period. Although he was still alive at the beginning of Muḥammad’s prophetic activity, his *Diwān* shows no trace of a knowledge of it. All that the later sources tell of his meeting with the Prophet is pure invention.

Kais’s *Diwān* is preserved in an old manuscript (dated 419 A. H.) in the Top Kapu Seray Library in Constantinople, as an appendix to the *Diwān* of Ḥassan b. Thābit. The second manuscript so far known which is in the Egyptian National (formerly Khedival) Library in Cairo, seems to be a later copy of the above. The poems were collected by Ibn al-Sikkīt, but the final editor seems to have been al-Sukkari. What has survived for us in the *Diwān* is certainly only a fragment of the original total.

Kais reveals in his poems the two sides of his life, the settled and the nomadic, which was so characteristic of the Arabian oases of the time. His descriptions of war and women are celebrated. The real Beduin, the description of the riding she-camel, the ride through the desert and hunting are almost entirely lacking in his poems. Kais is highly esteemed by later generations, perhaps more for his chivalrous character than for his poetic gifts. His poems are a very important source for our knowledge of conditions in Medina immediately before Islām.

Bibliography: *Der Diwān des Kais b. al-Ḥaṭīm*, ed. T. Kowalski (Leipzig 1914). Besides the literature given there, in the historical introduction, al-Samhūdī’s *Wafā’ al-Wafā’ bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā* (Cairo 1326/27, 2 vols.) is very important for the topography of Medina and therefore also for the understanding of the *Diwān*. (T. KOWALSKI)

KAISĀN, ABŪ ‘AMRA, a client of the ‘Uraina, who belonged to the Baḍila [q. v.], was one of the leaders of the Mawālī [see MAWLĀ] in Kūfa in the time of al-Mukhtār [q. v.] and was one of the latter’s intimates. Al-Mukhtār made him commander of his police force (*ḥaras*, *shurṭa*). In this capacity this ardent Shī‘ī took part in avenging al-Ḥusain by killing, wherever possible, those who had taken the field against him and destroying their houses. For example, he beheaded, by al-Mukhtār’s command, ‘Umar b. Sa’d b. Abī Waḥkās who had commanded the troops sent against al-Ḥusain. In the battle of Madhār (67 = 686) Kaisān commanded the Mawālī; he was perhaps killed in this fierce battle. According to al-Kashshī, Kaisān’s method of procedure is said to have originated among the people of Kūfa the proverb applied to one who is deprived of his wealth: “Abū ‘Amra has entered his house”; cf. al-Dinawarī, p. 297, 5: — “Abū ‘Amra has visited him”. A verse in al-Kashshī describes him as wicked than Iblis. — As Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya was the Imām of the Kaisāniya, Kaisān is occasionally represented as his client or pupil.

KAISĀNĪYA was first applied to the Kūfa group of Shi'a, the Mawālī, represented by Kaisān Abū 'Amra (see above), whose interests were championed by al-Mukhtār. The name was then extended to those who held the views, which had considerable currency among the Shi'is led by al-Mukhtār, and continued to be influential even later. When the little known Kaisān came in time to be practically forgotten, his name was often explained as a *laḡab* of al-Mukhtār. Mukhtāriya thus became another name for the older stratum of the Kaisāniya. The latter name, however, is also derived from a certain Kaisān, a mawlā of 'Alī, who fell at Šiffin (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3293, 10), from whom al-Mukhtār is said to have derived his views. The Kaisāniya were also called Khashabiya [q. v.] from the wooden club which the Mawālī carried as a weapon.

The contemporary Kaisānis ascribed special knowledge to al-Mukhtār and to some extent regarded him as a prophet. There must also have been among them an echo of a cult, followed especially by some Yemen clans and described as Saba'i, the worship of an alleged chair of 'Alī's, which was compared with the Ark of the Covenant and also used as an oracle. Their Imām in succession to al-Ḥusain was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya [q. v.], whom al-Mukhtār put forward as a mere figure-head. As al-Shahrastānī tells us, the Kaisānis held the view that he was master of all knowledge and had obtained from the two Saiyids (i. e. al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain) all mystical, allegorical and esoteric knowledge as well as knowledge of the celestial spheres and of the souls. In time there came to be Kaisānis who regarded Ibn al-Ḥanafīya as the Imām in immediate succession to his father and thus excluded al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. In proof of this they pointed to the tradition that 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel had entrusted the standard to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya. This view probably arose in opposition to those held by the Imāmis and Zaidīs.

Ibn al-Ḥanafīya's death, probably in 81 = 700, resulted in a split in the Kaisāniya. Apart from those who raised his son 'Alī to be Imām, a section of them transferred the Imāmate to his son Abū Ḥāshim [q. v.], who was regarded as heir to the secret knowledge of his father. They were called Ḥāshimiyyā; but after the death of Abū Ḥāshim (98 = 716/7 or 99 = 717/8) they broke up into various branches on the question of succession. The 'Abbāsids now spread the idea that Abū Ḥāshim before his death had transferred his rights to the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās [q. v.].

A group of the Kaisāniya, however, did not believe in the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya. According to them, he lived in concealment in a ravine in the mountains of Raḍwā [q. v.] out of which he would one day emerge at the head of his followers as Mahdī [q. v.] in order to fill the earth with righteousness. His stay there is described with Messianic features by the Kaisānī poets al-Kuṭaiyir [q. v.] and al-Saiyid al-Himyarī [q. v.]. These views of the concealment (*ghaiba*, q. v.) and return (*raḍ'ā*, q. v.) are attributed to a certain Abū Karib (Kurayb), whose followers were therefore distinguished as Karibiya (Kuraybiya) [q. v.].

According to al-Shahrastānī, all Kaisānis held the view that religion consisted in obedience

to a man; by means of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wil*, q. v.) the prescriptions of law were transferred to such men. — Among the Kaisānis also arose the view that "the intervention of new circumstances can produce the alteration of a divine decision already made" (*badā'*, q. v.). Besides the doctrine of the return of the hidden Imām, metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*, q. v.) had also followers among them.

The Kaisānis could not survive alongside of the Imāmiya [q. v.] and the Zaidiya [q. v.]. For Ibn Ḥazm the Kaisāniya was an extinct sect. — To Kaisāni influences should probably be ascribed the fact that concealment and return were attributed to 'Alids, whom the Zaidīs had championed. — A remarkable document, which is said to contain Ḥarmatian doctrines (see ḤARMATIANS) may also emanate from Kaisāni circles. In it a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya appears as Mahdī and Prophet (al-Ṭab., iii. 2128 sq.; Ibn al-Aṭhir, *al-Kāmil*, vii. 311, 16 sqq.; de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i. Intro. p. clxxvii. sqq. An Aḥmad is, however, not known among the sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, v. 67; Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Dā'ūdī al-Ḥasanī, *Umdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, p. 319 sqq.).

Bibliography (also to the preceding article): al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 598 sqq., esp. 634, 8 sqq., 636, 11 sq., 662, 8 sqq., 671, 1, 673, 10 sqq., 702 sqq., 721, 8 sqq.; al-Dinawari, *al-Akhbār al-ḥiwal* (Leiden 1888), p. 298, 300, 305 top, 308; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861—77), v. 180 sqq., 226, 227, 268, 475, vi. 58, vii. 117; Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 300; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iḥd al-farid* (Cairo 1293), i. 267 sqq., 269, 6 sqq.; al-Kashshī, *Kitāb al-Riḍā' al-Bayyāt* (Bombay 1317), p. 85; al-Aghānī, vii. 3, 19, 4, 15 sqq., 5, 17, 22, 9, 26 sqq., viii. 32, 8 sqq., 33; al-Khwārizmī, *Maṭāliḥ al-'Ulūm* (Leiden 1895), p. 29 sqq.; 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḥ bain al-Firaḳ* (Cairo 1328), p. 16 sqq., 27—38, 53, 14 sqq.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī 'l-Milal wa 'l-Aḥwā' wa 'l-Niḥāl* (Cairo 1317—21), iv. 94, 2 sqq., 179, 20 sqq., 180, 7 sqq., 182, 7, 17 sq., 184, 10—12; Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-Adyan*, in Schefer, *Chrest. persane*, i. (Publ. de l'École des Langues or. viv., Series 2, vii.) 157 sq.; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 109 sqq.; al-Makrizī, *al-Khiṭā' (Bulāḳ 1270)*, ii. 351 sqq.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, n^o 570 (p. 91); Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima* (Cairo 1327), p. 219 sqq.; al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* (Bulāḳ 1282), i. 474, 21 sqq.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, viii. 86, 16 sqq.; *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, iv. 238, 14; Barbier de Meynard, *Le Seid Himyarite*, in the *Journ. As.*, 7th Series, iv. (1874), 162 sqq., 240 sqq.; H. D. van Gelder, *Mohtar de valsehe Profeet* (Leiden 1888), p. 82 sqq.; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la Domination arabe, le Chiitisme etc.* (*Verhand. der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterkunde, i. N^o 3, Amsterdam 1894), p. 41 sqq.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abhandl. d. Kön. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., n. F., v. N^o 2), p. 74 sqq.; E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane* (Paris 1903), p. 32 sqq.; Isr. Friedlaender, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Hazm* (*Journ. of the American Orient. Soc.*, xxviii., xxix.), see

Ind. under *Keisan*; H. Banning, *Muhammad ibn al-Fanafija*, Diss. Erlangen 1909, p. 46—53; F. Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de skititische Bevægelser under Umajjaderne* (Oversigt over det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandling), 1910, N^o 5), p. 364 sqq.; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (Leiden 1919), p. 11—13.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

KAISAR (A.), the usual name in Arabic for the Byzantine Emperor. The word, of course, represents the Greek *Καῖσαρ* and came to the Arabs through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Fraenkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 278 sq.). The borrowing must have taken place at quite an early period as the word in Syriac later appears almost always in the form *Kesar* (cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s. v.). The Arabs, centuries before Muhammad, had relations with the Byzantines (cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- u. Abendland*, i. 10 and the article *GHASSANIDS*). Among the old Arabic poets, Imru' al-Qais in particular frequently mentions the *Qaisar*, who, indeed, played a great part in his life (cf. IMRU' AL-QAIS). The word does not occur in the *Qor'ān* but is quite frequent in the biography of Muhammad and especially in Tradition, where *Qaisar* — always, we may note, without the article like a proper name — is usually mentioned in the first place among contemporary secular rulers; next to him come the king of the Persians and the Negus of Abyssinia (that the Persian Hurmuzān in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Djizya*, Bāb I = ed. Krehl-Juynboll, ii. 292, 5 from below gives a different opinion is, of course, not to be wondered at). In the narratives mentioned a great part is played by the epistle said to have been sent by Muhammad through Dihya [q. v.] to the governor of Boṣrā and through him to the Emperor Heraclius, who thereupon interrogated Abū Sufyān, who happened to be within reach, regarding the new prophet. Here as well as in the story of the embassy of the Prophet to the Ghassanid al-Hārith b. Abi Shamir (of doubtful authenticity; cf. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassanischen Fürsten* etc., in the *Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1887, phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 42 of the reprint), Heraclius (in contrast to Kisrā) appears as a man, at heart inclined to Islām, whom only fear of his subjects prevents from openly professing the new religion. — The Traditions further record all sorts of sayings and prophecies of Muhammad regarding *Qaisar*, which can at once be recognised as later views thrown back into the past. In al-Bukhārī, *Tafsir* to Sūra lxvi. Bāb 2 (Kr.-J. iii. 360 middle of page) Muhammad comforts 'Omar, who is lamenting the neediness of his existence, contrasted with the splendid court of Kisrā and *Qaisar*, with the words: "Art thou not content that this world belongs to them and the next to us?" In *Djihād*, Bāb. 93 (Kr.-J., ii. 229 below) we read: "To the first army of my community that plunders the city of *Qaisar* (Constantinople) its sins are forgiven". In *Aimān*, Bāb 3 (Kr.-J., iv. 259, 9) the prophet foretells the final decline of the power of the East Roman Empire as well as that of the Persian kingdom.

In later poets also, *Qaisar* is still a current conception as a symbol of power and wealth — again alongside of Kisrā. Thus Ibn Djinnī (best known as a grammarian) in a verse quoted in Ibn

Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, fasc. iv. 129, 4 from below, prides himself on being descended from the 'Caesars'.

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KAISĀRIYA (also KAISĀRIYA), plur. *ḳayāsir*, the name of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and frequently also living-rooms. According to de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allatif* (Paris 1810), p. 303 sq., the *ḳaisāriya* was originally distinguished from the *sūḳ* or *bāsār*-street probably only by its greater extent, and by having several covered galleries around an open court, while the *sūḳ* consists only of a single gallery. At the present day in any case the term *ḳaisāriya* is not infrequently quite or almost identical in meaning with the Persian word *kārwānserāi*, which first came into use in the nearer East in the xvth century, or the likewise modern analogous names, *khān*, *wakāla* (okella), *funduk* [q. v.] and *bezzistān* [q. v.].

Origin. The word *ḳaisāriya* is certainly of Greek origin: *καῖσαρεια* "imperial", an abbreviation for *ἡ καῖσαρεια ἀγορά* "the imperial market". As H. Thiersch has shown, not only is the plan of the mosque — according to R. Kasdorff, however, in his *Haus und Hauswesen im alten Arabien*, Halle 1914, p. 69, the early Muslim mosque was of ancient Arab origin — to be traced to the old quadrangular court (with or without cells around it) of the *agora*, but also the *ḳaisāriya*, which was used on the one hand as a warehouse for goods (whence developed the market-place) and on the other hand, without any doubt, usually also as lodgings. The expression *ἡ καῖσαρεια* recalls the fact that the oldest of these public buildings were imperial i. e. state institutions, while in the Muslim period they were mainly due to private initiative (foundations of rich merchants, members of royal families or high officials). Thiersch thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 233) that the place where the idea of these buildings originated — like many other things in the new Muslim period — seems to have been Alexandria, which was especially rich in covered market-places and halls. Whether we should actually consider the Caesareum, the Caesar temple in Alexandria, to which the market-place and warehouses were attached (Strabo, xvii. 794), as the original in name and fact of the *ḳaisāriya* (as does Vollers in the *Ztschr. d. Dtsch. Morg. Ges.*, li. 302) is uncertain. A derivation of the word *ḳaisāriya* from the name of the Palestine town of *Ḳaisāriya* (see be-

low), which de Sacy (*op. cit.*) recommends, can hardly be supported with sound arguments. The word in any case was originally used only in those districts which, like Syria, Palestine and parts of North Africa had been under (imperial) Byzantine rule. The idea was only transferred later to other lands, especially to Spain and the east. In Spanish and Portuguese we find *kaisāriya* as a loan-word: Span. *alcaicería* (*cayceria*, *caeceria*), Portug. *alcaçarias*; cf. Fr. Cañes, *Dic. Español Latino-Arábigo* (Madrid 1787), i. 69a; Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*² (Leiden 1869), p. 73, 79; D. Leopoldo de Eguilaz, *Glos. etim. de las palabras españolas . . . de origen oriental* (Granada 1886), p. 126.

The following notes may help to elucidate the occurrence of the word in the Islamic world. In Egypt we have especially good evidence of its use in Cairo. Al-Makrizī (d. 845 = 1441) in his description of the city gives a large number of *kaisāriya*'s; cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Bulāḳ 1270), ii. 86—91; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam* (1912), p. 117. Later its place was gradually taken by the word *wakāla* (*okāle*, *okelle*) and in Niebuhr's time (1761) only the market-place in the suburb of Bulāḳ was still called *Kissarie*. — In Fez (see Fās, ii. 72 *sqq.*) in Morocco by *kaisāriya* one understands the central market shut off by gates and walls from the other parts of the town; see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii. 432; T. Williams in the *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, iii. 583; E. Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 148, and cf. also above, ii. 73^a. — In Granada in Spain in the *Alcaicería* is that quarter of the town where the raw silk is sold; see Tollhausen, *Spanisch-deutsch. Wörterb.*, i. Leipzig 1888, p. 28b; F. v. Schack, *op. cit.*, ii. 327. — In Syria we have evidence of the use of the word *kaisāriya* as the "name of the shops of the wholesale dealers" in Beirut (see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii. 469 and K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 7), in Damascus (see Ibn Džubair, *Riḥla*², ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 288, ²¹ (year 1184) and Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien* etc. (Leipzig 1854—9), i. 269) and also in Aleppo (see Ibn Džubair, p. 252, ¹³; Yāḳūt, *Muḏjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 307, ²³; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris), i. 151; A. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*², London 1794, i. 36; German transl., i. (Göttingen 1797), p. 45). — In al-Ḥasā (Hofhūf, q. v., p. ii. 324 *sq.*) in Eastern Arabia the quarter of the town that contains the shops is called el-Gaisāriye; see *Der Islām*, viii. 32. — Going still further east we find a square called *Kaisāriya* in Mōṣul: see Ibn Džubair, *op. cit.*, p. 235, ¹⁶; in al-Salāmiya near Mōṣul: Yāḳūt, iii. 113, ²¹; in Irbil: Yāḳūt, i. 186, ²²; in Baghdād: see Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 92 (the present bazaar centre); in Kerbelā: see Massignon, *op. cit.*; in Iṣfahān: see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 49; Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, ii. 753a, and cf. also (Ispahan) Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi* (Brighton 1843), ii. 8, German transl., (Gent 1674), iii. 5; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse* (Paris 1819), ii. 125 and W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, iii. (1819), 16; in Tibriz: see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 856; in Khwārizm (Urgandj): Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 4.

We may further note that, according to a reference in Niebuhr (*op. cit.*), about the middle of the xviiith century large public buildings in the Barbary States (N.W. Africa) were called *casseries*. In Algiers at the present day *kaisā-*

riya means barracks; see Dozy, *op. cit.* In the ruined cities of Ḥawrān the palaces of the erstwhile Roman or Byzantine governors are now also called *kaisāriya*; see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran* etc. (Berlin 1860), p. 55. In general it appears that in modern times the use of the word *kaisāriya* as market-place and suchlike has to a great extent given way to newer words like *khān*, *wakāla*, *funduk* and *bezestān*.

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KAISĀRIYA or KAISĀRIYA = *Καίσαρεια* (Caesarea), a name bestowed in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius on a whole series of towns of the Roman East, and also in North Africa and Spain. 17 places of the name are known; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswissensch.*, iii. 1288 *sq.* The Arab writers only know of two towns named Kaisāriya, viz.: 1. a town in Palestine, on the coast in 35° N. Lat. about 24 miles south of Haifa. Its earlier name Στρατωνος πόλις (cf. Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, 1852, p. 450 *sq.*; Neubauer, *op. cit.*, p. 11—15) is of uncertain etymology. To distinguish it from places of the same name, especially the north Galilaean Caesarea (Caesarea Philippi, Paneas, Bāniyās [q. v.], this town was called more definitely Caesarea Stratonis, C. Palaestinae or C. maritima). The Arabs distinguish it by the addition of Filistin (Kaisāriya in Palestine) from the town of the same name in Asia Minor.

The origin and antiquity of Caesarea is veiled in obscurity; but it was certainly in existence in the second century B. C. In 22 B. C. Herod I laid out a fine city, which received the name of Caesarea in honour of Augustus, on the site of the ancient settlement which had fallen into ruins (on the date cf. Otto in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Suppl. Heft 2, col. 68, note). Part of the plan of the new foundation was the making of a splendid harbour which gave the town a great economic importance by giving the Jews access to the Mediterranean. Caesarea rapidly developed to be the first town in the country and maintained this position for some four centuries. It was also of great importance for Christianity, which early found a footing there, as it was its spiritual metropolis in Palestine down to the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451). As late as the Arab invasion Caesarea was still a flourishing town. It vigorously resisted the advance of the Muslims and withstood them in a long siege until finally Mu'āwiya took the city by storm. The statements in the Oriental sources regarding the date of its fall and the length of the siege vary; the siege probably began in 18 (639) and ended in 19 (640).

The accounts also differ very considerably as to the number of the defenders. On the Muslim conquest see de Goeje, *Mém. sur la Conquête de la Syrie*², p. 166 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv. 31 sq., 156—162.

Kaisāriya remained in undisputed possession of the Muslims until the First Crusade. During this it was stormed and taken by Baldwin I on May 31, 1101; see Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig 1807—1832), ii. 102—104; R. Röhrich, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge im Umriss* (Innsbruck 1898), p. 57. Among the rich booty taken by the Christians on this occasion, the most valuable was a six-sided emerald, a vessel of green glass which was believed to have been used as a bowl of the Last Supper (this belief apparently first arose under the influence of the story of the Graal). The Genoese received those sacred relics along with a third part of the city as a reward for the services which they had rendered at its capture. The vessel is still preserved in the Cathedral at Genoa and is known as the *sacro catino*. On it see Wilken, *op. cit.*, ii. 103, 108—111; Mislin, *op. cit.*, ii. 112 sqq.; Fr. Kampers, *Das Lichtland der Seelen und der hl. Gral* (Cologne 1916), p. 85 sq.

After the battle of Hattin (July 5, 1187) so disastrous for the Christians, Saladin reoccupied Kaisāriya without striking a blow; see Schultens, *Vita . . . Saladini auct. Bohadino I. Sjeddadi* (Leiden 1755), p. 71 and glossary s. v. (p. 23). When a few years later, on Aug. 30, 1191, Richard Coeur-de-Lion occupied the city he found it in ruins. The Crusaders rebuilt the citadel in 1218. But as a result of their carelessness, the Egyptian Sultān al-Malik al-Mu'addam was able to recapture it within two years (in 1220). It was not till Louis IX of France took it, that Kaisāriya was again regained for the Christians. He spent a whole year (1251—1252) in it, engaged on the building of an extraordinary system of defences, notably a strong wall encircling the town. In spite of all this, Kaisāriya had to surrender after only seven days' attack to Sultān Baibars in 1265. The town, in which the Christians defended very stubbornly their last resort, the strong citadel, was completely destroyed after its capture; cf. Wilken, *op. cit.*, iii. 296, iv. 408, vi. 158, 303, vii. 474 sq.; Kugler, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 1880), p. 387; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Sultān al-Ashraf completed the work of destruction in 1291.

The earlier Arab geographers describe Kaisāriya as a beautiful and important city strongly fortified; they particularly praise the fine fruits grown here, the woods and the running water. In Yākūt's time Kaisāriya was still only a village. When Abu 'l-Fidā' [q. v.] wrote (721 = 1321) it was in ruins, after the devastations wrought in 1265 and 1291. In the xviiith century only a few fisher families lived here; a little later the place was quite deserted. Since 1884 the Turks have settled Bosnians there. Kaisāriya now is one of the most important ruined sites in the country west of the Jordan; numerous remains of the ancient and mediaeval city have survived. The Roman town covered an area of 400 acres, while the mediaeval — a quadrangle with walls, ditches, bastions and towers — only occupied about 1/10 of the area of the Roman site.

The harbour is now unusable; but the once great harbour buildings with the Drusus tower

built by Herod are still to be traced, as well as in the southern part on the sea shore the great amphitheatre built by Herod I to hold 20,000 spectators. A little to the northeast are the remains of the hippodrome. The aqueducts are also partly preserved. The mediaeval castle, a quadrangle with a high tower, has been recently adapted by the Turks for a government office. The ruins of the city walls that still exist date from the fortifications of Louis IX. Only a few remnants are left of the great church of the Crusaders with its three naves. Much ancient and mediaeval material has been carried off in course of centuries to build other neighbouring towns. Djazzār Pasha of 'Akkā for example (d. 1209 = 1804; see above i. 1033) for his famous buildings in 'Akkā (notably the great new mosque) brought stones and pieces of buildings (especially ancient columns) from the ruins of Kaisāriya and 'As-ḳalān [q. v.]. Kaisāriya was also used as a quarry for the rebuilding of the Franciscan monastery in Jaffa. On the ruins see especially R. Pococke (1737), *Descr. of the East* (London 1743—5), ii. 58 sq., German transl. (Erlangen 1791), ii. 85—87 (with plan: copperplate Vb); A. v. Prokesch (1829), *Reise ins heil. Land* (Vienna 1831), p. 28—34; Wilson (1842), H. Barth (1846) in Ritter, *op. cit.*, xvi. 599, 604—7; G. Hanel (1847) in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, iv. 339 sq.; v. d. Velde, *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina*, i. (Leipzig 1855), p. 253—6; V. Guérin, *Descr. géogr. . . de la Palestine*, 2^e partie, ii. (Paris 1875), 321—339; Dalman's *Palästinajahrbuch*, v. 15, viii. 128 sq.; H. Thiersch in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästinavereins*, xxxvii. (1914), 62 sq.

2. TOWN IN ASIA MINOR, see KAISĀRIYA.

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and Syria⁵ (Leipzig 1912), p. 237—239 (with plan); E. Dowling, *Sketches of Caesarea* (Palestine), London 1912. (M. STRECK)

KAİŞARIYA (in Arabic authors also KAİSÄRIYA and KAİŞÄRIYA), a town in Asia Minor (Rüm), in 35° E. Long. (Greenwich) and 38° 15' N. Lat. at the northern base of the Ardjish-Dagh [q. v.], 3,500 feet above sea-level on a treeless plateau, watered by the Kara-Şu, a tributary of the Kizil Yрмаk (Halys) — the latter flows about 14 miles North of Kaışariya. At the present day it is the chief town of a sandjak of the vilâyet of Angora [q. v.]. The mediaeval and modern town is the successor of the ancient Mazaca, the capital of Cappadocia, to which Tiberius after its conquest gave the name Caesarea. Mazaca was a mile or two S. W. of the modern town, on the spurs of the Ardjish-Dagh, while the latter gradually grew up around the buildings which the great church-father Basilus, a native of Caesarea (329—379), erected here. Justinian I fortified this new settlement.

During the middle ages Caesarea in general shared the political history of central and eastern Asia Minor. In the viith century it passed into the hands of the Arabs, was retaken for a time by the Byzantines, but in 108 (726) again passed under Arab rule; cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 637 and the Syriac chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē (ed. Chabot), p. 26 sq. In the xith century Kaışariya was taken by the Saldjûks and played an important part as the second town in their empire. This was its period of greatest prosperity. In the xiiith century it was the residence of the Turkish dynasty of the Dānishmendids (cf. DĀNİSHMENDIYA).

In the xvth century Kaışariya had for a considerable time to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mongol Khāns of Persia (the so-called İl-Khāns), as is shown by the coins they struck here. Ibn Battūta makes special mention of the strong Mongol garrison in the town. About 800 (1398) Bāyazid I [q. v.] took it (cf. Weil, *op. cit.*, v. 70) and it remained henceforth in Turkish hands. Kaışariya fell only for a very brief period into the power of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, in 675 (1277) when Baibars and again in 822 (1419) when Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad advanced into this region of Asia Minor; see Weil, *op. cit.*, iv. 82, v. 146.

Kaışariya is now one of the most important towns in the interior of Asia Minor. The population of the Sandjak of Kaışariya was estimated by Cuinet in 1892 at 210,732, of whom 136,000 were Muslims, 45,318 Armenian Orthodox, 25,449 Greek Orthodox, 1,800 Protestant and 1,575 Roman Catholic Armenians. In 1813 Kinneir estimated the population at about 25,000 (including 15,000 Armenians, 300 Greeks and 150 Jews), Ainsworth in 1839 at 18,522, Cuinet in 1892 at 72,000 (45,000 Muslims, 14,400 Greek Orthodox, 9,000 Armenian Orthodox, 800 Catholic Armenians, 1,200 Protestants). In 1896 R. Oberhummer-Zimmerer put it at about 60,000, of whom 25% were Christians (including 10,000 Armenians), Baedeker in 1914 at 54,000 of whom 33% were Christians. H. Barth in 1858 estimated the number of inhabited houses at 8,000—10,000.

In the last centuries of the ancient period there must have been a strong Jewish community in Kaışariya, for the Sāsānid Sapor (Sābūr) I (241—

272) is said, according to Jewish sources, to have slain no less than 12,000 Jews here about 260, in his incursion into Roman Asia Minor; cf. Ersch and Gruber, *Allgem. Encycl.*, 2nd Sect., xxvii. 184 (note 87) and Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 2nd Series, i. 2330. In the middle ages the town seems to have been a great centre of Halakha study in Asia Minor; cf. A. Neubauer, *op. cit.*; H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*⁴, iv. 61, 263. The character of the present inhabitants is unfavourably criticised by several authorities (e.g. Chantre and Ramsay). During the hot months many of them live in the hills which form the last spurs of the Ardjish-Dagh.

The impression made by Kaışariya is imposing and picturesque especially on account of its beautiful situation and considerable extent. Various travellers, like Moltke (*Briefe über Zustände u. Begebenheiten in der Türkei*⁶, Berlin 1893, p. 330) and Naumann have therefore considered it the prettiest and finest town in the interior of Asia Minor. Its interior is therefore the more disappointing with its filth and dirt, its numerous ruined streets and miserable cottages in the suburbs. The tuff of the neighbourhood yields excellent building material. For fear of earthquakes, the houses of the town are usually left (as Barth observes) unfinished in the upper stories.

The Arab geographers of the middle ages mention particularly among the buildings a mosque, erected in memory of Saiyid Battāl, the Turkish warrior of the faith and national hero [cf. above i. 680]. They also report that the town contained the highly venerated sarcophagus of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya [q. v.]. No remains are preserved of the important churches which existed here in the early Christian period. We find, however, important monuments of the Saldjûk epoch, notably the Ulu-Djāmi' of 1206, the Huen mosque of 1236 with Madrasa, also somewhat outside of the town, the round tomb or Syrtshaly Gümbet and the Köshk Önü, a khān-like building around an octagonal tomb of 1340. The walls of the town also date from the Saldjûk period but have been restored at a later date. This is also true of the citadel which, now filled with Turkish houses, affords a splendid panorama.

Kaışariya is an important junction of roads and carries on a considerable trade. Local industry is limited to the manufacture of carpets and leather, the manufacture of various dyes, and (according to Barth) to the peculiar preparation of dried meat, which is sold throughout Asia Minor.

About half an hour South-West of Kaışariya rise in vineyards the ruins of the ancient Mazaca Caesarea, called by the natives Eski-Kaışariya, more usually Eski-Shehir (i. e. Old Town) and Zorzat by the Armenians. A series of not inconsiderable villages surrounds the modern town in the form of an arc from West to South-East, like suburbs. For example the little town of Talas lies 1¼ hours to the South-East, the birthplace of St. Sabas († 532) with an ancient castle, powerful walls in the form of a quadrilateral, and the buildings of the American Mission (schools, hospital, etc.). ¾ hour further to the South lies Sindjidere, where in the monastery of St. John, surrounded by well conducted schools, the Greek Archbishop lives. Talas and Sindjidere are already on the North-eastern spurs of the Ardjish-Dagh.

In the West and South of Kaışariya there was

a settlement of Christian monks at a very early period. There still exist here old monasteries and towns of caves, with churches, halls, cells and tombs. Special mention may be made of the cave-churches at Ūrgūb and at the rocky cone of Mačan. For further information regarding these Christian foundations see Ch. Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, ii. (Paris 1849), p. 53 sq. (and plates lxxxv.—viii.); Ch. Texier and P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, London 1864, p. 40 sq.; Oberhummer-Zimmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 120 sq., 244—250, 298; H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig 1908), p. 121 sq., 155—170, 210 sq.

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KĀ'ITBEY, AL-MALIK AL-AṢḤRAF ABU 'L-NAṢR SAIF AL-DIN AL-MAḤMUDĪ AL-ZĀHIRĪ, Sultān of Egypt and Syria (873—902 = 1468—95) was purchased by Barsbey [q. v.], manumitted by Sultān Djaḳmaḳ, became a life-guard, then *Dawādār Ṣaḡhīr* i. e. writer in the office of the Grand *Dawādār* (see *DAWĀTDĀR*, i. 931), then Emir of

10 Mamlūks under Ināl [q. v.], *Ṭablaḳḥāna* (i. e. Emir with the right to have a band accompanying him), under Sultān *Khoshḳadam* [q. v.], inspector of houses of refreshment and shortly afterwards commander of a thousand (*Muḳaddam Alf*). In 872 (1467/8) he became *Rā's nawbat al-Nuwawāb* (chief leader of the companies, i. e. Commander of the Mamlūks).

When Temirboghā ascended the throne in Djumādā I, 872 (Dec. 1467), he appointed his friend Kā'itbey Atābek but the Sultān had no real power, as he had very few supporters among the Mamlūks at his command. He had not the money to win over new followers; the treasury was empty. After an unsuccessful rising by the Ustādār Khā'irbey the crown was offered in the month of Rajab of the same year (Feb. 1468) to Kā'itbey, who accepted it after some hesitation. Temirboghā retired into private life to Damietta, to which he was not taken as a prisoner but travelled in perfect liberty accompanied by some friends. Unlike other Mamlūk Sultāns, Kā'itbey treated deposed Sultāns or descendants of former Sultāns throughout his reign with magnanimity and honour, frequently invited them to polo tournaments in Cairo, allowed them to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and even allowed them to visit the capital in his absence without any suspicion or fear of conspiracies.

Kā'itbey's chief political problem was his relations with the Ottomans. The rivalry between them and the Egyptians found expression in the fighting among their vassals in Asia Minor. The ruler of Albistān [q. v.], *Shāh Suwār* (cf. *DHU 'L-ḲADR*, i. 960a) was at war with Egypt (cf. *KHOSHḲADAM*) and was secretly supported by the Ottomans, while Kā'itbey assisted prince Aḥmad of Ḳaramān in his war with Muḥammad II. The first two expeditions sent against *Shāh Suwār* (872 and 873) ended disastrously through the carelessness of the Egyptian commanders and more especially the lack of discipline among their troops and the rivalry between the Egyptian and Syrian corps. Kā'itbey later succeeded in depriving *Shāh Suwār* of the help of the Ottoman Sultān by agreeing to drop the assistance he had himself been giving Aḥmad of Ḳaramān. Thus weakened, *Shāh Suwār* was decisively defeated in 876 (1471) by the Atābek Ezbek. *Shāh Suwār* fell back to Zamanṭū. Besieged there he capitulated on condition that he was allowed to remain in possession of his kingdom as vassal of the Sultān; but he was taken prisoner, brought to Cairo and executed contrary to the laws of war. The prince of the White Sheep, Uzun Ḥasan, the ruler of Diyār Bakr and a part of Persia, was a dangerous rival to Kā'itbey, and advanced from triumph to triumph; in 872 he defeated the Sultān of the Black Sheep and in 873 the Sultān of Samarkand, but when in 876 (1471) he declared war on Muḥammad II he was defeated and thus became less dangerous for Kā'itbey. He died in 880 (1475) and was succeeded by Ya'qūb Bey. A quarrel arose between Bayinder, the latter's governor in al-Ruhā (Edessa), and the Sultān's general Yeshbek, because Bayinder had given shelter to Saif, the rebel chief of the Beduins of Ḥamā. Yeshbek advanced on al-Ruhā and, although satisfaction was offered in every respect, he insisted on besieging the town, but was defeated during a sortie and killed with several of his staff; other Egyptian notables were taken prisoner. Kā'itbey could not

wipe out this defeat and had to make peace, as he was threatened with a struggle with the new Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd [q. v., i. 684]. Apart from continual friction regarding the ownership of Albistān, Bāyazīd felt himself threatened, because Kā'itbey had given a friendly welcome to his brother Djem [q. v., i. 1034 sq.], the pretender to the throne and had even encouraged him to fight against Bāyazīd. An embassy sent to Dāyazīd to endeavour to maintain peace was unsuccessful. The Ottomans invaded the southern part of Asia Minor in 891 (1486) and occupied Tarsūs and Adana; other Ottoman troops besieged Malatya. The Egyptian forces operated with success against both armies especially as Kā'itbey had won over 'Alā' al-Dawla, prince of Albistān. In 893 (1488) the Ottomans were no more successful. An endeavour to land a considerable body of troops in the bay of Iskanderūn [q. v.] failed. In 895 (1489/90) the Atābek Ezbek inflicted a decisive defeat on the Turks at Caesarea in Asia Minor, where several generals were captured. Kā'itbey showed a wise moderation in retaining his inclination for peace, recognizing the enormous resources of the Ottomans and peace was concluded in 896 (1491). The rest of the reign of Kā'itbey was peaceful but the domestic situation did not improve. It is true that he succeeded by his authority alone in preventing a fight between the hostile Mamlūk factions, but he could not permanently restrain their outbursts and he did not succeed in introducing a sound financial system.

Kā'itbey was by far the most important ruler of the Burdjī dynasty (see i. 796). He once more raised the prestige of the Mamlūk empire to a great height abroad, so that he could with good reason consider himself the first prince of Islām. For his campaigns and his buildings he required considerable means, which he could only raise by extortion, in the total absence of a regulated system of taxation. This is made a severe reproach against him by the chroniclers. In the modern view it is an obvious duty of a country to provide the necessary means for its army. It was just this lack of organised taxation that brought about the ruin of the Mamlūk empire. The Sulṭān was left to provide funds for himself by force. He either extorted them (if necessary by torture) from the high officials of the treasury, who had enriched themselves by dishonest means or "visited" the great shaiḫs of the provinces and received gifts — presumably not always voluntary — from them (on one tour alone he raked in 200,000 dinārs). He also levied contributions (e. g. to the amount of the five-monthly rental) from the real estate belonging to the pious foundations or from private individuals and forced the reservists, the Awlād al-Nās [on them cf. the article IBN IYĀS], to pay large sums in order not to be sent to the front. When the expedition planned did not take place, he gave back the money to the general amazement. He taxed Jews and Christians correspondingly. He also levied a very burdensome tax on the sale of corn. His expenses were on a corresponding scale. In the years 872—894 A. H. he expended over 7,000,000 dinārs (70 million francs) in paying the army, a large sum for these days. His buildings as well as the renovation of older buildings required large sums. The mosque at his tomb before the gates of Cairo, the Khānḳāh (monastery) in the village of this name near the

capital, the building of the castle at Aleppo, work on the mosque in Medina which was destroyed in 881 (1475/6) by a fire caused by lightning are celebrated. Although he was nearly 60 years old when he ascended the throne, he spent the earlier years of his reign in an almost feverish state of activity. Not only did he, contrary to the previous custom, daily leave the citadel for riding and excursions but he travelled round unceasingly and made the pilgrimage to Mecca and great tours of inspection to Aleppo and beyond to the Euphrates. He was able to keep his Mamlūks in control and the always rebellious Beduins in the Delta as well as the Arab tribes in Nābulus and Ḥamā. The period of his reign seemed an ideal one to the historians in contrast to those of his successors. He was of unusual, almost sadistic cruelty. He loved to be present at whippings and tortures, sometimes taking part in person; he was exceedingly strict to his son and once, as a punishment, made him live in the Mamlūk barracks and perform the most menial duties. He had only one legal wife; of his slaves the best known is Āsil Bāi, the mother of his son Muḥammad al-Naṣir (cf. her biography in my article in *Ztschr. des Deutsch. Pal. Vereins* 1905, p. 191).

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AL-KAIYĀL, AḤMAD AL-KAIYĀL AL-KHAṢIBĪ, a philosopher of the third century A. H., with Isma'īli and gnostic tendencies; al-Shahrasṭānī knew of works by him in Arabic and Persian; the fragments which he gives are to be compared with *Rasā'il Iḡḡwān al-Safā* — cf. *Shahrasṭānī, Milāl*, Cairo 1317, ii. 17—18.

(L. MASSIGNON)

KĀIYIM (A.), originally: "he who stands upright", then (with *bī*, *'alā*, *lī* or the genitive alone): he who takes something upon himself, takes care of something or someone and hence also has authority over them. Thus we find the pre-Islāmic poet al-Ḳuṭāmī (*Diwān*, ed. Barth, Leiden 1902, No. 26) already speaking of a "ḡaiyim of water", i. e. apparently the man in charge of it, the supervisor, and the poet Bā'ith b. Ṣuraim (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, p. 269, verse 2) speaks of the ḡaiyim of a woman i. e. he who provides for her, her husband. The first mentioned meaning, (supervisor etc.), is then found in all possible applications, administrator of a pious foundation, of baths, superintendent of a temple, caretaker of a saint's grave, etc.; indeed, in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḡīḡ*, *Da'awāt*, Bāb 10 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv. 189, 6), in Muḥammad's night-prayer, the expression is even applied to God as the director of heaven and earth, and this application seems also to be present in 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a, ed. P. Schwarz, No. 91, 11, where the poet swears by the "religion of the Kāiyim". Here, of course, it is most probably a question of an inversion (perhaps caused by the metre) of the Ḳorānic expression *al-Dīn 'l-kāyimu* (see below) on the model of *Bairu 'l-Muḡaddasi*. (Cf. Wright, *Grammar*³ ii.

§ 95 sq. and al-Kaṣṭallānī on Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 67 end).

The meaning "provider, husband" of a woman is frequently found in the eschatological traditions, in which it is said that with the approach of the last day the number of women will increase in proportion to men, so much that there will only be one ka'iym for every 50 women.

The adjectival meaning "commanding" (a branch of knowledge) perhaps arises out of the same sphere of conceptions as "provider", "master"; it is found in a biographical notice of a scholar in Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 225, 18. On the other hand, ka'iym, also an adjective meaning "correct, right", repeatedly found in the Kor'an in the expression *al-Dīn 'l-ka'iymu* and similar combinations may have to be semasiologically separated from the former meaning.

Bibliography (here as in the text mainly from references given by Prof. A. Fischer, Leipzig and Prof. A. J. Wensinck, Leiden): Ka'iym = administrator: al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ Waṣāyā*, Bāb 32 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll ii. 196, 2) and al-Kaṣṭallānī s. v.; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 856, 13; al-Maḥḥari, ii. 547, 20; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I/ii. 814, 11; al-Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 125, 2 from below; = husband: al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Nikāḥ*, Bāb 110 (ed. Kr.-J. iii. 453, 7 from below) and *passim*; 'Omar b. Abī Rabi'a, *op. cit.*, poem N^o. 269, 3; = correct, orthodox: Sūra ix. 36 and *passim*; xcvi. 4 and thereon al-Kaṣṭallānī's note on the quotation of this passage from the Kor'an in al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Imān*, Bāb 34 (Kr.-J., i. 19, 16). (A. SCHAADE)

AL-KA'IYŪM (A.), one of the "beautiful names" of Allāh (see i. 303), according to some theologians the greatest name of Allāh (see *Taḏj al-Arūs*, ix. 36, 7 from below — ult. The word is of Jewish origin and means like its prototype, the Hebrew קַיִם, or the Aramaic ܩܝܡ (cf.

Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Quran*, London 1902, p. 69, 12 and note 89; Brünnow-Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie*, Berlin 1913, glossary under *ḥwīm*) "the eternal". Muḥammad, who uses it three times in the Kor'an (ii. 256; iii. 1 and xx. 110) may have picked it up from the Jews of Medina (the attribution of the whole of Sūra xx. as "Meccan" would then have to be revised). When late (post-Kor'anic) texts e. g. al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Tawhīd*, Bāb 24 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv. 466, 12; Muḥammad's night-prayer) have the variant *ka'iām*, the *ā* in the last syllable is probably only to be regarded as another reproduction of the Hebrew *kāmes*. The other meanings which Arab exegesis has given the word may be due to ignorance of its foreign origin (cf. *Taḏj al-Arūs*, l. c.; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-Bayān*, Bulāḥ 1324, iii. 5 on Sūra ii. 256).

Bibliography (here and in the text mainly from references given by Prof. A. Fischer, Leipzig): Levy, *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterb.*, under קַיִם und ܩܝܡ; Z. D. M. G., xlv. (1890),

p. 168—171; al-Abshihī, *Kitāb al-Mustatraf* (Cairo 1308), i. 5, 14 (beginning of Chap. i.). (A. SCHAADE)

AL-KA'KĀ' B. 'AMR B. MĀLIK AL-TAMIMĪ, an Arab general. When Saḍjāh bint al-Ḥārith gave herself out to be a prophetess after the death of

Muḥammad, al-Ka'kā' joined her and is said to have fought on her side. But in the period following he always retained his Muslim views, and as a subordinate of the famous Khālīd b. al-Walīd [q. v.] he played a very prominent part in the earliest wars of Islām. As early as the year 11 (632) he is reported to have fought faithfully on the side of Khālīd in the battle of Buzāḥka [q. v.] and after the capture of al-Hīra [q. v.] in Rabi' 1, 12 (May/June 633) there was an encounter between the Muslims under al-Ka'kā' and the Persians at al-Ḥasid in the vicinity of al-Anbār [q. v.] in which the latter were defeated. The exact date cannot be ascertained; according to one statement the fight was in the year 12; by others it is put in Khālīd's campaign in Syria. In Radjab 14 (Aug.—Sept. 635) al-Ka'kā' took part in the conquest of Damascus and in the following year he commanded a squadron in the battle of the Yarmūk, which also ended in the victory of the Muslims. Special mention is made of the way in which he distinguished himself in the desperate battle of al-Kādisiyya [q. v.] in 16 (637); Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās was in command here, but the success is ascribed to the timely intervention of al-Ka'kā'. He is again mentioned among the valiant heroes who took part in the capture of al-Madā'in in the same year, when countless booty fell into the hands of the Muslims. According to some accounts he commanded the vanguard in the battle of Djalulā [q. v.] at the end of the same year and organised a garrison in Hulwān [q. v.]. He also shared in the capture of Nihāwand in 21 (641/642) and before the battle of the Camel (36 = 656) he was sent by 'Alī to al-Baṣra to negotiate with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair. He afterwards settled in al-Kūfa. Al-Ka'kā', who is one of the favourite heroic figures in Arab legend, was also famed as a poet and celebrated his warlike deeds in several poems.

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KIAKHTA, in older spelling KAKHTA, sometimes AL-KAKHTĀ, the name of a place on the Kīakhta-Šu, a tributary of the Euphrates, about 40 miles S. E. of Malatya, the residence of a kaimmakam and chief town in a qazā (circle) of the same name, which comprises the three *nāḥiyas* (communities) of Gerger, Şhiro and Merdis, with a population of about 46,000 (according to Cuinet mainly Kurds; with them over 4000 Armenians) and belongs to the *liwā* (administrative district) of Malatya in the province of Ma'mūrat al-'Aziz (Khārpūt). The modern Kīakhta which numbers only a few hundred huts with about 1000 inhabitants, almost exclusively Kurds, was famed in the middle ages for its exceedingly strong castle which, built on a steep eminence, guarded the eastern road from Sumeisāt to Malatya and was one of the frontier strongholds (*Thuḡūr*) of the

Muslim lands, and has again achieved fame in modern times through the discovery on the neighbouring Nemrūd-Dagh of monuments of Antiochus I of Commagene of the first century B. C. We first meet with the name in the Oriental historians of the Crusades; in Bar-Hebraeus and Michael Syrus it is written *Gakhta*; the ancient and the Byzantine name are not known; but the bridge built in the reign of Septimius Severus about 200 A. D. over the Bōlām-Şu at Kiakhta and the remains of Byzantine buildings on the fortress show that the place was an important frontier station, even in antiquity and at the beginning of the middle ages. The hypothesis of Ainsworth that Kiakhta represents the ancient Claudias, the *Ḳalawdhīya* of the Arabs, is untenable (see the article *ḲALAWDHĪYA*).

As a result of the battle of Manzikert (Melāzgird) on Aug. 19, 1071, these frontier districts were definitely lost to the Byzantine empire and became a shuttlecock between the Dānīshmandoghlu of Malatya, the Saldjūks of Rūm and the Ortokids of Khārpūt, who disputed the ownership of Kiakhta with one another and the Crusaders, who ruled in Urfa (Edessa) and Mar'ash. At the same time Armenians, who by the second half of the eleventh century had migrated into these regions in considerable bodies, had made themselves independent in various strong places like Malatya, Hişn Mansūr, Gerger and Kiakhta (Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii. 158 sqq., 198 and 205 sq.) and kept ground against the neighbouring Muslim rulers. To this period belongs an inscription of the citadel of Kiakhta of the year 525 (1130/31) in which a certain Malik al-Manşūr is mentioned as restorer of the defences (O. Hamdy Bey, *Le Tumulus de Nemroud Dagh*, p. 2 sqq.).

After Baldwin, Count of Mar'ash, and his successor Renaud had fallen in quick succession in battle with Nūr al-Dīn, the warlike Jocelin of Edessa seized their lands, which included Gerger and Kiakhta; when he was captured in May 1150 by Nūr al-Dīn, Kiakhta and the neighbouring strongholds like Gerger, Hişn Mansūr, etc., fell into the hands of Ḳarā Arslān of Khārpūt; Krikor, the last Armenian ruler of Kiakhta, was granted another district by the victor (Michael Syrus, iii. 294 sq., Chalaudon, *Les Comnènes*, ii. 421, 423). Thus ended Christian rule in these regions.

On October 25, 1177, Sulţān Kīlīdj Arslān conquered Malatya and drove out the last Dānīshmandoghlu, who fled to Khārpūt (Michael Syrus, iii. 273) but the border strongholds like Hişn Mansūr, Kiakhta and others seem not to have been as yet occupied by the Saldjūks.

In the year 623 (1226) war broke out between 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaikobād (see KAİKOBĀD I) and Mas'ūd, the Urtukid of Āmid and Mārdīn; after Mas'ūd and his allies had suffered a severe defeat at Kiakhta in Shawwāl of this year, this stronghold, which had hitherto been under Mas'ūd's control, passed into the hands of the victor (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 300; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tārīkh*, Constantinople, iii. 144; Houtsma, *Recueil*, etc. iii. 280, iv. 118 sqq.) and remained in possession of the Saldjūks of Rūm, also when they had already become vassals of the İlkhāns. During the rising of Baba Rasūl Allāh (638 = 1240—1241), Kiakhta and the surrounding country were plundered by the followers of this madman (Bar Hebraeus, *Keṭābā de Maḳt'ebanūt Zaḡnē*, ed. Bedjan,

p. 473; *Chronik*, ed. Bruns and Kirsch, ii. 517 = *Tārīkh Mukhtaşar al-Duwal*, ed. Şāḫānī, Bairūt 1890, p. 439) after having been devastated a few years earlier by the Khwārizmīs driven out of Rūm (Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh*, etc., p. 437 sq.); afterwards, under Kaikā'us II, it was used from time to time as a place of banishment (Houtsma, *Recueil*, etc. iv. 259, 262) and it is also mentioned in other connections (Bar-Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 499, 14 = *Tārīkh* etc., p. 467 sq., anno 1257). Munadjjimbashī, *Tārīkh* iii. 271, reports that the last 'Alā' al-Dīn of Ḳonya granted a fief in Pighī-Eli near Kiakhta to a son of 'Othmān and grandson of Ertoghrlu; and Eretna, who had made himself independent as governor for the İlkhāns in Asia Minor (728—753 = 1328—1352) ruled also in the domain of Malatya; on Eretna see M. von Berchem and Halil Edhem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscr. Arabicarum*, Cairo 1910, p. 41 sqq.). In the campaigns of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sulţāns against the Mongols, Kiakhta is repeatedly mentioned (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk li Ma'rīfat Duwal al-Mulūk*, French transl. by Quatremère entitled *Hist. des Sultans Mamelouks*, ii./i., p. 61) and in 682 (1283/1284) Ḳarā Şonkor, the Egyptian governor of Ḥalab, occupied the town, which he again fortified strongly (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tārīkh*, iv. 18) and it is therefore expressly mentioned in the treaty of 1 Rabi' II, 684 with Leon, king of Little Armenia, as the territory of Sulţān Ḳalā'un (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*; ii./i. p. 168). Kiakhta seems, however, to have been temporarily lost again with other places; in connection with the Egyptian campaign against the Mongols in 715 (1315—16), in the course of which the Mamlūks conquered and destroyed Malatya, it is reported that the people of Ḳal'at al-Rūm, Behesnā, Kiakhta and Gerger used to make raids into Muslim territory (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, iv. 77). Later this area must have been under the rule of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrioghlu of Mar'ash, the vassals of the Mamlūk Sulţāns, down to the first Ottoman conquest. When Bāyazid I, in 801 (1398/98, according to Egyptian sources (see Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v. 70 and 74; Neshrī in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xv. 352: 800 A. H.; the old Ottoman Chroniclers in Leunclavius, *Histor. Musulm.*, col. 337, 24 sqq., 338, 17 sqq.; do. ed. Giese, p. 34 sq., and 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde, *Tārīkh*, p. 74: 798 A. H.) opened hostilities against Egypt, he first of all occupied the region of Malatya and drove out the Turkomans, i. e. the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrioghlu, who had hitherto ruled there; on his campaign against Syria in the early months of the year 803 (1400/1401), Timūr conquered Malatya and the whole district as far as Kiakhta, drove out Bāyazid's garrisons and installed the "Turkoman" Ḳarā 'Othmān (Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yezdī, *Zafarnāma*, Calcutta, ii. 271 sqq., 278; Weil, *op. cit.*, v. 82). After Timūr's withdrawal, the Mamlūk Sulţāns again entered this territory which they held till the destruction of their power by Selim I. It is specially mentioned that Kiakhta was captured by them in 820 (1417/1418; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii./i. 61 note; Weil, p. 139); lastly we read in Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, Cairo 1311, ii. 141, that Uzun Ḥasan seized this stronghold in 877 (1472/1473). In the report of his victory (*fathnāme*) from Ḥalab (end of Radjab 922) Selim I expressly mentions the capture of Gerger and Kiakhta. Under Ottoman rule it

had no longer the importance as a frontier fortress that it had in the middle ages, when it is specially mentioned as such by Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Takwīm*, ed. Reinaud, p. 262 sq.) and al-Dimashqī (ed. Mehren, p. 206). Djalālzāde (middle of the xvth century) had given it a section to itself in his description of the Ottoman empire for the district of Gerger and Kiakhta (von Hammer, *Des Osm. Reiches Staatsverf.*, ii. 449); in Ewliya also (*Siyāhet-nāma*, iv. 22) it is occasionally mentioned, but the great geographical works of the xvith century, the *Manāzir al-'Awālim* of Muḥammad 'Ashīk (f. 176r of the Vienna MS.) and the *Djihānnūma* of Kīatib Čelebi (Constantinople 1145, p. 600 sq.) only know Kiakhta from Abu 'l-Fidā', whose statements they translate word for word; among the Anatolian Kaḡā's Kiakhta was placed in the outposts of the seventh stage (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, ix. 8, N^o. 470). In the course of the last three centuries, these remote and inaccessible districts have been settled by Kurds; Kīatib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, describes them as a useless, rebellious horde of highway robbers; they obeyed only their own chiefs (*bey beyleri*) and during the last century it required repeated military expeditions to restore the authority of the Porte in the region inhabited by them. In these fightings the fortress of Kiakhta also played a part, as a Kurdish Bey with his followers had entrenched himself in it; it was stormed in 1838 by Turkish troops and from this incident became known in Europe through reports of Ainsworth and v. Moltke (cf. C. Ritter, *Erkunde*, x. 870, 874, 883 sq.). An archaeological excavation of the fortress has yet to be made; there is a brief description in Ḥamdī Bey's work on the Turkish expedition of 1883; he paid special attention to the Muslim inscriptions (still unpublished); his statements are supplemented in details by the *Sālnāma* of Khārpūt. The great iron gate, which is mentioned as early as the Saldjūk conquest in 1226, was brought along with the gate of the fortress of Gerger in 1882 to Diyār Bakr.

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2. A town in Transbaikalia, 30° 19' N. Lat., 106° 40' E. Long., 2550 feet above sea level. Kiakhta is separated from Maimačin (Dai Oergö) by a neutral zone of about 50 yards broad and connected with Troiskosawsk by the only high road in the district, about 3½ versts long. Lying on the Kiakhta brook (Mong. Kāktugorekhon) and surrounded by mountains (Burgultei = Eagle mountain) Kiakhta arose out of a Russian frontier post south of the Kiakhta brook on the Roro, a stream that forms the frontier, through the fact that here on Aug. 10, 1727 the treaty of Kiakhta was signed. The Chinese opened this

point for trade between Russia and China and founded here Maimačin (trade-frontier) and the Russians the frontier post of Kiakhta. Henceforth Kiakhta has been the corridor for the exploration and penetration of Mongolia and China, for science, politics, trade (tea-trade) and commerce. Fortified with palisades, it has formed down to the present day a little republic of merchants with its own taxes (tax on tea), customs, its own administration, council of elders, fire-brigade and church. In addition to houses of stone there are still also wooden buildings in Kiakhta and great business-houses with large yards for caravans, but no shops; besides the Russian wholesale business there is the detail trade among the Mongols and Chinese. Since 1727 the famous December fair has been held annually in Kiakhta. Kiakhta is the main depot and clearing house for the so-called caravan tea. At one time rhubarb was smuggled into Russia. Now gold is smuggled into China. As a result of the treaty of Peking 1898 and the opening of the great Siberian railway the import of tea, silk and cotton goods has considerably decreased; the export of cloths, furs and leather is rather busier. There is a steppe post and telegraph to Peking via Urga.

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KĀKŌYIDS, a dynasty, which reigned from 398 (1007) to 443 (1051) over the provinces of Iṣfahān and Hamadhān. It descends from Dushmanziyār Rustam b. al-Marzubān, a native of Dailam, who held the fief of Shahriyār and received the title of *ispahbadh* from the Būyid Maḡd al-Dawla (cf. Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Hist. of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 228, 230, 231, 239; Zāhīr al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, p. 195, 209; Mīrkhond, *Rawḡat al-Safā*, iv. 26).

Kākōye in the dialect of Dailam is the hypo-

coristic diminutive of *Kākū* "maternal uncle" (cf. J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, v. 216, No. 363; Riḍā Kulī Khān, *Farhang-i Naṣirī*, s. v.). The surname Ibn Kākōye had been given to the founder of the dynasty, because he was the son of the maternal uncle of Maǧīd al-Dawla by the mother of the latter, sister of Dushmanziyār (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 338, better explanation than p. 146), his patron.

In place of Dushmanziyār, the coins have the name Dushmanzār (cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 88; genealogical table, p. 445). The dynasty consisted of five members:

1. 'ALĀ' AL-DAWLA ABŪ DJĀ'FAR MUḤAMMAD N. DUSHMANZIYĀR, surnamed *Ibn Kākōye*, who was the first to declare himself independent, soon after 398 (1007); he was cousin of the wife of the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.], mother of Maǧīd al-Dawla, who had him appointed governor of Iṣfahān; he seized Hamadhān (414 = 1023), Rai (419 = 1028) and Iṣfahān (421 = 1030); continual wars with the Kurds, with the *ispahbadh* of Ṭabaristān and with the Ghuzz prevented him from peacefully enjoying the possession of these places. In 420 (1029) he declared himself a vassal of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna; in 424 (1033) he was confirmed in the government of Iṣfahān by Sulṭān Mas'ūd, who had succeeded his father; in 425 (1034) he rebelled, was twice defeated, lost Iṣfahān, tried to retake it two years later and ultimately succeeded after some time. The philosopher and physician Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] filled the ministerial office at his court, after having been dismissed from the service of the Būyid Tādī al-Dawla (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 189; transl. de Slane, i. 442); he was still minister at his death in 428 (1037). 'Alā' al-Dawla died in 433 (1041), after having built a wall round his capital in 429 (1037).

2. ZAHĪR AL-DĪN ABŪ MANŠŪR FARĀMARZ, his eldest son, succeeded him at Iṣfahān; he fought against his brother Abū Ḥarb, who had appealed for assistance to the Ghuzz Saldjūks, settled in Rai; the latter was defeated. Having sought refuge with the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla [q. v.] he induced the latter to undertake the siege of Iṣfahān; the quarrel was terminated by a peace between the two brothers, which lasted till 435 (1044). Zahīr then seized the two fortresses of Kirmān belonging to Abū Kālīdjār, who in order to get them back, took Abarkūh and defeated the Iṣfahān army. Besieged in his capital by Toḡhrul Beg in 438 (1047) he was left in possession of his fief in consideration of paying homage till 443 (1051) when the Saldjūks finally obtained Iṣfahān after a long siege; he made it his capital and had the walls destroyed, saying that only a weak prince has need of walls to protect him. Abū Manšūr received as fiefs the two cantons of Yazd and Abarkūh. He accompanied Toḡhrul-Beg when the latter went to Baghdād to marry the daughter of the Caliph al-Ḳā'im in 455 (1063).

3. ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR GERSHĀSP, brother of the preceding, was reigning at Hamadhān when this town was besieged by the Ghuzz in 420 (1029). He made peace with their chief Gök-Tāsh and married his daughter; but the Ghuzz began their attacks again after the capture of Rai and forced him to take refuge in the fortress of Kinkawar. These Turks entered Hamadhān in 430 (1038);

having succeeded in drawing Abū Kālīdjār after them, they attacked him but he escaped. It was immediately after this that his father 'Alā' al-Dawla surprised and defeated them. On the latter's death Gershāsp made Nihāwand his residence. Farāmarz having recaptured Hamadhān gave it as fief to his brother on condition that he had the *khutba* pronounced in his name. In 434 (1042) Toḡhrul-Beg seized this town and demanded that Gershāsp should hand over Kinkawar, which its defenders refused to do. In 436 (1044) Gershāsp regained Hamadhān and declared himself a vassal of the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār; next year Toḡhrul sent his brother Yannāl to reoccupy this town, from which the prince had fled and taken refuge among the Djawzakān Kurds. Yannāl in 439 (1047) took Kinkawar, which was commanded by a lieutenant of Gershāsp's, Oḳbar b. Fāris, who, to obtain the best conditions of surrender, pretended that he still had considerable supplies. After the loss of his possessions, Gershāsp took refuge with the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār. In 441 (1049) he was in Iṣfahān and received favourably the overtures of Mawdūd the Ghaznawid who was seeking help against the Saldjūks, but he lost many soldiers in the desert and fell ill, which forced him to return. He died at al-Ahwāz in 443 (1051).

4. 'ALĪ, son of FARĀMARZ, married Arslān Khātūn, daughter of the Saldjūk Dā'ūd, aunt of Sulṭān Malik-Shāh, in 469 (1076). Having sought refuge in Kirmān he was given the fief of Yazd (*Rec. de Textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoudes*, i. 26). He was killed in 488 (1095) fighting by the side of Tutush (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 312).

5. 'ALĀ' AL-DAWLA ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR GERSHĀSP, son of 'Alī; as prince of Yazd, he was in the service of the Saldjūks; he had married the sister of Sulṭān Muḥammad and of Sandjār; dispossessed of his fief, which was given to the cupbearer Qaradjā by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he put himself under Sandjār's protection and was present at the battle in which the latter defeated his nephew (513 = 1119). He had escaped from the fortress of Farazān, in which Maḥmūd had had him interned (*Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoudes*, ii. 133).

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KĀLĀ (PL. KĀLĀ, KULĀ) in Arabic the name for a fortress or stronghold built on a hill or small elevation. In Turkish it also means the interior of a city in contrast to the outer suburbs (cf. Zenker, *Türk-arab.-pers. Handwörterbuch*, p. 707^a). The word which looks good Arabic and is fairly generally regarded as a genuine Arabic word may be a loanword from Iranian. Fränkel first raised doubts as to its genuineness in *Die Aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden 1886), p. 237, because it cannot be derived from any Arabic root. Quite recently A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die pers. Fremdwörter im klass. Arabisch*

(Göttingen 1919), p. 70 sq. has championed the Persian origin of the word. The original is considered to be the Persian *kālāt* (a fort or village on a hill), (see Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 859). This *kālāt*, strictly an appellative, appears at various places on Irānian soil, especially in Afghānistān and Fārs, as a local place-name also (Kelāt, Kilāt); cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 269 sq., 332, 395. The form *kālāt* is of recent origin and has arisen through the addition of an inorganic *t* to the older *kālā*; cf. Andreas in the *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.* (Berlin), ii. (1897), 85 sq. and Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 1176. *Kālā* (also *kulā*) has survived for example in place names in Māzandarān; for references see Melgunof, *Das südl. Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres* (Leipzig 1868), p. 303 sq. The old Irānian form of the word must, however, have been **kalak*; this is shown by the Armenian *khalakh* (town), which is certainly of Irānian origin, not perhaps an Aramaic loan word (from Aram. *karkhā*), which P. de Lagarde, *Armen. Studien* (Göttingen 1877), No. 2357 and Hübschmann in the *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlvii. 252 wished to make it. **Kalak* would regularly become *Kālā* (Andreas, *op. cit.*). It is still uncertain why the Arabs added an *ain* at the end of the word. The word certainly was borrowed very early; the prototype yielded was perhaps not *kalā*, but still the oldest form **kalak*, the final *k* of which first of all becoming *ḳ* might be weakened in pronunciation to *ain*. [It is also possible that the Arabs took Persian *l* as a so-called emphatic *lām*, cf. *al-ʿaskar* from *lash-kār*. Ed.] In the Arabic linguistic area there are a fairly large number of place names, which have *kalʿa* as their first member; cf. AL-KALʿA, KALʿAT; Yāqūt, *Mushtarik* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 357; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 533 (Index); Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xiii. 786—9 (Register); Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii. 735. (M. STRECK)

AL-KALʿA. See ALCALA, KALʿAT BANĪ ʿAB-BĀS etc.

KALAH (also KALĀH, KALĀ, KILĀ and KILLĀH), according to the mediaeval Arab geographers the name of an island or peninsula, which played an important part as an intermediary in the trade and navigation between Arabia, India and China. It was particularly noted for its tin-mines; it is at the same time described as a centre of trade in camphor, bamboo, aloes, ivory, etc. Its capital was likewise called Kalah; cf. e. g. al-Dimashqī, p. 152, ii. 170, 1; al-Nuwairi (in A. v. d. Lith, *op. cit.*, see below, *Bibl.*), p. 281; the sea washing this region, described as difficult to navigate, was called the "sea of Kalah" after it; see al-Masʿūdī, i. 370, 10, 340, 1; al-Dimashqī; p. 152, ii. 169, 20. The identification of the situation of this territory is of importance for the history of Indo-Arabian trade. According to the statements given by the merchant Sulaimān (his journal was edited in 237=851) and Yāqūt, a location in Further India is alone possible. The islands and peninsulas of Further India have been especially famous for centuries as producers of tin; cf. thereon Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v. 23, 24, 28, 30, 77—80, 438—439. As it is expressly stated of Kalah (e. g. by Abū Zaid al-Sirāfi; see below, *Bibl.*) that it — at least for a time — was under the rule of the king of Zābedj (= Java; see A. van der

Lith, *op. cit.*, p. 231 sq. and JAVA, ii. 574 sqq.), in identifying it, we must look in the first place to the south-western part of Further India, in the region of the Strait of Malacca. We may leave Sumatra out of this limited choice, especially as it only produces tin in small quantities and of inferior quality. The island of Bangka on the S. E. coast of Sumatra, now famous as a rich tin-producer, is to be left out of the reckoning, as the mines there have only been known since 1710 and were not worked before (cf. A. v. d. Lith, p. 263). This only leaves us the peninsula of Malacca and we would have to follow Walckenaer (in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris 1852, p. 19) and identify the modern town of Quedah (Queda, Kedah, Keddah) on the west coast of the peninsula in 6° N. Lat. with the Kalah of the Arab authors. The province of Quedah (on it cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v. 20 sq.), watered by the river Kalang, which would appear to coincide more or less with the area of the "peninsula" of Kalah, is still distinguished in Malacca for its busy tin trade. The actual name of the chief town is Kadah (to-day pronounced Kedāh). Quedah is to be explained as simply a corruption through the Portuguese. In the Turkish *Muḥit* of Sidi ʿAlī (see i. 287), written about 1554 the form Kēdā is found; see Bittner and Tomaschek, *Die topogr. Kapitel des indischen Seespiegels Muḥit* (Vienna 1897), p. 86 and see also there the maps reconstructed by Tomaschek from the statements of the *Muḥit* and from Portuguese sources (plates xxiii. and xxiv.) Quedah is at the present day an unimportant place but in earlier centuries it was a flourishing, much visited and populous harbour; see thereon Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and A. v. d. Lith, p. 261.

The identification put forward by Walckenaer is also accepted by A. v. d. Lith, p. 259, 308, de Goeje (in *De Gids*, Amsterdam 1889, iii. 297), Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, and G. Le Strange in his translation of Hamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 194. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 734 and Yule-Burnell, *op. cit.*, p. 145 consider it probable. The latter both think that Kalah might be identical with the Kālā of Ptolemy. But the situation required for the latter town (cf. the article *Kōli* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 1075) seems to refute this.

The equation Kadah (Quedah) = Kalah seemed to be made quite certain by the fact emphasised by Kern in A. v. d. Lith, p. 308, that Malay *d* is pronounced very like *l*; Malay *Kadah* would therefore have sounded to an Arab ear as *Kalah*. But on the other hand it should be remembered that recently G. Ferrand (see *Bibl.*) contests the plausibility of a phonetic change from *Kadah* to *Kalah*. According to his investigations, Kalah would not be Kadah at all, but is rather to be equated to Kērah, Kra (on maps) in the northeast part of Malacca (near 10° N. Lat.).

After what has been said above we are only left with the choice between Kēdah or Kērah (Kra) on Malacca for the identification of the Kalah of the Arabs. The other attempts to locate the position of Kalah — on Ceylon (harbour of Ghālī, Galle, Pointe de Galle; so Reinaud and Dulaurier), Malabar (so Renaudot; see Ouseley, *op. cit.*), Coromandel (so Gildemeister) — should now be definitely rejected as wrong.

Besides Kalah we find occasionally in the Arab geographers also Kalāh-bār, e. g. in the voyage

of the merchant Sulaimān (Reinaud, *Relation*, etc. ii. 18, 13) and in al-Mas'ūdī, i. 3, 3). Reinaud wished to separate this from Kalah entirely and connect the name with Coromandel, or rather its older Sanskrit form (which Gildemeister had already compared with Kalah). But that so far west a location for Kalāh-bār is excluded is shown by Sulaimān's reference, according to which Kalāh-bār (like Kalah, see above) was a dependency of the king of Zābedj (Java); Kalah and Kalāh-bār are probably identical as Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 733 sq. and A. v. d. Lith, p. 258, 253 have said. What -bār means in Kalāh-bār is quite uncertain; the explanations of Sulaimān (as = *mamlaka* = kingdom) and of al-Mas'ūdī (= sea) arouse little confidence.

Most probably it is from the district of Kalah in Malacca discussed above — whether it is Kēdah or Kērah (Kra) — that tin gets the name *kal'ī* = "the Kalā'ite" in Arabic. Like the Persian *kālū* (*Kālūt*; see the art. *ḲALĀ'*) the Arabs usually reproduced Kalah by *Ḳal'a*; hence the nomen relativum *kal'ī* (*kalā'ī*). The somewhat fanciful observation of the traveller Miṣ'ar b. Muḥalhil (in Yaḳūt, ii. 162, 6; al-Ḳazwīnī, ii. 69, 23; Schlözer, *op. cit.*, p. 18 sq. that tin is called *kal'ī* from the fort (*kal'a*) of Kalah, on which alone mines of this metal existed may be described simply as an attempt to explain the form *kal'ī* (with *ḵ*). Besides Kēdah and Kērah, Kēlang, Klang, a district in Selangor in Malacca might possibly come into consideration; cf. thereon the article *ḲALĀ'* as well as for the relationship of *kal'ī* to the Malay *kaling* = tin.

This same al-Ḳal'a, which was said to be the site of a very fine tin-mine, is usually regarded by the Arab geographers and lexicographers as the place of manufacture of a celebrated kind of Indian sword, called *kal'ī* (*kalā'ī*) to distinguish it. (Further information in article *ḲALĀ'*).

Bibliography: Voyage of the merchant Sulaimān in Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde . . . dans le IX^e siècle* (Paris 1845), ii. Text, p. 18, 12 sqq., 22, 1; cf. *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et Chine*, transl. G. Ferrand (Paris 1922), p. 12, 18, 19, 41, 42, 43, 95 sq.; Abū Zaid al-Sirāfi in Reinaud, *op. cit.*, ii. Text, p. 90, 1 sq.; the voyages of Sindbad the sailor, ed. Langlès in Savary's *Gramm. de la langue Arabe*, Paris 1813, p. 499 (separate edition, Paris 1814, p. 63); Miṣ'ar b. Muḥalhil (see K. v. Schlözer, *Abu Dolef Misaris b. Mohalhal de itinere Asiatico comment.*, Berlin 1845, p. 18 sq.); Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* (*Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, ed. A. v. d. Lith and L. M. Devic, Leiden 1883—86), p. 222 (Register); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dihab* (ed. Paris), i. 308, 9, 330, 10, 340, 1; al-Idrīsī, *Nuḥat al-Muḥṣṭāḵ* (*Géographie*, transl. by Jaubert) i. Paris 1836, p. 77, 79 sq.; Yaḳūt, *Muḍjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 454, 10, iii. 452, 23, iv. 103, 19, 162, 6, 297, 23; al-Dimashqī, *Nuḥbat al-Dahr* (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren), p. 152, 11, 155, 18 sq., 170, 1; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Athār al-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 38, 25 = Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis loci* etc. (Bonn 1838), p. 57 sq., arabic text; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Bulṭān* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 375; al-Bākuwī, *Talkhīs al-Aḥḥār*, transl. by de Guignes, *Notices et Extraits des Manusc.*, ii. 405;

Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-'Adjā'ib* (Cairo 1324), p. 86, 19; Ibn Iyās, *Nashḥ al-Azhār* in Arnold, *Chrestom. Arab.* (Halle 1853), p. 72, 10; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 873^r (Kalah), 874^r (Kilah); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb* (ed. G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii/ii.) p. 203, 6, 231, 21; *Relations de Voyages et Textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, transl. G. Ferrand (Paris 1913/4), Index under *Kalah*. In the *Garshāsp-Nūma*, finished in 1066 and ascribed to Asadī, Kalah is mentioned in the description of an expedition by sea: see the passage in Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, i. (London 1819), p. 52, note; al-Djawālīqī, *al-Mu'arrab* (ed. Sachau), p. 125, 6 and thereon Sachau's note, p. 56 sq.; Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages*, etc. (see above), i. p. lxi. sq. and in *Géogr. d'Aboulfida* (transl. of Abū 'l-Fidā's *Taḳwīm*), i. p. CDXIV, CDXVIII sq.; Quatremère in *Journal des Savants* (Paris 1846), p. 729—731; Dulauiet in *Journ. Asiat.*, 4th series, viii. 209; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words*² (London 1903), p. 145 sq. A thorough examination of the Kalah problem is given by A. v. d. Lith in the notes to his edition of the *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind*, p. 256—64 (258: extracts from Ibn Sa'īd and al-Nuwairī), 279 (passage from the *Muḥḥaṣṣar al-'Adjā'ib*, 308; G. Ferrand in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 11th series, xii. (1918), p. 89, 109; xiii. (1919), p. 312, 438 note 2, 439 sq. and xiv. (1919), p. 214—233, also vol. 1923, p. 31. (M. STRECK)

ḲALĀ'-I SEFID. See *ḲALĒ-I-SEFID*.

ḲALĀ'-I SULTĀNIYE. See *ḲALĒ-I-SULTĀNIYE*.

KALĀM ("speech") is defined by the grammarians as such utterance (*lafz*) with the voice as is compound (*murakkab*), not single words, and which conveys a meaning by convention, not nature (*wad'*, not *ṭab'*, as in exclamations; *ḥésic* not *ḥúsic*). So the *Adjurrāmiya*; the *Mufaṣṣal* (§ 1) says it must be a complete sentence, however simple, and Ibn 'Aqīl (*Sharḥ al-Alfiya*) distinguishes in detail between it and *kalim* (a compound of three or more words, not necessarily giving a complete sense) and *kalima* (a single word with a meaning by convention) and *ḳawḥ* which covers them all. The *Dict. of the Techn. Terms* (pp. 1268—1270) gives a thoroughly scholastic discussion of *kalām* and its parts, phonetically, grammatically, lexicographically, rhetorically. See, also, De Sacy in *Anthol. Gramm.*, Arabic text, pp. 73 and 93 and notes. In lexicography *kalām* is a generic noun for speech, little or much (al-Djāwharī in *Ṣaḥāḥ* and *Lisān*, xv. 428), applying to every kind of talk, *li-kullī mā yutakallamu bihi* (Ibn 'Aqīl), or an expression for successive sounds (*aṣwāt*) giving an intelligible meaning (al-Fayyūmī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*). This is the actual usage of the root in the language. Thus *bi-kalāmī*, said by Allāh to Mūsā (Ḳur. vii. 141) is paraphrased by al-Baidāwī (ed. Fleischer, i. 343 *infra*) *bi-taklīmī iyāka*, "by my speaking to thee", and on Ḳur. xlviii. 15, al-Baidāwī says that *kalām* is an *ism* for *taklīm* (ii. 268, 10). In the remaining two occurrences, *kalām Allāh*, Ḳur. ii. 70, is ambiguous and may mean either Allāh's actual speaking to Mūsā or the Law, while in Ḳur. ix. 6, it seems to mean clearly the content of Islām. The 2nd stem of the verb is used fre-

quently in the Qur'ān in the sense "to speak to" some one with the accus. of the person addressed (al-Ash'arī *al-Ibāna*, ed. Haidarābād, p. 27, says that *taklim* means *al-mushāfaha bil-kalām*) and the 5th stem occurs four times (xi. 107, xxiv. 15, xxx. 34, lxxviii. 38) in the neuter sense "to speak, talk, discuss" with a *bi* of the subject discussed; in xxiv. 15 appears a shade of contemptuous reference, mere "talking with the mouth" (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 486a). In the later development *kalām* came to mean the statement of an intellectual position or an argument upholding such a statement, and a *mutakallim* was a person making use of such *kalām*'s; so *passim* in the *Fihrist*. By al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, Paris ed., viii. 161) *takallam* is used of the "patter" of a public story-teller and mimic by the roadside.

II. The first technical use of *kalām* seems to have been in the phrase *kalām Allāh*, meaning either the Qur'ān or Allāh's quality (*ṣifa*) called Speech. For these applications the way was prepared in the Qur'ān passages already quoted. But the order in which they came and the influences which produced them are still, like all the beginnings of Muslim theology, exceedingly obscure, and we are not yet in a position, in spite of Horten's collection of materials in *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam* (Bonn 1912) even to sketch their development. It seems clear that the Muslim thinkers were affected (i) broadly by the conceptions, classifications and dialectic of Greek philosophy; (ii) much more minutely by personal intercourse and discussion with the theologians of the Oriental Christian Church and (iii), perhaps, by some ideas of the Indian philosophical schools. The last influence has been suggested tentatively by Horten, especially at several points in his *Systeme*; but he has not supported it by any detailed references or translations from Indian literature; it remains, therefore, a bare, although very possible suggestion; cf. further on it Massignon's review in *Der Islam*, iii. 408. The idea of representing the problem of the personality of Allāh as a combination of a *dhāt* or essence with *ṣifāt*, or "qualities", seems partly due to the methods of Greek theories of personality, partly to the Qur'ānic rhetoric which, following the fashion of the old poetry, describes Allāh by means of epithets, and partly to Christian explanations of the relation of the persons in the Trinity. The problem, however, remained of the relation between these qualities and the essence, and was eventually given up by orthodox Islām which took refuge in the statement, "they are not He (i. e. Allāh himself), nor are they other than He"; this was an admission that the relationship was a theological mystery, ungraspable by human thought. These qualities, further, were uncreated and eternal; the personality of Allāh was unthinkable without them. But rationalistic Islām, later the Mu'tazilites could not admit such a mystery and tended to reject the qualities as having necessary relationship to the essence. In these discussions the quality "Speech" was evidently prominent, and on it the influence of the Christian theologians was peculiarly felt. It is never represented by an epithet in the Qur'ān, i. e. Allāh is never a Speaker, *mutakallim* or *kalim*, although the later theologians used *mutakallim* frequently of him, and there is only one certain use of *kalām* for

the actual Speech of Allāh (Qur. vii. 141); but Allāh is represented again and again by means of verbs as "speaking", and al-Ash'arī (*al-Ibāna*, p. 23 sqq.) quotes over ten passages, using different expressions, as bases for the doctrine that both the Speech of Allāh, as a quality inherent in Him, and the Qur'ān as a manifestation of that quality are uncreated. These passages, it may be said, give distinctly the impression that the doctrine was historically reached through other means, or arose by other causes, and that these proof-texts were then sought as a Qur'ānic basis. The rationalistic theologians, on the other hand, denied the possibility of a material, yet uncreated, manifestation of the eternal quality of Speech. Thus when Allāh spoke to Mūsā (Qur. iv. 162; vii. 139 sqq.; xx. 8 sqq.; xxviii. 30) from the tree (*shaj'ara*) they held that the sound of the words was created in the tree as a *maḥall*, and was therefore a state (*ḥāl*) in it (cf. Goldziher on Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī in *Der Islam*, iii. 245 sqq.). This the later Ash'arites met by explaining that Mūsā did not hear this Speech as an ordinary act of hearing, but spiritually and as coming from every direction and perceived by every one of his organs. It was thus received in his sensorium by the *ḥiss al-mushṭarak*, the Aristotelian "common sense" (al-Baidāwī on Qur. vii. 139, xx. 12; ed. Fleischer, i. 343, 9, 593, 1). Further, it was recognized at least as early as al-Ash'arī (*al-Ibāna*, p. 25) that this Speech must go on without ceasing, for the quality is perfect and silence would be an imperfection in it. The Qur'ān (xviii. 109; xxxi. 26) and traditions (*al-Ibāna*, p. 25) speak also in violent metaphors of the *kalimāt*, separate words of Allāh, as being numberless; from all eternity Allāh has been speaking. But al-Ash'arī protests (*op. cit.*, p. 41) against the application of the term *lafz*, verbal utterance, to the Qur'ān; that is not seemly even in the case of our recital of it. Similarly the *Lisān* (xv. 427, 17) says that you must not call the Qur'ān *ḥawṣ al-Allāh*. Al-Ash'arī does not seem himself to have reached the position of the later Ash'arites that the Speech of Allāh is thinking, at least "ideas in the mind", *kalām* or *ḥadīth nafsī*, and therefore can go on without letters or words. Al-Ash'arī's desire was only to protect the Qur'ān arbitrarily from any approximation to the transitory and created, and he had not thought out what his position meant. The numberless *kalimāt* of Allāh are still speech but not like our utterance with the mouth. In part they are His creative acts, as He creates by the single word, *kun*, "come into being!" See further under KALĪMA.

For the later orthodox theologians the proof of the *kalām* of Allāh was simplified down to an *idjmā'* [q. v.] of all peoples that Allāh has spoken to the prophets and must therefore be a speaker, possess a quality of Speech; see, e. g. al-Taftāzānī's comm. on the *ʿAḳā'id* of al-Nasafī, Cairo 1321, p. 75 sq. Its nature has been indicated above. But the relation of this quality to the *kalām Allāh* of the Qur'ān was still to be defined. The Ḥanbalites continued to avoid any closer definition as al-Ash'arī had done; it was the uncreated, eternal Speech of Allāh, and that was an end of it. Some even tried to transfer its uncreated character to the very material on which it was written. For the Mu'tazilites it was simply created, like the words which reached the ears of Mūsā. The Mā-

turidites followed their normal method in dealing with theological mysteries, of putting the two elements flatly side by side and attempting no solution. Al-Nasafi ('*Akādīd*, p. 79) says: "The Qur'ān, the Speech of Allāh, is created and it is written in our copies, preserved in our hearts, recited by our tongues and heard by our ears. Yet it does not reside (*ḥall*) in these". Al-Taftāzānī, as an Ash'arite, suggests as an explanation that the word "fire" written on a piece of paper does not have in it the burning quality of fire and consume the paper.

The later Ash'arite view of this relation may be given in the words of al-Fadālī (d. 1236 = 1820; see AL-FADĀLĪ) in his *Kifāya* (ed. 1315 with al-Baidjūrī's comm., p. 50). "These Glorious Expressions [the words of the Qur'ān] are not a guide to the eternal quality in the sense that the eternal quality can be understood from them. But what is understood from the expressions equals (*musāwī*) what would be understood from the eternal quality if the veil were removed from us and we were to hear it"; apparently the distinction between *ḡusūbiyas* and *ḡusūbiyas*. Thus the wording of the Qur'ān is created, and al-Fadālī has even a shade of doubt whether that wording goes back to the Preserved Tablet, that is to Allāh, or is due to Djibrīl or even to Muḥammad. Similarly Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.] reports (*Milal*, ed. Cairo, 1317, p. 211 *infra*) that this was the Ash'arite doctrine even in his time and especially of al-Bākillānī [q. v.] and that their formula was that the Qur'ān was the *kalām* of Allāh only in the sense that it was an 'ibāra, an "expression" for the *kalām* of Allāh. Similarly in al-Fikh al-Akbar, ascribed to Abū Ḥanifa (d. 150) with a comm. by al-Maturidī (d. 333), the word for this relation is already 'ibāra and also *ḥikāya*, "reproduction" (Ḥaidarābād 1321, p. 23). There is a very complete analytical and objective, but not historical, statement of the different positions in the *Mawāḥif* of al-Idjī with comm. of al-Djurdjānī, Bulāḡ 1266, p. 495.

In this the influence of Christian theologians seems plain. The parallel between the uncreated but creating Logos, the reason and word of God, with its earthly manifestation in Jesus and this *kalām*, as eternal quality, as creative agency and as revelation in time is very close. The position of the Ash'arite school that the quality is practically the thinking of Allāh, although they carefully guard against confusion with our "thoughts" which originate in time (al-Fadālī, p. 52) suggests the rational side of the Logos, the Hebrew *דבור*, the divine *σοφία*. But it is not allowable to ascribe 'aql, *νοῦς*, to Allāh because of philosophical and etymological implications; cf. *Mawāḥif*, ed. Cairo, p. 541, ed. Sörensen, p. 161, 'AQL, and al-Baidjūrī on Kur. ii. 41, ed. Fleischer, i. 57, 13. The Christian theologians naturally translated their Syriac *mellēthā*, ὁ λόγος, with al-*kalām*. On Christian influence in Muslim theology see further in Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Kurra* and the various articles cited by Horten in his *Philos. Systeme*, p. 626; especially C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik u. islamische Dogmenbildung in Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xxvi. 175 *sqq.*

III. It is not an overhazardous conjecture that similar influence worked in developing the use of *kalām* = theology and of *mutakallim* = theologian. The Syriac *mallel* (= *takallama*) and its deriva-

tives were parallel to λέγω and λόγος on both sides of their meanings of reason and speech. Thus *mamallēl allāhāyāthā* meant θεολόγος and *mellila*, λογικός. Starting, therefore, with *kalām* = speech, the development was easy to intellectual argument, especially as applied to theology. How much in the dark Muslims were on the origin of this use is evident from the eight explanations which al-Taftāzānī gives (comm. on al-Nasafi, p. 10 *sqq.*): (i) Theologians begin, "The *kalām* (statement, argument) on such and such a doctrine is ..." (ii) Deals most with doctrine of Speech of Allāh. (iii) Gives same weight to Speech in theology as philosophers give to *manṭiq*, logic. (iv) Most essential of sciences taught by speech. (v) Speech between opponents necessary to it rather than consideration or reading. (vi) The most disputations of the sciences taught by speech. (vii) For its weightiness it is the "statement" as opposed to other sciences. (viii) The cutting, impressive science from *kalm* = *djarh*. Ibn Khaldūn, (see below) gives only two explanations: (i) That the science deals with speech only and not action ('amal). (ii) The same as (ii) above; cf. further Haarbrücker's translation of al-Shahrastānī's *Milal*, i. 26, and remarks, ii. 388—393.

But *kalām* came only slowly to be the name for theology. At first, *fikh*, "intelligence", was used for the whole speculative side of theology and canon law, as opposed to 'ilm for the traditional side [see *FIKH*]. Then theology came to be called "the greater *fikh*", al-Fikh al-Akbar, as in the book ascribed to Abū Ḥanifa and al-Maturidī, referred to above. There, p. 6, it is said, "al-fikh *fī'l-dīn afḍal min al-fikh fī'l-'ilm*", which would have been expressed later, "*kalām* is more excellent than *fikh*". *Kalām*, in that book, is not used technically except for the Speech of Allāh, *ḡawī* generally taking its place; in the *Ibāna* of al-Ash'arī [q. v.] *kalām* occurs, similarly, only in titles to sections. But in the *Fihrist* (c. 377—400) *kalām* is used normally in the sense of "statement" and also technically, with *takallam* and *mutakallim*, of theology; while *fikh* is used, as regularly thereafter, of canon law. But there followed speedily a further development: 'Ilm al-Kalām came to mean not simply theology, but scholastic theology of an atomistic type, going back most strangely to Democritus and Epicurus, and a *mutakallim* came to mean a theologian, first Mu'tazilite and later orthodox, behind whose theology lay the atomistic system which was Islām's most original contribution to philosophy. The importance of this conception of the matter of the universe, as being of a grained structure and not infinitely divisible and continuous can hardly be over-emphasized. In Europe, until the xviith century, it was eclipsed by the authority of Aristotle; but it re-appeared then, first in a qualitative form (Boyle and Newton) and later quantitative (John Dalton). It would be curious to contrast the experimental researches of these with the a priori speculations of Islām. A *mutakallim*, then, was thus distinguished, although calling himself an Ash'arite, from the Hanbalite conservative traditionalists among whom al-Ash'arī had reckoned himself, from the mystics who found their basis in religious experience (*ma'rifa*; *khaṭarāt* and *wasāwīs* in *Fihrist*, p. 183, 12) rather than in 'ilm and dialectic, and from the philosophers (*ḥukamā*) who based upon a blend of

Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy; although all these might profess to hold the same doctrines of the Sunni faith. This leaves out of account, of course, the Shī'ite system, a structure of Mu'tazilite rationalism erected on the doctrine of *al-'ilm*, i. e. that the ultimate basis of our knowledge is not reason but authoritative instruction by an inerrant guide, always in the world, whom man must seek and obey (cf. e. g. al-Ghazālī's *Munqidh*, ed. 1203, pp. 21 sqq. and Goldziher's *Streitschrift des Gualt gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, passim) and the pantheistic side of Sūfism which is not really Muslim at all, except in vocabulary and imagery.

It is a great misfortune that the beginning of the *reḥ* *Makalat* of the *Fihrist*, which deals with Kalām in this sense, is lost, and with it the account of the origin of this science, and that the first *fann*, especially, has reached us in so hopelessly a condition (Houtama, in *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. 217—235, essentially supplementing Flügel's ed.). Yet it is clear that the author divided the *mutakallim*'s of his day (end of ivth cent. of H.) into five: (i) Mu'tazilites; (ii) Shī'ites, both Imāmites and Zaidites; (iii) Predestinarians and Anthropomorphists; (iv) Kharijites; (v) ascetic Sūfis. This arrangement may be due to the Shī'ism and, therefore, Mu'tazilism of the author; but the Mu'tazilites were certainly the first *mutakallim*'s. He places al-Ash'ari in the third class and has evidently no idea of the importance of his school — he seems to have been a joke (p. 181, 16); yet he died c. 330. Nor is there any mention of al-Māturīdī who had died 333. Al-Bakillānī died 403, four years after the last date in our MSS of the *Fihrist* (Flügel's preface, p. xii). Certainly the author of the *Fihrist* grievously misread the future, for in his third class lay orthodox Sunni Islām. Of his fourth class only the Hāshītes [q. v.] continued to have any importance. Nor does he show any idea of the speculative possibilities in his fifth class.

We cannot, as yet, write a connected history of the atomic theory of Islām, the essential *differentia* of the system of the *mutakallim*'s, and it may never be possible. We have only references to and short quotations from the earlier disputants upon that system. Even the extant writings of al-Ash'ari do not give us any help, and we have, so far, none of al-Bakillānī's writings, which probably would. Fortunately Horten has gathered up and unangled, with great diligence, in his *Philosophische Systeme* the later references and quotations, and from these it would appear that the Mu'tazilite Abū 'l-Hudhail al-'Alīf (d. 235 or 226; cf. Abū 'l-Hudhail and Horten, pp. 246 sqq.) was the founder of the atomic school and was opposed in it by two other Mu'tazilites, Hishām b. al-Hakam (d. 231 (?); cf. Hishām and Horten, pp. 170 sqq.) and al-Nazzām (d. 230; Horten, pp. 189 sqq.). It thus arose among the Mu'tazilites, however it may have reached them; but we cannot be sure to what extent their system was exactly that which lies behind all the reasonings of the later *mutakallim*'s. It is unnecessary to describe the system here, as it has already been given under ALLĀH, i. 307 sqq. It may, however, be worth while to give the following references to Horten where he deals especially with it, pp. 22 sqq., 42 sqq., 178, 191, 246 sqq., 263 sqq., 526, 551. Pp. 195, 235, 236 make it plain that the division of time into atoms, which

could not be further divided, i. e., that time is not endlessly divisible, goes back to Zeno's paradox of Achilles and the tortoise; it was a solution of that paradox and made motion possible; cf. William James, *A Pluralistic Universe*, p. 228—231. Ibn Hāzim in his *Milāl*, because of his very hostility, has given us particularly full accounts, e. g. v. 92 sqq. But in the nature of the case it is not probable that the earlier disputants put their discussions into permanent written form, and still less permitted copies to be freely made and spread abroad. We have the classic case of al-Djunaid (d. 297 = 909), a very great theologian and ascetic Sūfi, on whom no shadow of real suspicion of heresy ever fell, but who openly said that the seeker of the divine Reality might expect to be called a heretic (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 175; see, further, al-Kushairī, *Risāla*, Būlāq 1290, pp. 139 sqq. and Djunaid, above, i. 1063). When he discussed questions of *tawhid*, that is the doctrine of the person of Allāh, with his students, it was behind closed doors. We can hardly imagine that these discussions were concerned with such questions as are in al-Ghazālī's *al-Risāla al-Kudsiya* or *al-Iḥṣāḍ*, or even al-Taftazānī on al-Nasafī; they must have cut much deeper and have been like those which Ibn Hāzim has exposed to us with malicious indignation, dragging those Godless *mutakallim*'s from behind their closed doors. In reply the *mutakallim*'s would have protested that he was not playing the game and did not understand their object. The Mu'tazilites preceded the orthodox theologians in open publication. We still have the *Masā'il* of Abū Raschid, a Mu'tazilite, who wrote about 400 (1009) (Horten, *Philosophie des Abu Raschid*; Arthur Biran, *Atomistische Substanzlehre*). Al-Ghazālī, at a somewhat later day, actually did put such discussions into writing in his two *al-Maḡnūn*; but it was on the basis of Neoplatonic philosophy and not of atomism (see below).

In the *Muḥaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 = 1406) we get another view of this development, about four centuries later than the *Fihrist* (Quatremère's ed., iii. 27—43; Būlāq, 1274, pp. 223—228; trans. De Slane, iii. 40—64). In Quatremère's text (pp. 44—59; trans. De Slane, pp. 64—85) there follows a section on the *mutaḥabib* passages in the *Kur'ān* which is not found in some of the MSS., nor in the Būlāq editions. Ibn Khaldūn evidently added it later from a perception (i) that his view of these passages was essential to his general position and (ii) that he had not dealt fully enough with some of the theological matters of controversy. He traced, in fact, the origin, in great part, of the science of Kalām, viewed as defensive scholasticism, to these ambiguous and obscure passages; it sprang, thus, more from exegetical than from philosophical pressure. There is certainly truth in this; but it seems also certain that the early Muslim theologians, under the influence of outside ideas which were pressing in upon them, made use of the obscure verses to secure a possible footing in Islām for these outside ideas. In this they were greatly aided by Muhammad's own confused thinking, and also by a certain largeness of conception and width and freedom of ideas which belonged to his greatness; he had not been a metaphysician; but a keen psychologist. But it is especially characteristic of Ibn Khaldūn's position, and in striking contrast to his otherwise

openmindedness and genuinely scientific spirit, that he rejected all *ta'wīl*, or elucidation, of these passages as absolutely as Ahmad b. Ḥanbal or al-Ash'arī themselves. He interpreted *Ḳur.* iii. 5 (cf. al-Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 146, r) as meaning that only Allāh knew their meaning and that man should abstain from useless speculation. He thus secured a method of practically throwing out all the passages of the *Ḳur'ān* which did not suit his view of the universe, e. g. those speaking of the *djinn* [q. v.], and also, which was worse, set up a limit to man's investigation of the world.

Kalām having thus arisen from these difficulties, or impossibilities, of exegesis, the different sects developed according as the anthropomorphic *Ḳur'ānic* expressions bearing on the essence (*dhāt*) of Allāh or on his qualities (*ṣifāt*) were treated literally (*tashbīḥ*, *taḍṣīm*) or as having a meaning different in his case from the literal and unknown to us (*tanzīḥ*) or according as *tanzīḥ* was applied also to the other descriptives of Allāh, the meanings of which were quite plain and possible in the literal sense because they all expressed ideas apart from the concrete. This last was the position of the Mu'tazilites, between whom and the first sect, the anthropomorphists, stood the sect which professed to follow the doctrine of "the Fathers" (*al-salaf*). So the orthodox party was driven to the use of rational proofs (*adilla 'akliya*) and there arose al-Ash'arī who combined *'aql* and *naql*, denied *tashbīḥ*, establishing "the qualities consisting of ideas" (knowledge, power, will, life), and limited *tanzīḥ* as the *salaf* had done. He also established "hearing" and "sight" and "the speech which exists in the mind" (*al-ḥā'im bil-nafs*). He also discussed (*takallama*) with the Mu'tazilites their ethical position (*aṣṣaḥ*, *taḥṣīn*, *taḥbīḥ*) and eschatology and future rewards and punishments. He discussed with the Imāmiya the principle of government, and demonstrated that it was not a part of the Faith, but a convenience upon which the people had agreed. With all this compare and contrast Goldziher in *Vorlesungen*, pp. 119 sqq. The next great name given is that of al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403) [q. v.]. He reduced the whole to a system and established the intellectual basis and arranged the arguments. Thus he established the atom (*al-djawhar al-fard*) and the void (*al-khālā'*) — it is to be noticed that *djawhar* with the Aristotelian Neoplatonists means "substance" in the philosophical sense, and that *al-khālā'* is exactly the Lucretian *inane*; that an accident (*'araḍ*) cannot subsist in an accident and that it cannot continue through two atoms of time (see also, Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, p. 114; De Slane, p. 157). So he made these principles only secondary in importance to the articles of the Faith, because he held that the nullity of an argument meant logically the nullity of the thing which it proved, and the converse. These principles were arguments for the Faith; the Faith was true, therefore these principles must be true. It is evident that formal logic was not the strong point of those who built up this system, however ingenious it might be; and that Ibn Khaldūn remarks. And it is further evident that with al-Bāḳillānī the historical value of Ibn Khaldūn's outline begins. He makes no mention of Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.], a theological free lance, who died in 456; but he gives the titles of two of the books of the Imām al-Ḥaramain (al-Djuwainī, q. v., d. 478), a teacher of

al-Ghazālī, apparently because of his reputation although no distinctive development is attached to his name. Immediately after him the science of formal logic was taken up by the theologians who had discovered that it was only a tool for thinking and not a part of philosophy. But this led to an examination of their foundations and to the rejection of a great part of them; so that they no longer argued, as al-Bāḳillānī had done, from the nullity of the proof to the nullity of the thing proven. Their new proofs were derived, to a considerable extent, from the physics and metaphysics of the philosophers, and thus they entered upon a new method which was called *ḥarīkat al-muta'akḥḥirīn*; yet they also introduced into it a considerable amount of opposition to the philosophical positions because these seemed to be the same as their own earlier heresies. Leaders in this new school were al-Ghazālī (d. 505) and al-Rāzī (d. 606; see on him especially Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iii. 213—247) and to their books Ibn Khaldūn would still send the student of theology who wished guidance in his criticism of the philosophers, although there was in them some amount of opposition to the older method. It is to be remembered, too, that al-Rāzī was a systematic user of *ta'wīl* (Goldziher, p. 227) of which Ibn Khaldūn disapproved. But such students as wished simply to follow the path of the *salaf* in theology should take the old method of the *mutakallim's* — only there could true *'ilm al-kalām* be found — and especially should study the *Irshā'a* of the Imām al-Ḥaramain. This apparently means that with al-Ghazālī there came a sharp abandonment of the method of the atomists and a going to school instead with the Aristotelian Neoplatonists. Such, too, is certainly the evidence of al-Ghazālī's writings. After al-Ghazālī and al-Rāzī came still deeper confusion between theology and philosophy, until the subject matter of the two was regarded as one. Yet the *mutakallim's* had distinguished sharply the physics and metaphysics of the philosophers from their own theocentric position, using an intellectualist system in defence of dogmas laid down by divine authority. He gives as an example of this confusion the *Ṭawālī'* of al-Baidāwī (d. 685 = 1286) and every user of al-Baidāwī's *Ḳur'ān* commentary will recognize what he means. The learned of Persia (al-'Adjam) who followed al-Baidāwī had used the same method in all their works. Of the kind of *Kalām* that was left in his own day Ibn Khaldūn had no good opinion; its ambiguities (*iḥāmāt*) and generalities (*iṭlāḳāt*) were a profanation of the Creator rather than a defense. And no *Kalām* was longer needed; it had been a defense against the Muḥida and the Muṭadi'a and they were extinct. But it was rather disgraceful for one who knew the Sunna by heart not to be able to give a reason for the faith that was in him.

Yet *Kalām* had still a long course to run, and the commentary of al-Baidjūrī on the short treatise of al-Faḍālī, already referred to, gives a good idea of the development of the system of the *mutakallim's*. Text and comment are quite modern — al-Faḍālī died in A. D. 1821 and al-Baidjūrī in A. D. 1844; they are finished scholasticism and the title, *Kifāyat al-'Awāmīn fī 'Ilm al-Kalām*, "The Sufficiency of the Commonality in the Science of *Kalām*", with reiterated statements in the text that only so much is given as is necessary for sal-

vation, shows a purely intellectual view of religion. The commentary is based throughout on atomistic reasonings; the physics and the metaphysics are atomic. The text suggests an intentional counterblast to the treatise of al-Ghazālī with a similar title, *Ilājām al-'Awānīm 'an 'Ilm al-Kalām*, "Reining back of the Commonalty from the Science of Kalām", yet the intention is nowhere expressed. In it al-Ghazālī had denounced the corrupting of the simple faith of the multitude with intellectualist arguments and had advocated very subtly what we would now call psychological methods — startlingly, for modern ideas, backed by the secular arm of the state. But al-Ghazālī had opposed the *mutakallīm* system and method from the beginning. On the one hand he knew, as a fact of psychology, that being convinced against one's will left one of the same opinion, and on the other, he did not approve of atomism as philosophy. He appears to make no specific reference to it in his works, and where he does give an abstract of the theology, as a formal science (e. g. in *al-Risāla al-Ḥudsiya*, and in *al-Iḥisād*) he stops short of absolutely philosophical bottoming. That, for him, was intellectually impossible; but such an outline of concatenated dogmatics, as in the two books mentioned, was justifiable (*Arba'in*, pp. 25 sqq., ed. 1328). The only real philosophy for him was, apparently, the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic amalgam, and with it he had dealt in his books which have reached us in a sceptical but respectful spirit. Probably following the economy of teaching, which he himself professed, and which he and all Islām practised, he dealt thoroughly and destructively in other books with the atomic system, and this may explain the mysterious allusions which have been called "the secret" of al-Ghazālī (e. g. W. H. T. Gairdner on the *Mishkāt* in *Der Islam*, v. 121—153). For his attitude towards the *mutakallīm*'s see further AL-GHAZĀLĪ, above, ii. 147 sq., *al-Munqidh*, pp. 8 sqq., and *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, Cairo 1322, 47 sqq.

It is significant that reform movements in Islām at the present time seem to have cut loose from the atomic philosophy, and to have gone back for leadership to Ibn Sīnā [q. v.], Ibn Rushd [q. v.] and the Aristotelians generally. Djamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī (see above, I, 1008 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905—1906*, Cambridge 1910, Chap. i.; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, pp. 322 sqq.) and his friend and pupil Muḥammad 'Abdu were the protagonists of this renaissance and continued the long interrupted method of al-Ghazālī, even on the side of the economy of teaching. The atomic system had crystallized and had become identified with the stiffest orthodoxy. In its origin, also, it had been, even with the Muṭazilites, a weapon for the defence of accepted views and not an instrument of free investigation. Modern Islām, therefore, could have nothing to do with it, although it is possible that modern western atomic speculation may galvanize it into a semblance of life just as microbes have been used to defend the Qur'ānic doctrine of the *djinn* (Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, p. 356). Yet it should never be forgotten that this theory is the most original contribution which Muslim thinkers have made to the history of philosophy.

Bibliography: It has mostly been given above, and almost all the bibliography under

ALLĀH applies. There may be added: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1910) *passim*, but especially Chap. iii.; the same, *Islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters in Kultur des Gegenwart*, i. 5, pp. 302 sqq.; T. J. De Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* (Stuttgart, 1901), pp. 56 sqq.; Maimonides, *Le Guide des Égarés*, ed. and trans. by S. Munk (Paris, 1856—66); S. Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griech. Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau 1909 (*Jahres-Ber. des jüd.-theol. Sem. Fraenckel'scher Stiftung*, 1909); K. Lasswitz, *Geschichte der Atomistik*, Hamburg—Leipzig 1890, i. 143—152 (not seen by me).

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

KĀLAM (κάλαμος, reed) the reed-pen used for writing in the Arabic character. It is a tube of reed cut between two knots, cut obliquely (or concave) at the thicker end, having the point slit, as with us for the quill and later for the steel pen. It has to be very firm so that it does not wear away too quickly; the best kind comes from Wāsiṭ and grows in the marshes (*baṭā'ih*) of the 'Irāk. It is allowed to steep like hemp and is kept in the water until its skin has taken on a beautiful dark brown colour. Its fibres should be quite straight so that the slit may also be even. To make the slit the slanted end of the *kalam* is laid on a long flat piece of ivory or bone, which is specially used for this purpose and is called *mikāṭṭa* (Turk. *mikṭa'*); the point is then slit with a sharp backward cut with a special very sharp knife with a long handle (penknife, Turkish *kalamtırāsh*).

The part of the point to the left of the incision is called *insī* ("human"), because turned towards the writer and the right *waḥshī* "savage". If the former is slightly softer than the latter so much the better. It has been made a rule that in the kinds of writing called *naskh*, *thuluth* and *riḳā'* the *waḥshī* side ought to be twice as broad as the *insī* side; in the kinds called *diwānī* and *ḥirma*, it is the other way about. The *nasta'liq* is written with a pen slit exactly down the centre.

To protect the *kalam* from damage it is kept in a holder (*miklāma*). These are of two kinds: 1) a metal box in the form of a long flat tube closed at one end by a lid with hinges and often adorned with arabesques. Attached to it is an inkwell (*dawāt*, popularly *dawāya*). This kind is peculiar to the Arabs. In Osmanli Turkish it is called *diwīt* (from Ar. *dawāt*); at an earlier period it was also called *kubūr* (strictly plur. of *ḥabr* "grave") by the Ottoman Turks, a word which is found as early as Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo 1302, p. 17) with the meaning of "holder", "case"; 2) a papier-mâché box adorned with lacquerwork. In it is a drawer which also holds an inkwell. This kind is used particularly in Persia and is called *kalamdār* "pen-box".

Sūra lxviii. of the Qur'ān (*Sūrat Nūn*) is sometimes called *Sūrat al-Kalam* from its opening: "N. — By the pen and what they write," According to the traditions quoted by al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsir*, Būlāk 1323—30, xxix. 107) the *kalam* was the first thing created by God so that he could write down events to come; two explanations have been given of this *kalam*: 1) the implement used for writing, a divine gift like the

latter; 2) a kalam of light, as long as the distance from heaven to earth, which wrote down all things that are to happen until the last judgment (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafāṭīḥ al-Ghaib*, Cairo 1278, vi. 330; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makḍisī, *Kitāb al-baḍʿ wa ʿl-taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, i. text, 161 sq., transl. 149).

The kalam is the emblem or symbol of the administrative services as opposed to the *saif*, which marks the military officer. Ibn al-Wardī († 749 = 1349) wrote a *Mufaḥḥarat al-Saif wa ʿl-kalam* and Ibn Nubāta († 768 = 1366) a work with a similar title; Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad al-Dawānī († 907 = 1501), ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Umm al-Walad-Zāde († 920 = 1514) and Kīnālī-Zāde († 979 = 1572) each wrote a *Risāla Kalamiya* on the same subject (Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 140, 211, 430, 433).

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(CL. HUART)

KALANDAR, a Ṣufī religious order, founded by Kalandar Yūsuf [cf. KALANDARĪ], an Arab of Spain, contemporary with Ḥādīdī Bektāsh [q. v.], brought to Damiatta by the Shaikh Djamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī, a native of the town of Sāwa in Persia; he is buried in the Zāwiya which he had founded there. He shaved his beard and eyebrows, since by doing this he had escaped in an amorous adventure; all his pupils followed his example. This sect, however, must have its origin in an earlier period, for it appeared in Damascus towards the year 610 (1213); it attracted attention by a strange costume adopted from the Persians and Mazdeans, which orders from the authorities forced it to abandon. The Mamlūk Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, grandson of Kalāʾūn, in 761 (1360) forbade them to shave the beard. According to al-Makrīzī's account of them, they made it a rule to lay nothing aside and never to amass this world's goods; but in his time they did not wear coarse garments nor subject themselves to any mortification or any devotional exercises, saying it was sufficient for them that their hearts were at peace with God. They wanted nothing more; they made no effort to attain a degree of virtue more eminent than this state of peace at heart. To show their indifference as regards everything outside their ideal, they took the course of throwing off the restraint of all the laws of politeness usually observed in society. Their morals also were very loose. Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān of Hamadhān said: "I am the mystic gipsy called *kalandar*. I have neither fire, home nor monastery. By day I wander about the world, and at night I sleep with a brick under my head" (*Quatrains*, N^o. vi., *Journ. Asiat.*, Series viii., Vol. vi. 1885, p. 516). The description of the odd costumes which accompanies the French translation of Chalcocondylas by B. de Vigenère (Paris 1662) and which is taken from the *Navigations* of Nicolas de Nicolay (Lyons 1568) gives on p. 23 an engraving showing one of these Kalandar

dars wearing a kind of hair-shirt of wool and horse-hair coming barely down to the hips; he has his hair closely clipped, face clean shaven and on his head a felt hat surrounded by a fringe of horse-hair of the length of a hand. He wears rings in the ears, around the neck, on the wrists and under the pubis. He has no shoes; some of them used to walk quite naked in the streets. It is only fifty years ago that the Ottoman police finally succeeded in suppressing them. There was a convent of this order in Constantinople, founded in the reign of Muḥammad II with a mosque and a madrasa (Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire ottoman*, transl. by Hellert (Paris 1835—43), xviii. 110, 131. Sometimes they have been confused with the Malāmatiya [q. v.]; cf. especially A. Le Châtelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, p. 253 sqq.

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(CL. HUART)

KALANDARĪ, the reputed but mythical founder of the Kalandariya. According to all the information available regarding the early history of these dervishes, it is more than probable that we have not here to do with a body similar to the other dervish orders introduced from Eastern Persia, but rather with a kind of wandering monks, who followed in their mental and physical mode of life the ideal which al-Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), ii. 432 sq. attributes to them, a propos of his description of the Kalandarī monastery in Cairo (cf. thereon de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*², Paris 1826, i. 263—275). According to this and to descriptions which e. g. al-Suhrawardī (in Silvestre de Sacy in *Notices et Extraits des Mss. de la Bibl. du Roi*, xii. Paris 1831, p. 341) or Djamī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. W. Nassau Lees (Calcutta 1859) as well as Saʿdī himself (cf. *Gulistān*, transl. by K. H. Graf, *Moslicheddin Saʿdī's Rosengarten*, Leipzig 1846, p. 294 sq.) give of the Kalandar dervishes of the time, we have to deal with wandering dervishes, Malāmatī's (cf. al-Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 432; but on the other hand see the *Burhān-i Kāfi*^c under *Kalandar*, where a rigid distinction is made between *kalandar*, *malāmatī* and *ṣūfī*), without fixed abode and without fixed rules for their order and with an utter neglect of the laws of religion or of the forms of society. Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿl-Khair composed a quatrain on them, which gives an excellent picture of the real Kalandar of his time (cf. *Sitzungsber. der Kgl. Bayr. Akad. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1875, ii. 157; Ign. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 172; F. Babinger in *Der Islam*, xi. 1911, p. 66 sq.). What, then, is usually called the founder of a so-called order of kalandars, is apparently nothing more than some important

protagonist of these views. This is certainly true of Yūsuf, said to have been a Spanish Arab, who is often represented as the founder of the Ḳalandariya, as well as of Shaikh Djāmāl al-Dīn of Sāwa in Persia, who, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says (i. 61 sq.), settled in Damietta and ended his days there. The expression *Ḳudwa* in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa here obviously means nothing more than "pattern, model". The Ḳalandars seem to have originated in Central Asia and to have been strongly influenced by Indian ideas. According to al-Makrīzī (d. 1442), they came about 400 years before his time into Arab lands. About 610 (1213) the first of them appeared in Damascus (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 433). Here there died in 622 (1225; this, not 722 = 1322 is to be read in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 433) the Persian Shaikh Ḥasan of the Djawālīkī sect, who flourished under Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿAdil Ketbogha and founded a monastery of Ḳalandars not far from Cairo (Seryākūs = Kyriakos?). The Ḳalandaris may have been most numerous in Persia and the great bulk of them, still in the xviii century at least, seems to have been concentrated in Ardabil [q. v.], the stronghold of the Ṣafawiya (SAFAWIDS, q. v.; cf. Adam Olearius, *Persianische Reisebeschreibung*, op. cit., 1656, p. 685: the *Kalenderan*). In Anatolia also and even in Rumelia in the early Ottoman period down to the xvth century, they several times played a dangerous part by attacks on the authority of the state and serious risings (cf. F. Babinger in the *Islam*, xi. 14; Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, Sтамбул 1283, i. 1283). Even in the Salḡūḡ period similar risings seem to have been led by Ḳalandaris. There are also various indications of connections between Ḳalandaris and Bektaşhis.

ḲALANDARĪ has also become the name of a certain tune in Turkish.

Bibliography: cf., besides the works quoted above, also F. Babinger in *Der Islam*, xi. 94 and the references given here; also d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* (Paris 1697), p. 244; do. (Maestricht 1776), p. 224 s. v. *Calender*; Adam Olearius, *Persianischer Rosenthal*, Book viii. § 67; *Burhān-i Ḳāfī*, ed. Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1818), s. v.; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes* (London 1868), where the presumably not Persian origin of the word *kalender*, *ḳarendal* etc. is also discussed (cf. besides Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 340 also *Der Islam*, xi. 94, note). (FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲALANSUWA, ḲALANSIYA (A.), the name for a cap which was worn by men either under the turban proper or alone on the head. The word, from which verbal forms are derived as denominative verbs, is apparently of foreign origin; while it used to be commonly connected with the Latin *calantica*, for which, however, the form *calantica* is difficult to quote — and besides it means a head-cloth for women —, Fraenkel wishes to derive it through the Aramaic קליס (cf. Arabic *ḳālīs*, *ḳālis*, Dozy, *Supplément* ii., 395) from *κάλος* (*conus*). The Arab grammarians and lexicographers have found in the manifold formation of the broken plural and the diminutive a reason for using *ḳalansuwa* as a paradigm for substantives of more than three radicals with such peculiarities.

Caps of different shapes are called *ḳalansuwa*; varieties of the *ḳalansuwa* are *ṭurṭūr*, *burnus*, *urṣūṣa*, etc. While it is related of the companions of the Prophet that they wore tight-fitting *ḳalan-*

suwa's, later a long peaked sugar-cone shape, supported within by pieces of wood became fashionable, for which the name *ḳawila* is usual. It seems to have come from Persia (cf. the head-dresses in the Dura-Ṣālihiya first century paintings, in J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Precursors of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago 1924) for it was regarded by the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs as a noteworthy feature of Persian dress (Jacob, *Alt-arab. Beduinleben*², p. 237) and is said to have been first adopted in the reign of the first Umayyad by ʿAbbād b. Ziyād from the inhabitants of the city of Ḳandāhar, conquered by him (Yāḳūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 184). High, black *ḳalansuwa*'s were worn by the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs from al-Manṣūr to al-Mustaʿīn and by their viziers and ḳādis. The latter adhered longest to the *ḳalansuwa*, so that in the course of the third (ixth) century — also popularly known as *dannīya*, pot-hat, or *ḳawila* — it became their regular official headgear together with the neck-veil *tailasān* and at times was strictly forbidden to other classes of the community (al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 460, 586). — On the other hand criminals had a *ḳalansuwa* put on their heads when they were led through the streets. The *ḳalansuwa* was also worn among the Umayyads in Spain, where *muḳallas* meant a Muḫī wearing the *ḳālīs*. A headdress introduced by Timūr into his army was also known as *ḳalansuwa*.

The name *ḳalansuwa* appears several times in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa according to whom (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 378) the Ḳipčaks, for example, called their *ḳalansuwa*'s by the Persian name *kulāh*. Of the Futūwa [q. v.] societies in Asia Minor (*akhiyat al-fityān*) he says (ii. 264) that their members wore several *ḳalansuwa*'s above one another, a silk one on the head, above it a white woollen one, to the top of which was tied a strip of cloth 2 fingers broad and 1 ell long; at meetings only the woollen *ḳalansuwa* was taken off, the silk one remaining on the head. A similar pendant strip of cloth is also part of the dress of the Coptic priests of modern Egypt and is there called *ḳallūsa* or *ḳalaswa*; here the name appears to have been transferred from the cap itself to its most striking and therefore better known part.

At periods when, as in the second (viii) century, both Muslims and Christians wore *ḳalansuwa*'s, the latter had to tie two knots of another colour to it (Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1389); but when the *ḳalansuwa* went out of fashion with the Muslims in the third century, it remained the mark of the Christians. The word is therefore frequently found in Arab authors meaning the headdress worn by Christian monks and hermits, Greek priests and even the Pope himself. Through the Crusades the high cap with the veil seems to have found its way to Western Europe as a woman's dress.

The name *ḳalansuwa* was also given to other objects of similar shape: *ḳ. nuḥās* is the metal cap of the obelisk near Heliopolis (ʿAin Shams q. v.). *Ḳ. Turāb* in modern Arabic for a chemical sublimating vessel. *Ḳ. buḳrāṭ* is used by surgeons for a particular kind of head-bandage; *ḳālīs* (*ḳālis*) is the name of a plant, which seemed to represent a human head with a high cap. *Ḳalansuwa* was also the name of a fortress near al-Ramla in Palestine.

Bibliography: In addition to the usual dictionaries: — Dozy, *Dict. détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 365—371; do.

Supplément, ii. 395, 401; Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 53 sq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg 1922), p. 26, 45 sq., 130, 217, 348 sq., 367; Thorning, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis des islam. Vereinswesens (Türk. Bibl. xvi.)*, p. 215 sq. — Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth 1890), p. 71 sq. (supposes an influence of *Kalansuwa* on the French word *calotte*). (W. BJÖRKMAN)

KALĀNTAR (comparative from *kalān* "great") means at the present day in Persia the chief personage in a town, a kind of mayor, burgo-master, bailiff. This office is filled by election; the person elected has to be approved by the higher authority. The main duty of this official is to levy taxes.

Bibliography: Ridā Qulī Khān, *Ferheng-i Nāsirī*, s. v. *kalān*; Raphaël du Mans, *Etat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, p. 36; E. Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 421; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 455.

(CL. HUART)

KALĀT (KELĀT, KILĀT, KHELĀT). 1. The town of Kalāt is the capital of the Khānate and fort of the same name, the most important part of Balōčistān, and the residence of the Khān, its ruler. The word Kalāt or Kilāt represents the Arabic *ḥalāfa* or rather the Persian *kālāt* [cf. the art. KAL'Ā], which in India is usually pronounced *kila*. In Balōči *khlāt* is the common word for a fort. On coins we find both كلات and قلات (W. H. Valentine, *Copper Coins of India*, vol. ii. 1921, p. 223). It has been known in earlier times as Kalāt-i-Sēva (from a legendary Hindu king) and Kalāt-i-Nīčārī, which connects it with the Brahōi tribe of Nīčārī, which is generally accepted as belonging to the oldest branch of the indigenous Brahōis [s. BALŌČISTĀN, i. 627, 630]. The town was unknown to the early Arab historians under its present name. It is however possible that it may represent Kizkānān, which Arab geographers mention as the residence of the ruler of Kuṣḍār (al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. 176 ult. sq.; Ibn Ḥawqāl, *ib.*, ii. 232, 5 sq.). Its situation is in the modern district of Sarāwān, close to the boundary of Djahlāwān [q. v.]; thus it would have been included in the ancient province or kingdom of Tūrān, of which the capital was Kuṣḍār (now generally written Khozdār, in Djahlāwān). [In the *Shāhnāma* Kelāt belongs to Tūrān; cf. ed. Vullers ii. 794. — Ed.]

After the Balōč tribes had passed through the Brahōi country on their way to the Indus valley, in the xvth and xvth centuries, Kalāt remained in the hands of the Brahōis under a chief of the Kambarānī clan, from whom the line of Khāns is descended. Their power gradually extended during the Indian expeditions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.], whose suzerainty was admitted by the Khāns. The greatest of these, Naṣir Khān, endeavoured to shake off the Durrānī yoke. He was defeated by Aḥmad Shāh, but the latter, who besieged Kalāt in 1172 (1758), was unable to take it, and Naṣir Khān made favourable terms for himself. He built a strong fort (known as the Mīrī) and strengthened his position among the surrounding tribes. In 1834 Shāh Shudjā' al-Mulk took refuge in Kalāt with Mihrāb Khān after his failure to recover Qandahār. In 1838

through the intrigues of his followers Mihrāb Khān was embroiled with the British force advancing on Qandahār by the Bōlān Pass; Kalāt was taken by storm, and the Khān himself killed in the attack. Two years later the fort was taken by disaffected Brahōi tribes. The British Agent, Love-day, and the traveller Masson fell into their hands and the former was murdered. This led to a second British occupation for a time, but the Khāns were re-instated and remained practically independent for the next thirty years. Under the British protectorate, Kalāt remains the capital of the Khān's dominions. It is a small town situated in the high plateau 6780 ft. above the sea with a population of under 5000. The best descriptions of Kalāt are those of Pottinger, who visited it in 1810, and Masson (1831 and 1840).

2. The Khānate or State which takes its name from the town of Kalāt. This includes the provinces of Sarāwān, Djahlāwān, Kačchī and Makrān, and the tributary states of Las Bela and Khārān.

For details see under BALŌČISTĀN.

Bibliography: H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan* (London 1816); C. Masson, *Journeys in Baloochistan, Afghanistan etc.* (4 Vols. London 1844); H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris* (London 1874); T. H. Thornton, *Life of Sir R. Sandeman* (London 1895); R. I. Bruce, *The Forward Policy* (London 1900); J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr* (Berlin 1901), p. 275 *infra* sq.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 332, 333; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* (London 1902), p. 235—7; *Census Reports. Baloochistan for 1901 and 1911* (Bombay).

See also under BALŌČISTĀN.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KAL'AT BANĪ 'ABBĀS, a town in Algeria (department of Constantine) 24 miles N.E. of Burdj Bu 'Arraridj. Kal'a occupies at the height of 3,500 feet a natural fortress formed by a plateau surrounded on three sides by rugged and deep ravines, 1800 to 2000 feet high and joined to the adjoining country by a narrow tongue with precipices on either side. The town is divided into four quarters, which formerly were frequently fighting with one another and one of which is now almost in ruins. It is the most important centre of the tribe of Banū 'Abbās, whose territory lying between the Wādī Sāhel and the Madjāna contains about 24,000 souls. The town itself with an exclusively native population numbers 3000 inhabitants. The few patches of tilled land at the bottom of the ravines not sufficing to maintain the inhabitants, the latter have for long had to devote themselves to industry. They used to make woollen burnuses in large numbers, which they sold in Algeria and Tunisia. At the present day many of them emigrate and follow the trade of embroidering burnuses in the towns of the Tell.

Kal'a was founded in the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. by the marabout Sidi 'Abd al-Rahmān, a descendant, according to some, of the Idrisids, according to others, of the Hammādid. He established a zāwiya on the rock of Kal'a and put himself at the head of the Banū 'Abbās, who had risen against the Zwāwa, to whom they had hitherto been subject. His son Aḥmad built a *ḥaṣba*, proclaimed himself Sultān and extended his authority over the country between the Hodna and

the sea (the "kingdom of Labès" of Marmol). 'Abd al-'Azīz, his successor, further increased his power with the support of the Turks, whom he assisted against the Kabyls of Kuku and supported in their expeditions against the Moroccans and the people of Tuggūrt and Wārgla. The rupture of this alliance in 1552 brought about wars between the Turks and the Banū 'Abbās, which lasted down to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Besieged several times, during this period, Ḳal'a could never be taken. After the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz, killed in defending his capital, power was exercised by his brother, Amokrān. The latter extended his territory as far as the Sahara, repelled several Turkish attacks and fell fighting them in 1600. His son Sidi Nāṣir, a man of the *Zāwiya* rather than the battlefield, dissatisfied the Banū 'Abbās and was assassinated by them. With him the kingdom of Ḳal'a disappeared. Henceforth the town was only the family citadel of the Mokrānī, *shaikhs* of the Maḍjāna, descendants of Sidi Nāṣir. Protected by its impregnable situation, it remained independent down to the French conquest. It served as an asylum for the adversaries of the Turks and the members of the great native families, who in time of war stored their grain and treasures for security with private individuals here. The honesty of the latter was proverbial. Thus Ḳal'a benefited in the midst of the disorders, which were ruining the country, by a regular neutrality and in spite of the quarrels of the *ṣofs* [cf. i. 702^b], inevitable in a Kabyl city, enjoyed a remarkable prosperity. It is at Ḳal'a that Mokrānī was buried the leader of the rising of 1871; his tomb is, however, now quite forgotten and neglected.

Bibliography: Carette, *Etudes sur la Kabylie*, Paris 1848, vol. ii.; Dumas and Fabar, *La Grande Kabylie*, Algiers and Paris 1847, chapt. xiii.; Berbrugger, *Les Epoques militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Algiers 1857, p. 79—86, 91—104; Ch. Férand, *Les Mograni seigneurs de la Maḍjana, Notices et mémoires de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, 1871, and *Histoire des Villes de la Province de Constantine (Sétif, Bordj, Bou Aferidj, Mesila, Bou-Sanda)*, Constantine 1872; L. Rinn, *L'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, Algiers 1891, Introd. (G. YVER)

ḲAL'AT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD, a town in the Central Maghrib, which has now disappeared, but was in the *v*th (xth) century the capital of the Ḥammādid empire (cf. the article ḤAMMĀDIDS ii. 252). Al-Ḳal'a (Ḳal'at Abi Ṭawil in al-Bakrī and in the *Kit. al-Istibṣār*) was founded by Ḥammād b. Bulukkin [q. v.] in 398 = 1007-8 on a flank of a mountain called Kiyāna or 'Adjisa by Ibn Khaldūn and Tākārbast (now Ḍjabal Takerbust) by al-Idrīsī. A Roman fort had perhaps previously occupied this site; in the *iv*th (xth) century Abū Yazid [q. v.] had tried to check in these regions the Fātimid troops, who were pursuing him on his retreat through the Maghrib. The place seemed therefore well suited to enable Ḥammād to resist the attacks of his enemies from the West, the Zenāta, who had just besieged his capital Ashīr [q. v.] and those from the east, the Zirids of Ḳairawān. Ḥammād peopled the new town by transporting thither the inhabitants of al-Msila and of Ḥamza, which he destroyed, and a large number of members of the tribe of Ḍjerāwa. He built mosques, caravanserais, and various public

buildings and surrounded the whole with a wall which ran round the mountain. These defences, built, according to Ibn Ḥammād, by a Christian slave, enabled Ḥammād to offer a successful resistance to the Zirid Bādīs, when this prince came to besiege al-Ḳal'a in 406 = 1016. Thus Ḥammād made it a habit to live sometimes at Ashīr and sometimes at al-Ḳal'a and it was in this town that he died in 419 = 1028-29. Al-Ḳal'a rapidly became very prosperous. "The population increased rapidly, students came there in large numbers from the most remote parts of the empire, attracted by the resources which the new capital offered to those who cultivated science, commerce and the arts" (Ibn Khaldūn). The importance of al-Ḳal'a further increased after the sacking of Ḳairawān by the Hilālīs. Many inhabitants of Ifrīkiya came to seek shelter there. The population was very mixed. It is worth noting that it included a small community of native Christians; well treated by the rulers, they had a church dedicated to the Virgin and administered by an official, perhaps a bishop, whom Paul the Deacon calls by the Oriental name of *califa*. The country around was quiet, thanks to an alliance made by the Ḥammādid with certain sections of the Athbedj; the harvests surpassed the needs of local consumption and were stored in granaries, where they could be kept for several years. Life was easy there, owing to the abundance of fruits and of cattle fattened on the adjoining pasturage; the markets were attended by caravans, which came from all parts of the Maghrib and even from Egypt and Syria and the 'Irāk. Magnificent buildings were erected by al-Nāṣir: the Ḳaṣr al-Mulk (Government-Palace), the private residence of the emīrs, the Ḳaṣr al-Manār (Palace of the Signal), the Ḳaṣr al-Kawkab (Palace of the Star), the Ḳaṣr al-Salām (Palace of Bliss).

The situation altered in the second half of the *v*th century. Breaking their alliance with the Ḥammādid rulers, the Arabs began to plunder the region of Hodna and thrust their incursions up to the very gates of al-Ḳal'a. The insecurity became such that al-Manṣūr, while continuing to make frequent stays at al-Ḳal'a, moved the seat of government in 483 (1090/1) to Bougie, which had been founded by al-Nāṣir in 1062/3 [see Bougie, i. 766], but the attacks of the Arabs multiplied and made the lot of the inhabitants more and more precarious. In the reign of al-'Azīz the nomads invaded all the territory of al-Ḳal'a and forced the garrison to take refuge in the town out of which they could not go. Thus Yahyā, who succeeded al-'Azīz, decided in 543 (1048) to remove from al-Ḳal'a all objects of value, that were still there. Four years later, the Ḥammādid empire succumbed to the attacks of the Almohads. When master of Bougie, 'Abd al-Mu'min sent his son 'Abd Allāh to lay siege to al-Ḳal'a. The place, defended by Ḍjusham, Yahyā's brother, was taken by assault, the garrison put to the sword, 8000 inhabitants slain and many others taken prisoner. The conquerors carried off vast booty (547 = 1152—1153).

Still al-Ḳal'a survived this disaster. Some of the inhabitants repopulated, if not the town itself, at least the Ḍjerāwa quarter, E. of the wall. According to the author of the *Kit. al-Istibṣār*, they were still fairly numerous at the end of the *v*th (xth) century and were engaged in the making

of garments, which were celebrated. But in 580 = 1185, 'Alī b. Ghāniya captured al-Ḳal'a after a three days' siege. It was undoubtedly he who completed the destruction of the town, for it is never mentioned again after this date. Considerable ruins alone recall the existence of the ancient Ḥammādī capital. They lie about 20 miles S. of Burdj Bū 'Araridj, on the southern slope of the Djabal Maadid, in the N. of Hodna, at a height of 3600 feet and occupy the summit of the cliffs which command the right bank of a tributary of the Wādī Selmān. The mināret of a mosque is still standing. Excavations made by P. Blanchet (1898) and again in 1908 by General de Beylié have made it possible to trace the wall and recognise the remains of various buildings: the Dār al-Bahr, so called, perhaps, from a tank there, the palace of the Signal, the palace of Bliss and the mosque. Fragments of decoration, painted terracottas, stalactites of faience, faiences of metallic lustre, and capitals have been brought to light. The study, which has been made of them, leads to the conclusion that Berber art before the Hilālī invasion was in great part Oriental in its inspiration and is revealed as a combination of Persian and Mesopotamian elements with local Byzantine art.

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ḲAL'AT DJA'BAR. See DJA'BAR, I, 985.

ḲAL'AT HUWĀRA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran, a mixed commune of Mina) 20 miles N.E. of Mascara, on the Wādī Ḳal'a, one of the branches of the Hillil. Population (1911): 2072 inhabitants, of whom 2047 natives. Carpet-making, at one time a flourishing industry here, still employs 500 workmen, although on the decline.

Ḳal'a was founded in the vith (xith) century by Muḥammad b. Ishāk, chief of the Huwāra, living in the region of Mina. He built a citadel and gathered round it his tribesmen as well as the Masrāta, a Berber clan related to the Huwāra. Ishāk's descendants were faithful servants of the 'Abd al-Wād of Tlemcen and as a reward received the government of the land of the Tūdjīn. After the occupation of Tlemcen by the Marīnids (759 = 1358), the people of Ḳal'a recognised the authority of the conquerors, then passed again under the rule of the sovereigns of Tlemcen after the restoration of the Ziyānid dynasty. In the xvth

century Arūdī seized the town (1517) and placed a garrison of 400 men there under his brother Ishāk. Retaken in 1518 by the Spaniards, Ḳal'a was restored by them to the Sulṭān of Tlemcen and passed finally to the Turks towards the middle of the xvth century. It is described by the writers of this period (Leo Africanus, Marmol) as one of the principal places in the land of the Banū Rāshid (the Beni Rasi of Leo, the Beni Arax of Marmol). According to these authors, Ḳal'a was a very strong place inhabited by merchants and well-to-do artisans. During the Turkish period, Ḳal'a frequently served as a place of refuge for Beys and Turkish officials, as well as for numerous families from Oran and Algiers, so that about 1830, the population was in great part composed of Ḳuloghlu, i. e. of half-castes born of the marriages of Turks with native women. On various occasions the town has suffered from earthquakes but it was, on the other hand, greatly extended by the Bey of the West, Bū Shelāghem in 1736. The population was employed in agriculture and industry (manufacture of soap and especially the weaving of carpets). After 1830, Ḳal'a recognised the authority of 'Abd al-Ḳādir, who drove out the Ḳuloghlu, and was in 1845 occupied by the French. Ḳal'a was the birth-place of the celebrated marabout Sidī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf (ixth cent. A.H.), to whom are attributed satirical sayings very popular in Algeria (Cf. R. Basset, *Les dictons populaires attribués à Side Ahmed ben Yūsuf*, Paris 1890).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 181—2, transl. i. 281—2; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, vol. iii. p. 34; Marmol, *Afrique*, transl. by Perrot d'Ablancourt, ii. 356; E. Graulle, *Notice historique sur la Kal'a des Beni Rached (Revue du Monde Musulman, 1913)*; René Leclerc, *Monographie géographique et historique de la commune mixte de la Mina (Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. d'Oran, 1902)*; R. Basset, *Notes de voyage (Mélanges africains et Orientaux, Paris 1915)*, p. 96—103. (G. YVER)

ḲAL'AT NADJM, the name of a celebrated citadel in Northern Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates in 36° 53' N. Lat. and 38° 18' E. Long. (Greenwich). Its importance lay in the fact that it commanded the passage of the river here, where it was crossed by a bridge. It was here that a caravan route from Syria to Mesopotamia, much used in the middle ages, crossed the river. The route ran from Ḥalab via al-Bāb [q. v.] to Manbidj, thence in a fairly straight line to the Euphrates, then across the river in a slightly north-eastern direction to Ḥarrān. The distance from Manbidj to Ḳal'at Nadjm is given as 4 farsakh (a short day's journey), that from the Euphrates to Ḥarrān as 2 days' journey. As there are two small islands in the river at Ḳal'at Nadjm, a passage is very easily effected by a short bridge of boats.

In the middle ages Ḳal'at Nadjm was the bridgehead of Manbidj (the ancient Bamyke; cf. MANBIDJ), a very busy emporium, which the Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashid had raised to be the capital of the 'Awāṣim province [q. v., I, 515]. So long as Manbidj flourished, Ḳal'at Nadjm retained its importance; with the decline of Manbidj — by the xvth century A. D. Manbidj was already for the most part in ruins; see G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London

1890), p. 501 — the importance of Kał'at sank also, for traffic across the Euphrates turned more and more to the northern crossing at al-Bira (Biredjik; q. v., i. 723). In ancient and mediaeval times there were in the central Euphrates, below where it breaks through the Taurus, a series of places where bridges maintained the connection between Syria and Mesopotamia; on these crossings, some of which succeeded others in course of centuries, see the references in the article BIREDIK (i. 723). Whether there was already a bridge in ancient times at Kał'at Nadjm and whether the isolated hill commanding the ford was already inhabited or defended, we do not know. But it is very probable that a place so favoured by nature was used long before the coming of the Muslims. What ancient town is to be sought on the site of Kał'at Nadjm or the immediate vicinity can hardly be decided with certainty. Most probably we have to locate here the Caeciliana of the Roman itineraries (*Kaivilia* of Ptolemy); cf. the article Caeciliana in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, ii. 1172 and Streck's addition in Suppl. i. 266; Regling in *Klio*, i. 472; V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate* (Paris 1907), p. 281; H. and R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, part v. (1910); L. Bell, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.* there), p. 23. Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 224 sought Caeciliana in the ruined site of Sarisat (Srēsāt on Kiepert's map in Sachau (*op. cit.*), north of the Sadjūr river, whereas the map of Syria and Mesopotamia published on a scale of 1:400,000 by the cartographical department of the Prussian Survey, sheet 1b. (Halab) seeks to identify the ancient place in question with the modern Khirfān (Djabal al-Hamām, a little N.W. of Kał'at Nadjm). Less commendable than the identification of Caeciliana with Kał'at Nadjm seem to me the other identifications that have been proposed: namely with Betammali (Bethammaris), as Benzinger suggests in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, iii. 362 (adopted on the above mentioned map of Mesopotamia and Syria, 1:400,000) (see thereon my additional note in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i. 269), also with Callicome (so d'Anville, *L'Euphrate et Tigre*, Paris 1779), on which see my article on this name in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i. 270. The Thilaticomum of the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was suggested by Mannert, *Geogr. d. Griech. und Römer*, vi. 1 (Leipzig 1831), p. 394, 397 and Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, i. 224. Nöldeke proposed (*op. cit.*, p. 13) the Gerre (Gerrha, Serre) of Ptolemy and the itineraries (see the article Gerre in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1270); on what are perhaps its ruins see Chapot, *op. cit.*, p. 282. Finally it should be mentioned that Chesney in *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1856), i. 420 and in *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (London 1868), p. 234, wrongly would find Dijsr Manbidj — which, as will be emphasised immediately, is only an older name for Kał'at Nadjm — in the Kara or Büyüik Manbidj, 10 miles to the south of it (which Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 14 considers the Eragiza of the classics, Regling in *Klio*, i. 471 Betammali).

Al-Balādhuri (*Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje) p. 150, 15 *sgg.* (excerpted by Yāqūt, i. 478, 8 *sg.*) especially mentions that the bridge of Kał'at Nadjm was built by the Caliph 'Othmān, but

expressly adds that, according to some, traces were still to be seen of an older bridge, which would seem to prove the existence of a river-crossing here, dating back to pre-Muhammadan times. Al-Balādhuri, however, does not call the place Kał'at Nadjm but Dijsr Manbidj, "the bridge of Manbidj". The older Arab geographers and historians know it only by this name. Even if the name Kał'at Nadjm perhaps only begins to appear in Arabic literature from the xiith century A.D. (to judge from the references quoted), it is clear from an important passage in the Halabī chronicle (not written, however, till the xvth century) of Ibn al-Shihna (*al-Durr al-Muntakhab fi Tu'rikh Mamlakat Halab*, Beirut 1909; cf. on this work above II, 236) that its origin must be put back to the tenth century. Here it is stated (p. 230), that Kał'at Nadjm was long ago called Dijsr Manbidj, and remained a little village in the Muslim period until it was refounded by a certain Nadjm, a slave (*ghulam*) of Ḥubbā al-Šafwanī, about 300 A. H. (912 A.D.). From this Nadjm comes the new name Kał'at Nadjm (N.'s citadel), which in time quite supplanted the earlier name Dijsr Manbidj. Similar changes of place-names occurred elsewhere in Syria and Mesopotamia in the middle ages; for example the strong castle of Kał'at Dawsar, which rose farther down the Euphrates on the left bank between al-Bālis and al-Raḡḡa, received the name Kał'at Dja'bar [see the art. DJA'BAR] after the Arab chief Dja'bar b. Mālik (in the xiith century A.D.) had taken possession of it.

The passage quoted from Ibn al-Shihna's history further shows that the form Kał'at al-Nadjm and the translation of the name founded on this as "the star-castle", which have become quite familiar in European literature (and therefore also on maps: Kał'at en-Nedjm), are wrong. The Arabic sources, moreover, show, so far as we can see, almost always the correct Kał'at Nadjm; the Syrians reproduce this by Kał'a Nagam, e.g. Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan), p. 509, 23. If the reading Kał'at al-Nadjm is occasionally also found in our editions of the texts — e.g. in Yāqūt, iv. 165, 8 (against iii. 860, 22; *al-Mushtarik*, p. 357, 2, *al-Marāsid*, ii. 443, 2) and al-Kazwīnī, ii. 160, 23 — it would still have to be investigated whether the manuscripts really support this reading. At the same time we do not deny that later Arabic writers, in ignorance of the origin of the name of the place, occasionally may have written Kał'at al-Nadjm and this may have given the etymology "star-castle". For example, Ibn al-Shihna (*op. cit.*, p. 229) gives a passage from a *risāla* of the ḡadī al-Faḡīl [q. v.], in which the latter explains the name of the fortress in poetical fashion as "a star in the clouds", "an eagle in the sky". Similarly Ritter (*op. cit.*, x. 1062, following J. v. Hammer) writes: "The castle is said to have taken its name from its height, reaching up to the stars". Lastly Ainsworth (*op. cit.*, i. 229) takes the name Kał'at al-Nadjm back to al-Ma'mūn, who is said to have built an observatory here. That the Caliph had observations of the heavens made in the region between Palmyra and al-Raḡḡa on the Euphrates is certainly true (cf. above i. 498^b), but his responsibility for the doubtful place-name is to be denied, after what we have said above. In this connection it may also be pointed out that we have several places called

Kawkab (= star) in Nearer Asia, for example one in Northern Syria, but an identification of the latter with Kał'at al-Nadjim, "the star-castle", which R. Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreiches Jerusalem* (Innsbruck 1898), p. 237, note 3 proposes, is impossible. It is noteworthy that Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, vol. i., Leiden 1915, p. 103, 22) says that the citadel of Ḥarrān was called Kał'a-i Nadjim. As there is no confirmation of this in Arabic sources, this must be an error of the author's.

The citadel and the bridge of Kał'at Nadjim play a not unimportant part in the history of the wars of Islām. Soon after their invasion of Syria the Arabs occupied this region (in 18 = 639), the Euphrates villages, as al-Balādhurī (p. 175, 9) calls it. In the accounts of the fightings between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya, which led in 657 A. D. to the battle of Siffin (on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite Kał'at Dja'bar already mentioned) the bridge of Kał'at Nadjim is frequently mentioned; cf. e. g. al-Ṭabarī, i. 3259, 15 sq. and Ibn Miskawaih, *Tağārīb al-Umam* (Gibb Mem. Ser., i. N^o. 7), i. 571, 7. When 'U-baid Allāh b. Ziyād took the field against Mukhtār in 65 (685) in the 'Irāk, he crossed the Euphrates by this bridge; see Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin 1902), p. 115. In 330 (941) after the murder of Ibn Rā'ik (on whom see above ii. 407) there was fighting here between the latter's troops and those of the Ḥamdānid Nāsir al-Dawla; see *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, x. 470. The citadel of Kał'at Nadjim changed hands several times then as in later centuries; we find as its possessors, in turns, the Ḥamdānids, the Mirdāsids of Ḥalab (cf. above ii. 229 sqq.), the Banū Numair (see Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 159, 19; Ibn al-Shihna, *op. cit.*), Sulṭān Nūr al-Dīn al-Zankī (1146—73) and his successors in Syria, the Ayyūbids. Nūr al-Dīn (according to Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Paris, p. 233) renovated the castle — on which account Ibn Djbair, who passed it two or three decades later, calls it "a new citadel" — and placed a strong garrison in it, which was very troublesome to the neighbouring Syrian towns occupied by the Franks. Kał'at Nadjim was also for a time in the hands of the Begteginid princes of Irbil (on them see above ii. 591). After the death of Salāḥ al-Dīn (1193) his sons and grandsons (al-Malik al-Afdal, al-Malik al-Zāhir, al-Malik al-'Aziz) and his brother (al-Malik al-'Ādil) several times succeeded one another in the possession of the town (cf. above vol. i., ii. and Yāqūt, iii. 165, 18; Abu 'l-Faradj (Barhebraeus), *Ta'riḫ Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, ed. Beirut, p. 393, 11; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reiske-Adler), iv. 109, 189; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 435).

When Hulāgū in 658 (1260) began his campaign against Syria (cf. above II, 332), he had to fight for the Euphrates crossings and the forts defending them; see Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan), p. 509, 23. Barhebraeus, who was then bishop of Ḥalab, and went to meet the Mongol ruler to beg that the Christians be spared, was shut up by him in Kał'at Nadjim (see *op. cit.*, p. 510, 17).

On the topography of Kał'at Nadjim and the present condition of the castle there, we have various accounts by European travellers, e. g. by Helfer and Ainsworth (on their visit together in

1836), Sachau (1879), M. v. Oppenheim (1896) and Miss Gertrude L. Bell (1909). According to their descriptions, the rocky cone about 160 feet high stands quite alone, crowned by the picturesque ruins of the citadel, falling steeply towards the river and fairly difficult of ascent on other sides also. All parts of the castle are still standing upright and are quite well preserved. Two stories are distinguished with an agglomeration of rooms of various sizes. The only parts damaged are those which were bombarded during the taking of the castle by Turkish troops about 1820. When at this time an Arab tribe refused tribute to the government and took refuge in this stronghold, the soldiers of the Pasha had to besiege and storm it, and a large gap was made in the wall in the process. A peculiar feature of Kał'at Nadjim are its not yet fully investigated caves and subterranean passages, which, according to the Arabs, run through below the Euphrates to the Mesopotamian side (compare the Oriental stories about a similar system of tunnels made by the Queen Zenobia in Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia und Palmyra* (1902, p. 37). Kał'at Nadjim is now quite deserted and forms a refuge only for countless wild pigeons and bats. According to Sachau, there are still three Arabic inscriptions here. One of them is carved out over the main gateway which is flanked by two high towers and gives an account of the restoration work done by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Zāhir in 605—612 (1208—1215); beside it, is a second one which gives the name of the architect. A third inscription of the same ruler (of 1215 A. D.) may be read over the door of what was once the little mosque of the castle.

According to the Arab geographers (Ibn Djbair, Yāqūt, al-Qazwīnī, *al-Marāsid*), a little town lay below the castle rock, probably at the river's edge, which served as a market for the numerous travellers as well as for the Beduins of the surrounding desert. The remains still in existence of buildings of an earlier period at the foot of the hill on the south cannot, as Sachau observes, be considered the remains of a town on account of the way in which the ground is cut up; but the Muslim cemetery in the vicinity with the ruins of two buildings (mosques or chapels) may mark the site of the small mediaeval village. At the present day there is no bridge there. Whether traces of any earlier ones can be found seems very doubtful. Chesney (*Expedition*, i. 420; *Narrative*, p. 230; see above) has, it is true, thought to discover remains of one and M. v. Oppenheim claimed to find traces of old bridges in no less than three places (see *Berliner Zeitschr. für Erdkunde*, xxxvi. 80 sq. and *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xiv. 1905, p. 7), but according to Chapat (*op. cit.*, p. 281, note 7), who likewise examined the area in question, there is nowhere any trace of such remains to be seen.

A little to the south of Kał'at Nadjim, but on the left bank of the stream, there lies close to the Euphrates a mound of ruins, part of which has at one time been swept away by the river, called Tell Mas'ūdīya, out of which M. v. Oppenheim dug a large ancient mosaic of the river-god Euphrates; see *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xiv. (1905), p. 7 and Moritz in the *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, vii./ii. 1913, p. 158. Also on the east bank opposite Kał'at Nadjim there lies a very winding system

of hills, called *Djabal Šarrin* after the ancient ruined site of Šarrin. S.E. of the latter (N.E. of Tell Mas'ūdiya) rise two great grave-towers, one of which has in the second story a porphyry sarcophagus with the oldest known inscription in pure Syriac (73 A.D. = 385 Seleucid era). This monument of an Edessa man named Ma'nu bar Ma'nu, with inscriptions relating to the building and to the deceased, is of great value from the linguistic as well as the palaeographical side. M. v. Oppenheim and H. Pognon found and copied it independently; cf. Pognon's publication and edition of the text in his *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie* (Paris 1907—1908), p. 15—22 (and Pl. xiv.) and see thereon Nöldeke in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xxi. 151—153. The edition of the text by B. Moritz in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vii./ii. 1913, p. 158—165 is based on v. Oppenheim's material. The ancient names of Tell Mas'ūdiya and Šarrin are unknown; perhaps it was one of the above mentioned stations in the itineraries (Gerre or Thilaticum).

Bibliography: For the name *Djisir Manbidj* see Ibn Khordādhbeh in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, vi. 98, 1, 3; Kudāma, *ibid.*, vi. 233, 13; al-Istakhrī, *ibid.*, i. 62, 13, 65, 12, 71, 17, 76, 8; Ibn Hawkal, *ibid.*, ii. 120, 8, 125, 8, 138, 2, 154, 22; al-Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, viii. 44; al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 150, 15; Ibn Serapion in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 10, 7; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861—77), i. 215, 1; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 478, 8; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 93, 18; Sa'fī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, *Marāṣid al-Iṭtilā'* (ed. Junbollah), i. 189, 2; — for Ka'lat Nadjim: al-Idrisī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāk*, French transl. by Jaubert as *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii. 139; Ibn Djabair, *Rihla*, ed. Wright-de Goeje, p. 248, 10; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 860, 22, iv. 165, 18; Yāqūt, *al-Mushtarak* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 357, 13; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 233; al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*, p. 206, 1; Ibn al-'Adīm in Freytag, *Chrestom. Arab.* (Bonn 1834), p. 105, 22; al-Kazwīnī, *Adwāb al-Makh-lūkāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 160, 23; Ibn al-Šihna, *op. cit.*, p. 158, 15; Schultens, *Vita et res gestae . . . Saladin* (Leiden 1755), Ind. Geogr. s. v. Nesjmum; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 1053, 1062—64; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. d. Göttinger Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1876, p. 13 sq.; G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London 1890), p. 501 sq.; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 107 sq. — J. W. Helfer, *Reisen in Vorderasien und Indien*, ed. by Countess P. Nostiz (Leipzig 1873), i. 202 sq.; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig 1883), p. 153 sq.; W. R. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (London 1888), i. 223, 226—234; v. Oppenheim, in the *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xiv. (1905), p. 7; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (London 1911), p. 23 sq., 34 sq. (2nd ed. 1921, not consulted). (M. STRECK)

KA'LAT AL-RŪM. See RŪM KA'LA.

KA'LAT SHERKAT, an extensive group of ruins in the wilāyet of Mōsul, on the right bank of the Tigris in 35° 30' N. Lat. and 45° 15' E. Long. (Greenwich). They rise on the edge of the desert on the sharp spur of the hilly lands, cut up by many valleys, which slope from the ridge of the

Khanūka mountains, an eastern spur of the Djabal Hamrīn, down towards the Tigris. The name Ka'lat Sherkat is not found in the Oriental writers of the middle ages nor, so far as I can see, in those of later centuries either. Whether the spelling *ת(ר)אשר* = *Ashshur* *SH R (D) T (?)*, which is found in Aramaic inscriptions of the Parthian period, is really connected with Sherkat, as Jensen (*Mitt. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, n^o. 60, p. 46) supposes, is very doubtful. Perhaps the name Sherkat — not Sherkat; cf. Streck, *Die Inschriften Assurbanipals* (Leipzig 1916), p. 792 — only dates from the xviiith century A.D.; in the literature of European travellers it seems to appear first about the time of Rich (1821). The meaning (? a personal name) is quite unknown. The Turks also give the place the name (often found where Turkish is spoken) of *Toprak-Kal'e* = "Earth-citadel", which is without significance; cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 137 sq.

Ka'lat Sherkat occupies the site of the oldest capital of the Assyrian empire, the city of Ashshur, from which the whole district ruled by it also took the name Ashshur (Assyria), while the city itself apparently derived its name from the national deity of this name (hardly the reverse). The site offers many advantages for an effective defence and was presumably planned by the inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia) as a military bulwark against the inroads of northern barbarians. That Ka'lat Sherkat was fortified in the archaic period has been shown by the excavations of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft. These further show that the Semitic settlement was preceded by a non-Semitic (Sumerian) occupation; Sumerian sculptures have been found which are closely connected with those from Telloh in South Babylonia (about 2600 B.C.). In the time of the third Babylonian dynasty of Ur (2296—2786 B.C.), Ashshur was a small state dependent on Babylonia. The beginnings of Ashshur may safely be put back to 3000 B.C. and perhaps even farther; thereon cf., most recently, Weidner in *Boghazköi-Studien*, Heft 6 (*Der Zug Sargons von Akkad*, Leipzig 1922), p. 96. Some not inconsiderable time before 2000 B.C. an end was made of the Sumerian colonisation of Ashshur by the invasion of the Semites.

The numerous historical inscriptions, which were brought to light by the excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Ka'lat Sherkat have extended in a most unexpected fashion our knowledge of the history of the city and kingdom of Ashshur, especially with regard to the older periods. Its chronology now begins about 2300 B.C. or even earlier. From Puzur Ashir I (2086—2072) to the fall of Nineveh, with the help of the dynastic lists of Ashshur, we can restore the series of rulers without a gap; cf. E. Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien. Neue chronol. Dokumente aus Assur*, in the *Mitt. der Vorderasiat.-Aegypt. Gesellsch.*, xxvi. (1921), n^o. 2; with the chronological list of the kings of Ashshur given there (p. 64 sq.) compare the (somewhat later) list given by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Heft 2 (1922), p. 101 sq.

Ashshur retained its place as capital down to the middle of the tenth century B.C. Older rulers built other towns as royal residences, but only temporarily, for example Salmanassar I (1280—1261) chose Kalkhu (Bibl. Hebr. Kālāh) farther to the north at the mouth of the upper

Zāb for his capital and his son and successor Tukulti Ninurta I (1260—1232) built a new capital for himself in the immediate vicinity of Ashshur to the northeast of it, which he called after himself Kār ('wall, citadel of') Tukulti Ninurta (now the ruins of Tūlūl 'Akr). After their death both these towns again lost their predominance to Ashshur. It was only from the tenth century onwards that the latter became more and more overshadowed by Kalakh and Nineveh and the later kings chose these two places only as the centres of their kingdom. Ashshur survived the fall of Nineveh, however; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, CDXLV and note 3 and p. CDLIX, note 1. It is mentioned in the proclamation of Cyrus to the Babylonians, which is preserved in cuneiform. During the greater part of the Graeco-Roman period, especially in the 400 years of the Parthian epoch (which is represented by countless remains of buildings), it was an inhabited town, and as such — under other names (Kainai; perhaps also Labbana and Libba) — it is several times mentioned by classical authors; thereon cf. E. Herzfeld in *Memnon*, i. (1907), p. 98 sq., 237 sq. In the Parthian strata of the ruins of Kal'at Sherkāṭ 43 Aramaic inscriptions, mainly in memoriam, were found, which, in so far as they were dated, cover the period of the Seleucid (Arsakid?) era (199/200—227/228 A.D.), i.e. they cease just with the rise of the Sassanians. An interesting fact is also to be deduced from these documents, that the cult of Assyrian deities and names of gods still survived in Ashshur in the third century A.D. On these inscriptions cf. Jensen in the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1919, liii. 1042—1051, and in the *Mitt. d. deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, 1920, n^o. 60.

The name Ashshur appears in the Aramaic form Athūrā as early as the old Persian version of the Behistūn inscription; see Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden* (= *Vorderasiat. Bibl.*, iii.), p. 140. By Athūrā we have here probably not to understand the whole of Assyria but only the district of Ashshur. The classical authors give the Aramaic equivalent of Ashshur in the form Ἀσσορία, Ἀσσορία; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswissensch.*, ii. 2260; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 127. Ashshur presumably became more and more deserted under the Sassanians. The Syriac authors know of Athor down to the late middle ages as the name of a parish; see G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig 1880), p. 175, 210.

The Arab geographers of the middle ages likewise are acquainted with Athūr. It is given by them firstly as an earlier name of Mōsul, then as the name of the province which was later usually called al-Djazīra and finally as the name of a ruin near al-Salāmiya (probably the Biblical Resen, 2½ miles N.W. of Nimrūd, the ancient Kalākh; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. CDXXVI). Sometimes Akūr is written instead of Athūr and sometimes the one, sometimes the other noted as a variant. Akūr is either to be regarded as a corruption or, perhaps better, as a parallel dialect form. Cf. for Athūr or Akūr: Ibn Rosteh in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 104, 6 (arḍ Athūr, "land of A." = Mōsul); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 119, 16, 340, 5, iii. 118, 18. For the Djazīrat Akūr see Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 72, 13, 231, 9; this coincides with the Iklim Athūr (Akūr), the Kalma (region

of) A., of which only al-Mukaddasī (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 20, 3; cf. also 27, 10, 28, 7) speaks and which, according to him, is divided into three large divisions. On (Dj)azirat Akūr as an older name for Djazīra see above i. and G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 86.

From the statements of the Arab geographers this much is evident that in the middle ages a ruin was still known which covered the site of the ancient Ashshur; only the name had been erroneously connected with a deserted locality near al-Salāmiya. It may here be recalled that, according to Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), p. 165, the Arabs at the present day call a high hill in the corner of the ruins of Nimrūd (Kalākh) 'Tell Athūr'. The Arab geographers further make the observation, which is quite correct, that the earlier name of the province of al-Djazīra, which, indeed, practically coincides in area with the ancient Assyria, is derived from the deserted town of Athūr. When Athūr ultimately came to be erroneously regarded as the ancient name of the later capital Mōsul, we have a false identification here similar to the case of Baghdād, which western travellers throughout the middle ages down to Pietro della Valle (1616—17) equated with Babylon and always called so.

On the Arabic names Athūr or Akūr cf. also A. Schultens, *Vita et res gestae... Saladini* (Leiden 1755), *Ind. Geogr. s. v. Mosula*; Fr. Tuch, *De Nino urbe* (Leipzig 1845), p. 16 sq.; Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis*, 2nd ed. by Merx (Halle 1871), p. 61 sq.; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*³ (London 1849), ii. 245.

The ruined area of Kal'at Sherkāṭ is of considerable extent (nearly 180 acres), very little smaller than that of the two other royal cities of Assyria, Kalāh (Nimrūd) and Nineveh (Ḳuyundjik). It is sharply defined; there is no doubt on any side as to how far the ancient city reached. The Tigris flowed along the east front; the north front was formed by a natural ledge of rock, which was strengthened by defensive walls and made inaccessible. On the finest part of Ashshur, in the eastern part of the north plateau, the Shammar Shēkh Ferhān Pasha in the second half of the sixteenth century founded a settlement which later became a Turkish outpost, which until the Great War served as barracks for troops of regular cavalry or mounted police. Apart from this temporary use as a military post by the government, Kal'at Sherkāṭ has been quite uninhabited since the memory of man.

The extensive ruins early excited the interest of European travellers. Their importance was first emphasised by Cl. Rich, who examined them carefully on a Tigris journey in March 1821; see his *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London 1836), ii. 137 sq. In 1836 Ross visited them; see a communication by him in the *Journ. of the Royal Geogr. Society*, ix. (1839), p. 451—453. The first thorough description of the site we owe to W. Ainsworth. He visited it along with Layard and Mitford in 1840 when on an excursion to al-Hadr [q. v., ii. 204] (the caravan road to al-Hadr branches off at Kal'at Sherkāṭ; see his report in the *Journ. of the Royal Geogr. Society*, xi. (1842), p. 4—8). Layard again in 1847 spent two days at Kal'at Sherkāṭ, engaged in examining the ruins; see Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*³,

ii. 45—63. Later (1852) H. Rassam conducted excavations on the spot; on these cf. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), p. 581 and H. Rassam, *Ashur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York 1857), p. 1321.

A systematic examination of the whole system of ruins was first effected between Sept. 1903 and June 1914 by excavations of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft which extended over practically the whole site of the town. Accurate plans were made of all parts examined. As the excavations proved, the kings Tiglathpileser I (1115—1103) and Salmanassar III (859—825) in particular displayed very great activity in building at Ashshur; the latter renovated completely almost all the great works of his predecessors. The most prominent buildings within the town are the great temples — the sanctuary of Ishtar, the oldest of all, showing a Sumerian stratum below it, then the Ashshur temple, also of very great antiquity, called E-Kharsag-kurkurra with a great temple tower (*sikkuratu*) belonging to it, and lastly the sanctuary of Anu and Adad. Besides there was a series of smaller temples; of special interest is a "New Year Festival House", a work of Sanherib (705—682), discovered before the city gates. Palaces also were uncovered; but we have not yet detailed information regarding them. The powerful fortifications (double wall, Tigris-quay, wall and citadel) with which the Assyrian rulers protected their capital are most impressive. Among the monuments brought to light in great number special mention should be made of two rows of steles with reliefs and inscriptions (one north of kings and one south of officials), which belong to the xiv—viii centuries and are of fundamental importance for our knowledge of Assyrian history. The topographical and archaeological investigation of the site has, at last, also given us a clear picture of the extent and significance of the erstwhile "city of the Parthians" (we have to distinguish two periods of Parthian building).

An exhaustive work on the topography and history of Ashshur based on the German ten years' excavations on a large scale is not yet available. For the present we have only the official reports, almost all by W. Andrae, the leader of the German expedition in Assyria, published in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, N^o. 20—22, 25—26, 28—29, 31—33, 36, 38, 40, 42—45, 47—49, 51 and 54. On two of the principal temples, on the fortificatory works and the rows of steles, Andrae has published monographs in the *Wissensch. Veröffentl. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, namely: *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur* (Leipzig 1909; = *Wissensch. Veröffentl.*, N^o. 10); *Die Stelenreihe von Assur* (1913; = *op. cit.*, N^o. 24); *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (1913, 2 vols.; = *op. cit.*, N^o. 23); *Die archaischen Ištar-Tempel in Assur* (1922; = *op. cit.*, N^o. 39).

The yield in inscriptions from the excavations in Ashshur has been very rich and exceedingly important. They have to a very great extent extended our knowledge of Assyrian chronology, history and religion. The publication of the texts is likewise being done in the *Wissensch. Veröffentl. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*; so far there have appeared: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, 2 parts, Leipzig 1911 and 1922, ed. by

Messerschmidt and Schroeder (= *Wissensch. Veröffentl.*, N^o. 16 and 37); *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, ed. by Ebeling, vol. i. 1915—1919 (= *op. cit.*, N^o. 28), vol. ii. (part 1—2), 1920 (= *op. cit.*, N^o. 34); *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, ed. by Schroeder, 1920 (= *op. cit.*, N^o. 35); *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* (dating from the latest period of the Assyrian empire), ed. by Lidzbarski 1921, *op. cit.*, N^o. 38.

Bibliography: Apart from the references already given we may mention the following: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 666 sq., 671—676; Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig 1881), p. 252—255. Delitzsch also in 1903, before the beginning of the German excavations, drew up a sketch of the history of the town (especially its buildings) based on the inscriptions then known, in the *Mitteilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, N^o. 20, p. 30—36; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900), ii. 203—210; E. Herzfeld in *Mennon*, i. (1907), p. 97—116, 231 sq., 237; M. Streck, *Die Inschriften Assurbanipals* (Leipzig 1916), iii. 773; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. (Heidelberg 1920), *passim* (see Index), esp. p. 12 sq., 33 sq., 300 sq. — The best map of the region of Kał'at Sherkāṭ is the one of Mesopotamia and Syria published by the cartographical department of the Prussian Survey on the scale of 1:400,000, sheet 4 C (Sāmarrā). The latest plan of the ruins of Ashshur is given by Andrae in his *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (1913), Plates i. and iii. On the flora of Kał'at Sherkāṭ and district E. Herzfeld writes in the *Orientalist. Literaturzeit.*, Suppl. ii., Berlin (1908) on the basis of the collection made by him as a member of the German expedition in Ashshur in 1903—1905 and (somewhat enlarged) in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, iv. (Suppl. Berlin 1920), p. 25—26. He gives the plant-names in the dialect of the half nomadic Djebbūr Arabs of the district. (M. STRECK)

KAŁATA. See CONSTANTINOPLE, I, 867.

KAŁĀ'UN, AL-MALIK AL-MANŠUR SAIF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ĀLI AL-ALFI (the "Thouander", a name, it is said, given him because he was bought for 1000 pieces of gold) AL-ŠĀLIHĪ AL-NAḌJMĪ, the sixth Sultān of the Bahri [q. v.] Mamluks, born in Kıpçāk [q. v.], was brought to Egypt, sold to Sultān Šālih Aiyūb [q. v.] and manumitted by him in 647 (1247). The beginning of his career is unknown. Under Sultān Baibars [q. v.] he became commander of a thousand. He later distinguished himself in a campaign in 671 (1272) against the Mongols by a skillfully executed passage of the Euphrates and again in 672 (1273) in a war against the Armenians. Sultān Baraka Khān, son of Baibars, sent him again against the Armenians in 677 (1278). When this Sultān was deposed a year later, the Emirs chose his seven-year-old brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Salāmish as Sultān and appointed Kałā'ūn his guardian and Atabek. In reality Kałā'ūn ruled and was mentioned in the Friday prayer and on the coins along with Salāmish; after three months Salāmish was deposed and Kałā'ūn in due form raised to the throne and confirmed by the Caliph. While he was at once recognised in Egypt, he had to fight a rival in Syria, the Emīr Šonkor al-Ashkar, who was chosen

Sulṭān in Damascus by the Syrian troops. Şonkor found support among the Beduins of Syria, as well as with the sons of Baibars, the deposed Baraka Khān, to whom on his deposition Karak [q. v.] had been given as an independent principality, and his brother Khidr, who occupied several fortresses in the southern part of Syria. Both sides gathered together their armies; there was a battle in the beginning of 679 (1279) south of Damascus, which was decided in favour of Kalā'ūn, as a result of the desertion of Damascus troops. Baraka Khān had died shortly before; his brother Khidr was glad to conclude peace with Kalā'ūn in the spring of the year 680, by which he was granted Karak as a fief. Şonkor had appealed for assistance to the Mongols and they, always ready for loot, had invaded Northern Syria, plundering as they went. When the Mongols were preparing for a second campaign on a larger scale, Şonkor, who had become afraid of his too ardent friends, had made peace with Kalā'ūn on condition that he was left the North Syrian fortresses of Şahyūn, Şhaizar, Apamea and several other places to rule independently. Freed from these opponents, Kalā'ūn was able to devote his attention to the invading Mongols, who were reinforced by Armenians, Franks and Georgians. The armies met at Hims. In spite of their superiority at first, the Mongols were defeated and had to withdraw from Syria. While the Sulṭān, as we have seen, was threatened from several sides, the Crusaders, who still occupied the greater part of the Syrian coast, had not decided to collect their full strength for a decisive effort. Only the Knights of St. John in the fortress of Marḳab had enticed the governor of Hişn al-Akrād [q. v.], who was approaching it, into an ambush and inflicted a severe defeat on him in a surprise attack; after the destruction of the Mongol army, they, like the Count of Tripolis and the Templars a year later, were content to have peace on favourable terms. An agreement was also made with the city of 'Akkā in 682 (1283). Kalā'ūn, however, punished the Armenians for the help they had given the Mongols, by invading their country and doing them great damage by plundering and ravaging it.

The Khān of the Mongols, Abākā [q. v.] died in 680 (1281); his successor adopted Islām, taking the name Aḥmad. Letters and embassies were exchanged between him and Kalā'ūn and although their relations did not result in an alliance, they were by no means unfriendly. In 683 (1284) Aḥmad was murdered. His successor Arghūn [q. v.] remained a pagan and favoured the Jews and Christians in his Empire. His plan was to induce the Pope and the king of France to cooperate with him in a crusade against Kalā'ūn. This scheme, however, did not materialise. The Sulṭān for his part entered into diplomatic negotiations with the republic of Genoa, with whom he concluded a commercial treaty; he had a kind of defensive alliance with king Alfonso of Castile and James of Sicily. Embassies were exchanged with the Byzantine Emperor, with the Emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg, the king of Yemen and the prince of Ceylon. The prince Tudan Mangū of Kıpçāk, who became a convert to Islām, obtained from Kalā'ūn, as the first ruler in Islām, a title and a standard with a coat-of-arms.

It was Kalā'ūn's aim to extend his rule over

the whole of Syria. To attain this end he did not hesitate to break his treaties with the Crusaders. For example at the beginning of 684 (1285) he fell suddenly upon the fortress of the Knights of St. John at Marḳab and undermined the walls so rapidly with his sappers, that the garrison had to surrender and depart. He adopted another plan to capture the stronghold of Maraḳīya, built in the sea near the coast and considered impregnable. It belonged to a vassal of Bohemund VII of Tripolis. Kalā'ūn pursued and threatened the latter so long that finally he bought it from his vassal, and let the Sulṭān dismantle it to appease him. Margaret of Tyre had to purchase peace with Kalā'ūn on humiliating terms. Having thus consolidated his position, he was able in 686 (1287) to think of depriving his old opponent Şonkor al-Ashḳar of his possessions in Syria. In the course of several campaigns he compelled him to give up his kingdom and retire to Cairo. He threatened Khidr, prince of Karak, so long that the latter finally yielded up his principality to him. In 688 (1289) he decided to capture Tripolis, the largest town still in the possession of the Crusaders. Prince Bohemund had died and his mother and sister were making claims on the vacant throne. The Sulṭān intervened in the quarrel and finally began the siege of the town. Although Tripolis received help from the sea, its position soon became desperate, so that the mother of the late ruler left the town with the Genoese and Venetian colony. With the help of his sappers the Sulṭān succeeded in undermining the walls and took the town by assault. It was for the most part destroyed and not rebuilt till a few years later, several miles from the sea on the bank of the river Qadisha. (From the Christian period date the great mosque, the Taīlān mosque, both formerly churches, and the foundations of the citadel). The stronghold of Baṭrūn, south of Tripolis, was shortly afterwards taken. This was Kalā'ūn's last feat of arms. When about to depart next year to besiege 'Akkā on the pretext that Muslims had been robbed and murdered by Christians there, he died quite near Cairo, just after starting for Syria. Besides his continuous campaigns in Syria he had also to wage war against Nubia. In two battles he was victorious against king Şhamāmūm but he could only maintain his authority there as long as his armies remained. He gained no permanent success in Nubia, although he succeeded in making king Şhamāmūm resume payment of the ancient tribute. He had frequently to take the field with full strength against the Beduins of South Palestine and Upper Egypt; it is a sign of his strength that he, unlike other Sulṭāns, was able to subdue the rebels completely. Kalā'ūn, on the whole, maintained his authority over the sacred city of Mecca, although the Sharif from time to time endeavoured to make himself independent.

Sulṭān Kalā'ūn succeeded in consolidating Mamlūk power in Syria and gradually made good the damage done by the incursions and ravages of the Mongols. We find his renovations on a grand scale in the citadels of Aleppo, Baalbek and Damascus. His most famous building is the hospital in Cairo in which there were large wards for the different illnesses, laboratories, kitchens, ample storerooms with provisions and medicaments. It was connected with a mosque and a school (see below). He was the only one of the Mamlūk

Sultāns to found a dynasty; his descendant in the fifth generation reigned till 783 (1382).

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans mamloûks* (transl. of al-Makrizî, *Sulûk*), ii./i. 1—111, with appendices; al-Makrizî, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Bulāk 1270), ii. 238, 379 sqq., 406—8; Ibn Taghribardî, *al-Manhal al-Ṣafî*, MS. Vienna 329, ii. f. 187a—188b; *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades, Historiens orient.*, i.—iii. passim; Muir, *Mamluk or Slave Dynasty*, p. 33—42; Reinaud, *Extr. des Historiens orient.* (Paris 1829), p. 539—569; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'î al-Zuhūr* (Bulāk 1311/2), i. 114—9; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. 113—173; M. Herz Pascha, *Die Baugruppe des Sultans Qalā'ūn in Cairo in the Abh. des Hamburg. Kolonialinst.*, xxxii. (Series B, xxii.); S. Lane Poole, *Cairo*³ (1898), p. 33—36.

(SOBERNHEIM)

KAŁAWDHIYA, according to Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 167 a fortress near Malatya, undoubtedly the ancient Claudia, which is mentioned as early as Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 85 as Claudiopolis, and under the later Roman Empire was one of the *castra praesidiaria*, the fortified permanent camps on the eastern frontier between Samosata and Melitene. It was taken from the Arabs and destroyed by Constantine V Copronymos, probably in 755 A. D., together with Malatya (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 186 sq., Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, under the years 133 and 138 of the Hidjra; Barhebraeus, *Kethābhā de Makhtebhānūt Zabhnē*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, p. 122 below), but retaken and rebuilt by the Abbāsīd al-Manṣūr in 140 (757/758) (al-Balādhuri, p. 188 = Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 382; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī (Bairut 1890), p. 210, without giving a date; according to Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, in 141 A. H.) and the Christian population transplanted to Constantinople (Michael Syrus, *Kethābhā de Makhtebhānūt Zabhnē*, ed. Chabot, ii. 518, 522). In the first quarter of the tenth century the district of Melitene again passed under Byzantine rule and was not lost again until the Saldjuḳ invasion; in the tractate *περί παραβρομῆς πολέμου* (*de violatione bellica*) of the second half of the tenth century the place is mentioned under the name *τὰ Καλοδία* along with Melitene (Leo Diaconus, ed. Bonn 1828, p. 250). Armenian bands entered the district of Kaławdhiya and established themselves there in 1066 (Michael Syrus, *op. cit.*, iii. 158). The Byzantines were followed in their rule in these regions by the Dānīshmandoghlu and their rivals, the Saldjuḳs of Konya. In this period Kaławdhiya is repeatedly mentioned by the Syriac chroniclers, for the last time in the year 1273 (Michael Syrus, *op. cit.*, p. 304, year 1152, p. 400, year 1185; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, i. 522 = ii. 543, year 1257; *id.*, i. 549 = ii. 574, year 1273); among other things they report that in October 1152 the Euphrates overflowed its banks as the result of a great landslide and made a way out at the foot of the hills of K. (see Michael Syrus, *op. cit.*, p. 306 = Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, i. 341, ii. 348). Hamdu'llāh Mustawfî, *Nuḣḣat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 98 sq., knows K. under the name Erkaławdiya as a considerable fortified place in a fertile region, which produced corn, cotton, grapes and fruit plentifully; he thinks, like Yāqūt, that Ptolemaeus, the author of the *Almagest* came from there, and was therefore called al-Kaławdi.

With this the place disappears from history; for, although Ḥadīdjî Khalifa (xviith cent. A. D.) still mentions Erklūdiyā in his *Djihannumā*, p. 601, he only knows it from Hamdu'llāh Mustawfî and Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* (Paris 1748), ii. 284 (beginning of the xviiith century) translates, as usual with him, only the statements of the Turkish geographer. The site has so far not been discovered; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor* (London 1842), i. 263 wishes to identify the ancient Claudias with the modern Klakhṭa [q. v.], which is, however, impossible because the Syriac chroniclers mention Kaławdhiya and Klakhṭa together contemporaneously as different places.

Bibliography: Runge in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. des klass. Altertums*, s. v. Claudia; Tomaschek in the *Beitr. z. alten Geschichte u. Geographie, Festschr. für H. Kiepert* (Berlin 1898), p. 141; Vincent W. Yorke in *The Geographical Journal*, viii. (1896), p. 463 and 471. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

KALB, the dog, is also in Islām one of the "unclean beasts," primarily because its flesh may not be eaten (al-Nawawî, *Minḥādī al-Tālibin*, ed. v. d. Berg, iii. 312); and further because, according to the Ḥadīth, there are several special regulations regarding it. For example dogs render food which they lick impure and render unavailable water intended for ritual purifications (al-Bukhārî, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 33). Vessels, likewise, which have been licked by dogs, require to be cleaned several times, including once with sand. In a certain way they render impure the whole room in which they are; for angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog and Muḥammad had first to sprinkle the place on which a young dog had lain concealed with purificatory water before Djibril would appear to him (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 31 sqq.). — Dogs "cut off the ṣalāt", i. e. they make the ṣalāt worthless when they come into the immediate vicinity of the man at prayer (Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 30) and one is all the more inclined to attribute this rule to the impurity of the dog, as it also holds for menstruating women. The Arab commentators, however, explain it by saying that the dog frightens the worshipper and distracts him from his devotions (al-Sindî, commentary on Ibn Mādja as cited above). This is especially true of the black dog, for "he is Satan". This saying is either to be interpreted literally as meaning that Satan occasionally appears in the form of a black dog (cf. Faust) or it only means that black dogs in general are considered particularly dangerous. Dogs in general are considered noxious and should therefore be exterminated (al-Nasā'î, *Ṣaid wa 'l-Dhabā'ih*, bāb 9—14), but as "Allāh does not create anything in which there is not a trace of his wisdom" (al-Sindî, commentary on this passage), this rule is applied only to black dogs.

It is only permitted to keep dogs for hunting, for herding and for watching (al-Nasā'î, *op. cit.*); whoever keeps a forbidden dog has to forfeit a portion of his possessions daily (cf. *Babylon. Talmud, Shabbā'ih*, fol. 63a: "whoever possesses a dangerous dog keeps good fortune away from his house"). Dealing in dogs on the other hand is strictly forbidden (al-Bukhārî, *Buyū'*, bāb 25).

But in spite of its impurity and dangerousness

the Arabs are able to appreciate the good qualities and services of the dog. Muḥammad himself promises a woman a divine reward for a kindness, which she had done a thirsty dog (al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʿ*, bāb 33), and al-Kāẓwīnī (p. 403) characterises the dog as "a particularly intelligent, very useful animal, patient in hunger and on the watch, whose cleverness and fidelity are shown in many ways". Al-Kāẓwīnī describes very fully the symptoms of hydrophobia; cf. thereon *Babylon. Talmud*, *Yomā*, fol. 83b: "there are five symptoms in a mad dog; its mouth is open, its saliva runs, its ears have a foul smell, its tail lies limply on its hips and it wanders aimlessly along the sides of the streets".

The dog of the seven sleepers (Sūra xviii. 17) is a special matter. According to al-Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, p. 557) it was a dog with the gift of speech, in al-Ṭabarī's view (*Tafsīr*, xv. 141, 1st ed. p. 131), a man in the form of a dog, but perhaps simply an ordinary dog. — On the dog-star (Sirius) see AL-KALB and AL-*SHIʿRĀ*.

Bibliography: The passages in other collections of Tradition parallel to the traditions quoted. Al-Kāẓwīnī, *ʿAdjāib al-Mukhlūkāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 493 sq.; al-Damirī, *Kit. Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā* (Cairo 1275), ii. 320—360. Travellers in the East, e.g. Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge 1888), s. Ind.; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Vienna 1908), s. Ind.; Julius Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii. 53 on dogs' names. On dogs in Tradition towns cf. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* (Berlin 1899—1900), i. 69—71. (B. JOEL).

AL-KALB, the Dog-Star in astronomy: *Ṣurat al-Kalb al-akbar* (the constellation of the Great Dog) and *Ṣurat al-Kalb al-aṣḡar* (constellation of the Little Dog) or also *Ṣurat al-Kalb al-Mutakaddim* (constellation of the fore-runner dog; προκυων), the former known as canis major and the latter as canis minor, two constellations of the southern heavens, the names and configuration of which the Arabs took out of *al-Madīstī* of Ptolemaios. Like the latter, the Arabs allotted 18 stars to the *ṣūra* proper of Canis Major, of which Sirius (*al-Shiʿra ʿl-abūr*) is of the first magnitude (actually 1.6), while outside of the constellation lie 11 stars, and to Canis Minor two stars of which Prokyon (α Canis Minoris, *al-Shiʿra ʿl-ghumaiṣā*) is also of the first magnitude (actually 0.5). As regards the stellar co-ordinates (latitude and longitude), the star-catalogues of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 376 = 986) and al-Bīrūnī (d. 440 = 1048) are based entirely on the Ptolemaic *Almagest*, while the star-catalogue of Ulugh Beg prepared for the period 1437 contains numerous new definitions of star positions.

The name Dog-Star probably goes back to ancient Egypt where the modern Sirius (*σειριος* = burning, brilliant — with the addition of *Kéon* = Dog-Star) was called *Sopdet*, which undoubtedly became the Greek *Sothis*. The name of the star had originally nothing to do with dog, but in the Greek terracottas which are frequently found in Egypt, Isis, to whom the star was sacred, is often represented with a dog and (according to L. Borchardt) with a particular kind of dog, the so-called Arment (Erment)-dog. Sirius alone is also reproduced in terracottas in that way; sometimes

he also has a star above his head. According to Borchardt, it is not improbable that the star which appears in the star-tables from the Ramesid graves, which precedes or follows Sopdet, is the modern Prokyon.

In Babylonia Sirius was called "Arrow-Star", never Dog-Star. The older Babylonian name (according to F. X. Kugler) was *Kakkab mishrē*, the late Babylonian *Kak Kashti* ("weapon of the bow" = "arrow").

Bibliography: Schjellerup, *Description des étoiles fixes* (St. Petersburg 1874; transl. of the *Kitāb al-Kawākib al-thābita* = "Book of the fixed Stars" of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī); al-Bīrūnī, *al-Kānūn al-Masʿūdī* (Berlin, MS. Orient. 80., 275, *Verzeichn. d. arab. Handschr.*, N^o. 5667, p. 209^b sq.); al-Khwarizmi, *Mafatih al-ʿUlūm* (ed. v. Vloten, p. 213; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861—77), iii. 316 sq.; al-Kāẓwīnī, *ʿAdjāib al-Makhlūkāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 39 sq.; L. Ideler, *Untersuch. über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 238 sq.; C. A. Nallino, *Opus astronomicum*, ii. 171; Ed. B. Knobel, *Ulugh Beg's Catalogue of Stars* (Washington 1917); finally on the importance of Sirius as regulator of the year: F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, ii. (Münster 1924), p. 522 sqq. (C. SCHÖY)

KALB B. WABARA, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Kalb, a confederation of nomadic Syrian Arabs attached to the powerful *Qudāʿa* [q. v.] group. The Banū ʿUdhra [q. v.] have been the most famous among the clans of the Kalb since the Hidjra, especially in literary history. The pre-Muḥammadian annals of Kalb are very obscure and semi-fabulous. Zuhair b. Djanāb [q. v.], an almost legendary personage — reckoned among the *muʿammarūn* or centenarians —, is said to have been one of their principal chiefs. They seem to have developed independently of other tribes in the Peninsula and to have had no relations with them. Their dialect showed curious peculiarities and we know of no pre-Islamic poets using it. About the time of the Hidjra they were the most important Arab group in Syria.

The conquest of this country brought them to the front, not least through the close alliance made by Muʿāwiya I with their tribe, a union sealed by his marriage with Maisūn [q. v.], mother of Yazid I. This political alliance brought them into high office, at court and in the army; to the latter they furnished disciplined contingents and captains of great bravery. Towards the middle of the first century A.H. their numbers must have been considerable: 2000 of them were receiving the pension of 2000 dirhems, the *sharaf al-aṭā*, a distinction reserved for the *ashraf* or nobles. Half-settled, half-nomadic they covered with their huge flocks — for they were great herdsmen — the tSamāwa the steppes separating Syria from the ʿIrāk and hence called Samāwa of Kalb and desert of Kalb. They held the springs, the oases at the east and south of Ḥawrān, especially Dawmat al-Djandal, Tabūk and several others dotted about the Wādī ʿl-Kurā with their palm-groves, the property of the Banū ʿUdhra. In Syria they were grouped round Salamiya and Palmyra, towns which belonged to them. A part of the district of Emesa and of the lower valley of the Orontes were united in their territory and in

the Ghūṭa [q. v.] of Damascus a number of villages belonged to the Kalb. The possession of commercial centres like Palmyra and Dawmat al-Djandal leads us to suppose that this active Syrian tribe must have profited by the caravans passing by these routes, still very much used in the first century of Islām.

They seem to have inherited the ancient hegemony of the Ghassānids. Like the latter and other Syro-Arab tribes at the time of the Hidjra the great majority of them professed the Christian religion and probably were Monophysites. They gradually exchanged it for Islām; one group is even said to have sent a deputation to the Prophet. In the following of the latter several Kalbis — we may mention Zaid b. Hāritha, his adopted son, and Dahya b. Khalifa, his diplomat — rose to fill important positions. Islām spread among the Kalb, especially from the time when frequent marriages — the first that of Nā'ila, wife of the Caliph 'Othmān [q. v.] — with the Omayyads assured them preponderance over the other tribes. Yazīd I, with his mother Maisūn, passed a part of his youth in the desert of Kalb and contracted a marriage with a Kalbiya. The supremacy of this tribe and of the powerful family of Bahḍal [q. v.] incited the Kais against them. Refusing to recognise Mu'āwiya II, the latter declared for Ibn al-Zubair [see 'ABD ALLĀH B. AL-ZUBAIR]. The victory of Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.], due mainly to the bravery of the Kalbis, completed the rupture between them and the Kais. Burning for revenge, they attacked the Kalb everywhere and succeeded in driving them out of Mesopotamia and the adjoining districts of the Samāwa. Besides, with the advent of the Marwānids, their popularity had sunk for the time at the court of Damascus, where their striking triumph at the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ gave offence. They were not long in regaining their influence. They continued to figure among the most stalwart supporters of Omayyad rule. On several occasions, their contingents rendered effective assistance in retaking the 'Irāk from the rebels in the East. They were therefore proclaimed the bravest among the Qudā'a. In a word, the name of Kalbi had become synonymous with partisan of the Omayyads. The almost constant policy of this dynasty was to rely on the Kalbī alliance and through it on the support of the other Syrian tribes. A tradition said that the Kalb would be the last adherents of al-Sufyānī [q. v.]. This state of affairs inevitably led to a violent reaction under the 'Abbāsids and precipitated the fall of the Kalb, decimated by their long struggle with the Kais and their active participation in all the wars of conquest. Soon their solidity was broken up and the designation of Kalbī, an object of suspicion to the Baghdād government, gradually disappeared. Ibn Sa'id, quoted by al-Kāḡashandī (in his *Nihāyat al-Arab*), says that in his day there were great numbers of them settled on the shores "of the straits of Constantinople and divided equally between Christianity and Islām".

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ish-tikāḡ*, p. 314 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealog. Tabellen*, p. 264—267. The other references in my *Etudes sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier*, p. 50—51, 65, 286—293 309—312, 324—326, 418. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-KALBĪ, a family of scholars of Kūfa. The elder al-Kalbī, ABU 'L-NADIR MUḤAMMAD (B.

MALIK, according to Ibn al-Kūfī in the *Fihrist*) B. AL-SĀ'IB B. BISHR, whose grandfather with his sons al-Sā'ib, 'Ubaid and 'Abd al-Rahmān had fought by the side of 'Alī in the battle of the Camel and whose father had fallen by the side of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, had taken part in the battle of Dair al-Djamādīj [q. v.] in 82 (101) as a follower of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath [q. v.]. He then devoted himself to historical and philological studies; he read the *Naḡā'id* of Farazdaq [q. v.] with the poet himself. He lectured in Kūfa on Qur'ānic exegesis and history; at the invitation of Sulaimān b. 'Alī he expounded the Qur'an for a time in the latter's house at Baṣra. His commentary on the Qur'an was still used by al-Tha'labī († 427 = 1036; q. v., (see *Cat. Codd. MSS. Or. in Museo Britannico*) pars ii. N^o. 821). He died in 146 (763).

His son ABU 'L-MUNDHIR HISHĀM mainly continued his father's historical studies, in which the latter had been his teacher. Both scholars have often been attacked by critics of traditions and even accused of forgery (see *Kit. al-Aghānī*, ix. 19; xi. 48; xviii. 161; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 186); but on the other hand they did not lack warm defenders (e. g. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 158). Modern research has confirmed many of their statements, which they reached sometimes by regularly scientific methods such as the study of inscriptions, against the fanatical criticism of their co-religionists (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Araber u. Perser*, p. xxvii.). Muḥammad, who worked for a time also in Baghdād, died in his native town of Kūfa in 204 (819), according to others in 206.

Of the 140 works of Muḥammad, listed in the *Fihrist*, pp. 95—98), there have survived: 1. *Kit. al-Nasab al-Kahir* or *al-Djamhara fi 'l-Nasab* (*Djamharat al-Ansāb* in Ḥājjidī Khalifa), on the genealogies of the Arabs in a MS. of the Escorial (see Casiri, *Bibl. arabico-hispana*, N^o. 1693), of whose second volume the Brit. Museum (see *Cat. Codd. MSS. ... Mus. Brit.*, Pars ii. N^o. 915) owns a modern, almost worthless copy, perhaps only of an extract; a fragment of the work is perhaps preserved in a Paris manuscript (*Bibl. Nat.*, de Slane, *Cat.*, N^o. 2047). Of an apparently much condensed version of the work by Abū Sa'id 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Sukkārī (d. 465 = 1075), which is chiefly based on Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's recension, but also uses that of Ibn al-A'rābī and other fundamentally independent sources also, the first volume is preserved in the British Museum (see *Cat.*, N^o. 1202 and also p. 783b). The extract by Yāqūt is in Cairo, Khed. Library, see *Fihrist*, v. 156; Vollers, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xliii. 116). 2. *Kit. Nasab Fuḡūl al-Khail fi 'l-Djāhiliya wal-Islām* (cf. Hammer, *Denks. der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., vi. 214, n^o. 50) in Gotha (see Pertsch, *Die arab. Hds.*, N^o. 2078) and in the Escorial (see Casiri, N^o. 1700, 2). 3. *Kit. al-Aṣnām*, or more accurately *Kit. Tankis al-Aṣnām*, which Ahmed Zeki Pasha [Ibn al-Kalbi, *Le Livre des Idoles* (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*), Cairo 1914] has published. An apparently very full synopsis which enables us to judge of the extent and arrangement of the book is to be found in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī's *Khizānat al-Adab*, iii. 242—6. The numerous extracts in Yāqūt have been collected by Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 10—64 (cf.

also 243) and translated and annotated. 4. An extract from the *Kit. al-Kulāb* (*Fihrist*, p. 97, 18) is given by Ibn al-Anbārī in his commentary on the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*; see C. J. Lyall, *Ibn al-Kalbī's Account of the first Day of al-Kulāb in the Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet* (Giessen 1906), i. 127—154.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vi. 249—250; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb* (Haidarābād 1325—7), ix. N^o. 266; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-Alibbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Uḍabāʾ* (Cairo 1294), p. 116—8; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, N^o. 26, 42; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, ii. 168, 170, 171; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Lit.*, i. 138—140.

(BROCKELMANN)

ԳԱԼԵՒՍ ՏԵՖԻԴ, a fortress in Fārs, in 30° 10' N. Lat. and 51° 30' E. Long. (Greenwich). It is built on a mountain with a flat top, in the eastern part of the valley of Kohra, which falls steeply down on all sides. On its summit, which can only be reached by cliff-paths, lies an extensive well-wooded plateau watered by numerous springs. A strong garrison is necessary for its defence as is noted in the *Fārsnāma*. Descriptions of the fortress and the country round it are given, among Oriental writers for example by Ibn al-Balkhī in the *Fārsnāma* (the pertinent passage is copied by Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, 'Alī Yazdī and Mirkwānd (see *Bibl.*). Of descriptions by European travellers in the sixteenth century, that of Stolze deserves special mention; along with Andreas he explored the mountain and castle thoroughly. The statements of Kinneir who visited Գալեւս Տեփիդ in 1810 are unreliable, according to Stolze.

The name of the fortress is given in the Persian geographers and historians as Գալեւս Isfid (Sefid, Sepid), the "white citadel"; Գալեւս Ispid-diz (the "white fortress") is also found; Գալեւս Sefid is the only form in use at the present day. Translated into Arabic the name is given in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 46 as al-Գալ'a al-Baiḍā'. The name "white citadel" which is found elsewhere as a name for a castle in areas where Arabic and Persian are spoken (e. g. in al-Ḥira, al-Madā'in, in the oasis of Ruḥbe east of Hawrān, and in the region of Գairawān, in Afghanistan, etc.; for Biredjik cf. above i. 723) may very probably originate in the dazzling white colour of the building-stone used. The name Գալեւս Gul u Gulāb (citadel of the rose and rose-water), borne by Գալեւս Sefid in al-Bundārī, *Tawārikh al-Salḍjūq* (ed. Houtsma, 2., p. 188, 13) is remarkable.

Գալեւս Sefid is the most noteworthy point on the mountain road which leads from Behbahān to Shirāz and furnishes communication between Khuzistān and Fārs. It may be regarded as certain that a commanding place like this was very early fortified. The "Persian passes" through which Alexander the Great tried to enter the ancestral home of the Achaemenids and which were defended by the Satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, with his strong forces, have often been sought in the valley of Գալեւս Sefid; e. g. by Vincent, Müttel, Droysen, Forbiger. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, ix. 138) in differing from these, considers Գալեւս Sefid to be the stronghold of the Uxians and places the "Persian Gates" farther east. Ritter's view has been attacked particularly by Müttel in his edition of Curtius (Berlin 1841),

p. 414 sq. and by Stolze (*op. cit.*, p. 262 sq.). That the region of Գալեւս Sefid does not correspond to the situation of the "Persian Gates" of the historians of Alexander and that the latter should be located elsewhere has been fairly convincingly proved by Stolze, *op. cit.*

Գալեւս Sefid is not mentioned by the Arab geographers of the middle ages. Like the adjoining town of Nawbandjān (Nawbandādjān) it must have been allotted to the Persian province of Sābūr in the Caliphate period. From the tenth century on we find cropping up in the Oriental sources a nomadic people named the Shul, after whom the whole area, inhabited by them from the west of Shirāz to the frontiers of Fārs and Khuzistān was called Shulistān. There is definite evidence to show that Գալեւս Sefid belonged to Shulistān. On the Shul and the land of Shulistān cf. the references in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 380 sq. and also Mustawfī, *Tārikh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne, *Gibb Mem. xiv.*), p. 538, 658, 660, 696, 726.

Գալեւս Sefid is frequently mentioned by Persian poets and chroniclers. It is first found in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* (ed. Mohl, ii. 92, 245 sq.); here the conquest of the stronghold is related as one of the noteworthy deeds of the hero Rustam. As the *Fārsnāma* (written about 500—1106) reports, the fortress of Գալեւս Sefid had lain in ruins for many years until it was rebuilt by a certain Abū Naṣr from Tīr-Murdān (a district of the province of Sābūr) during the turmoils of the last decades of Būyid rule, that is in the first half of the 10th (xth) century. The mountain, difficult of access, served not infrequently in wartime as a secure hiding-place. For example in 534 (1139) Buzāba, Governor of Fārs, retired here before Գարā Ṣonqor, Atābeg of the Salḍjūq Sultān Mas'ūd; cf. the article BUZĀBA, i. 809). The Salghurid Abū Bakr, Atābeg of Fārs from 623 to 658 (1226—1260) (on him see above i. 82) transported his treasures to Գալեւս Sefid and placed a garrison in the citadel in order to have a place of refuge here in case of a catastrophe. The last Atābeg of Fārs of the Salghurid dynasty, Salḍjūqshāh, met his death at the foot of Mount Գալեւս Sefid in battle with one of Hūlāgū's generals in 663 (1264); see J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchane* (Darmstadt 1842), i. 243 and cf. also Mustawfī, *Tārikh-i Guzida*, p. 509.

Although Hūlāgū issued an order to destroy all the fortresses in the lands conquered by him, an exception was made of Գալեւս Sefid, as is expressly mentioned; cf. the passage in the *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf* in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 382. The citadel could therefore continue to serve as a place of refuge, and was also on several occasions used as a state-prison for political opponents. Thus for example Mas'ūd Shāh of the Indjū dynasty, who ruled as governor of Fārs from 736 (1335) imprisoned his brother Muḥammad in Գալեւս Sefid (cf. above ii. 504); when later Abū Ishāq, a younger brother of the Mas'ūd Shāh just mentioned, came into conflict with the Muzaḥfarid Mubārīz al-Dīn and had to flee after the capture of his capital Shirāz in 754 (1353) he went to Գալեւս Sefid (see Mirkhwānd's account in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 382; Mustawfī, *Tārikh-i Guzida*, p. 658, 15 sq., and cf. above ii. 804). A few years later the sons of Mubārīz al-Dīn, Shāh Sultān and Shāh Shudjā' rebelled against their father, blinded him and imprisoned him in Գալեւս Sefid

in 759 (1358); see Mustawfi, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, p. 681; Defrémery in the *Journ. Asiat.* 1864, ii. 112. In 785 (1383) Shāh Shudjā' had his son Sultān Shibli sent to Kāle-i Sefid as an alleged rebel (see Mustawfi, *op. cit.*, p. 724; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 382; Defrémery, *op. cit.* (1845), i. 437).

Kāle-i Sefid has attained special fame through its capture by Timūr. The latter on his second campaign in Fārs in 795 (1393) passed by the road from Behbahān to Shirāz, besieged this barrier fortress, considered impregnable, and stormed it on the third day. All the members of the Muzaḥfarid dynasty were captured and put to death (cf. Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, Bibl. Ind., New Series, N^o 616, Calcutta 1887, i. 600 sq.; Mustawfi, *op. cit.*, p. 751).

We read of the capture of Kāle-i Sefid by Hamza-Bey several centuries later, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I; see Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 384. The Māmasenī have now settled in a large part of what was once called Shūlīstān; they are a robber Lūr-tribe, who belong to the Bakhti'yāri [q. v., I, 603]. They centre round Kāle-i Sefid. On them see Layard in the *Journ. of the R. G. S.*, xv. 28; Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii. 390, ix. 137; C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan* (London 1845), i. 210, 219 sq., 262 sq. When the Māmasenī in the latter part of the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh (1797—1834) were in constant rebellion under a robber chief named Walī Khān Bakash, an army of Ādharbaidjāni troops was sent against them, who besieged Kāle-i Sefid and forced the stubborn defenders of the citadel to yield (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*).

It should further be mentioned that below the fortress on the mountain there was at one time a second smaller castle, the name of which is variously given as Astak (*Fārs nāma*, p. 158, 17) or Nishnāk (Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 132, 5); further variants of the name are given here in note 1).

The little village of Tell Espid should not be confused with this; it lies northwest of Kāle-i Sefid in the adjacent plain on a hill some 2400 feet high; cf. Wells in the *Proc. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1883, v. 161 and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Bibliography: — Ibn al-Balkhī (ed. le Strange and Nicholson, Gibb Mem. Series, New Series, vol. i. London 1921), p. 158 and in addition the transl. by le Strange in the *J. R. A. S.* 1912, p. 878; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (ed. le Strange, Leiden 1915, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii), p. 129, 16, 131, 19—132, 8; Rashid al-Din, *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, part. ed. by Quatremère as *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i. (Paris 1836), p. 382 sq.; in the latter work Quatremère gives pertinent extracts from Persian histories by 'Abd Allāh b. Faḡl Allāh (*Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf*) and Mirkhwānd; Hādjī Mirza Ḥasan Ṭabib Shirāzi, *Fārsnāme-i Nāṣiri* (lithogr. Teheran 1313), p. 334; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 264 sq.; J. M. Kinneir, *A Geogr. Memoir of the Pers. Empire* (London 1813), p. 73; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia* (rev. ed., London 1829), i. 19 note, 295; Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix. 137—144; Stolze in the *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x. (1883), p. 262—5; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii. (London 1892), p.

318 sq.; E. Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.* 1907, p. 84 sq. (with the map on Plate vii.). M. STRECK)

KALE-I SULTANIYE, in popular speech usually ČANAQ KALE'SI ('Pot-castle'), the town and fortifications known to Europeans as the Dardanelles, the chief place in the sandjak of Bigha [q. v., I, 716, cf. also DARDANELLES, I, 922], situated at the narrowest part of the straits. The modern settlement has taken the place of the very ancient seaport of Abydos; the latter name, indeed, survived down to the xvth century on Italian charts in the form Avido, Aveo, as the name for Kāle-i Sultāniye (the bay: la bocca d'Aveo). While the form Andus [q. v.] found in Yākūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 374 also is to be read Abydus, the statement of Joh. Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae*, Frankfurt 1591, p. 182, 55, taken from the *Codex Hanivaldianus* (Neshri?), that Abydos is called Aydos by the Ottomans can be said to be wrong. There is a confusion with Aidos in Koča Eli and the whole story of the conquest in Leunclavius refers to this place and not to Abydos. Here from the days of the Roman empire was the chief custom-house of Byzantium, where every vessel entering the straits had to pay a tithe (Agathias, v. 12; cf. the customs regulations of Abydus published by A. D. Mordtmann Jun. in the *Athen. Mitteil.*, vi. 182 sqq.) and it was strongly fortified, as the key to the capital. In spring of 717 the town was taken along with the coasts of the Hellespont by the Umayyad general Maslama (Theophanes, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1839, p. 395). In those days there was attached to a tower here the great chain which barred the Muslim ships' entrance to the straits (Ibn Khordādhbeh, ed. de Goeje in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi. 103 sqq.; cf. Yākūt, i. 374; al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushṭāk*, Fr. transl. by Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrasi*, ii. 135, 301, 303). While the siege and capture by Emir Orkhān are as uncertain as the crossing of the Dardanelles attributed to him at this place (cf. Joh. Dräseke in the *Neue Jahrbücher für klass. Altert.*, xxxi. (1913), 476—504), the statement that in the reign of Murād about 1354 the straits were crossed in small boats at Abydus, is more worthy of belief (Dukas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1834, p. 14, 8, 39, 13; Phrantzis, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1838, p. 45, 15). This would, it is true, be in contradiction to the Turkish account which places the crossing at Kemer opposite Hexamilia. The place did not become of any considerable importance in the Muslim period until the time of Muḥammad II, who took it in 1461, built great defensive works here for the protection of Constantinople, which he had recently captured, and founded a town here (Chalkokondylas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1843, p. 529, 18 sqq.). The fortress was armed with about 30 large and a number of smaller guns. All incoming ships had henceforth to cast anchor there, to show their papers and pay toll (Chalkokondylas, *op. cit.*, p. 530; cf. thereon Kritobulos, ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, v. 146). The town was now regarded as the main defence of the Dardanelles, although by the middle of the xvth century we find European travellers who sailed through the straits wondering at the insufficiency of the defences; for example Pierre Belon, to whom the walls and towers, said to be built out of the ruins of Scamandria, seemed not nearly strong enough

for the "key to Turkey" (*Les observations de plusieurs singularitez*, Paris 1854, p. 77^b sqq.; there, also, is a picture of the Dardanelles forts following p. 78). It is certain that European fleets could pass the straits unhindered in the middle of the xviith century, and that the bastions on both European and Asiatic sides were in almost complete ruins. Although about 1550, 32 great guns still barred the entrance to hostile ships (cf. Charrière, *Négociations*, Paris 1848, i. 374 and 380, where "les deux chasteaux du Hellespont nommez Dardanneaux", the "XXXII groz canons dont nul navire ne peult entrer ou sortir malgré eulx" as well as the search of a ship are described), a very short time after, it was no longer possible to think of any serious resistance being made by them. It was the vigorous Sultana Kösem, who reigned for a period for her minor grandson Mehmed IV, who, with the grand vizier Mehmed Köprülü, devoted special attention to the decaying Dardanelles forts and decided to renovate and remodel them completely. The building of Seddu 'l-Bahr and Küm Kal'e, the two so-called "new castles", was also decided upon at this time (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, Pest 1827—35, v. 516). In 1658 the work was begun under the supervision of 'Ankabüt Ahmed Pasha, commander of the Dardanelles, and under the direction of the architect Mustafa Agha, and by Sept. 1659 Sultan Mehmed IV was able to inspect the new works (cf. Na'imā, *Stambul* 1147, ii. 698 sq., 704; J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, vi. 65 sq.) and dedicate a mosque (Ewliya, v. 307; according to him, the name Kāl'e-i Sultāniye arose at this time in honour of Kösem Wālide, but it is probably older). The appearance of the new citadel is accurately known from European descriptions of the time. The fortress proper was surrounded by a strong wall at each of the four corners of which there rose a fortified tower. In the middle was the donjon, which had been increased in height. Nearly 30 guns were placed here in no regular order, so as not to injure the opposite works of Kilidu 'l-Bahr when they were fired. Behind the defences lay the town proper, inhabited chiefly by Turks and Jews, numbering some 3000 inhabitants about 1680 (cf. Grelot, *Relation Nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*, Paris 1681, p. 24, 28, 30 with a picture of the Dardanelles defences on p. 41; further pictures in Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, i. 453 sqq., Amsterdam 1718, i. 175 sqq.). There were definite rules regulating the passage of ships. Every merchantman had to announce its arrival with 3, 5, 7 shots to which 1—5 were fired in reply. This had to be returned with 3, 5, 7 shots and not till then could the voyage be continued. All ships coming from Constantinople had to cast anchor here to be examined and pay tolls (cf. M. de Thevenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1665, p. 32 sqq.; Jacob Spon and George Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Greece et du Levant fait aus années 1675 et 1676*, the Hague 1724, i. 123 sqq.). Not more than five Christian ships could go through at the same time (cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 30). These regulations survived into the xviiith century, although there was considerable laxity in their enforcement (cf. R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, Oxford 1775, p. 11). A hundred years later the defences were again in the most wretched state, vividly described by

Baron Franz von Tóth (Tott) (*Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, Amsterdam 1784, iii. 43 sqq.). In 1770 the Russian fleet was able to sail through the straits without opposition. Von Tóth thereupon hurriedly repaired the fortifications (cf. Edgár Páloczy, *Báró Tóth Ferenc, a Dardanellak megérosítoje*, Budapest 1916), without, however, being able to stop their decay. The town seems to have been in quite a flourishing condition at this time, according to R. Pococke, *A Description of the East* (London 1743—1745), ii. 102—104, it was 1½ miles around and had 1200 inhabitants (200 Greeks, 100 Armenians and 50 Jews), who carried on a busy trade in silk, sailcloth and earthenware. The annual export was put at 15,000 dollars. A French Consul, as well as a Dutch and English dragoman had their offices in Kāl'e-i Sultāniye. The potteries, which seem to have begun about 1740, were for a long time famous and gave the place the name Çanağ Kāl'esi. The inhabitants lived in different quarters separated into nations. Armenians who fled from Shāh Tahmāsp are said to have been settled here as early as 1529 (according to Cabanel in V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 689 sqq.) but a regular Armenian colony only dates from about 1650. At the same time there is evidence of a, sometimes large, Jewish settlement, which played a prominent part in the business world (cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Baron de Tott, *op. cit.*, iii. 59; J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide*, Paris an VIII (= 1800), i. 14, according to whom the people were almost all Jews, who did a brisk business in provisioning passing ships (cf. thereon Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 28). There is no documentary evidence of the presence of Greeks before 1690 in Kāl'e-i Sultāniye. In the xixth century the fortress sank practically to insignificance. The bold passage of the English fleet through the Dardanelles on Feb. 19, 1807 resulted in the defences being again repaired (cf. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, vii. 434) but without their afterwards keeping pace with the rapid development of modern artillery. A very full description of the fortifications in 1836 is given by Helmut v. Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei* (Berlin 1841), p. 51 sqq., 8th ed. (1917), p. 55 sqq. and by Abercromby Grant, *Narrative of a Journey to Greece in 1830*, p. 431 (with sketches). Kāl'e-i Sultāniye and its forts only became of considerable strategic importance again during the Great War, when as a result of an indirect bombardment from the Gulf of Saros by the Anglo-French fleets the town, which had been almost deserted by its inhabitants, suffered severe damage in March 1915 and was burned down. It had previously suffered from frequent fires and especially from the great earthquake of Aug. 9, 1912. About 1890 the town had about 11,000 inhabitants, 11 larger and several smaller mosques and 4 churches, but now the number must be much smaller.

Bibliography. In addition to the works quoted cf. also Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3685 sqq., 'Alī Djewād, *Memālik Lughatī* (Constantinople 1895/99), s. v.; Ahmed Rif'at, *Lughat-i tārīkhīye we-djughrāfiye* (Stambul 1881), s. v.; Ahmed Mukhtār, *Osmānlı Memlekelleri* (Stambul 1896), s. v.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 689 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KAŁGHA, the title of the heir-apparent among the Tatars of the Crimea from the time of Mengli Girāy (last rule 883—921 = 1478—1515). The origin of the title is unknown; in manuscripts the same word is also written *kāghilghāy*, which has caused W. Smirnow (*Krimskoje Chanstvo pod verchovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porți do načala XVIII vjeka*, St. Petersburg 1887, p. 350 sq.) to suggest that we have here to deal with a non-Turkish (probably a Mongol) word. We have perhaps to connect with *kałgha* the Central Asian word *kałkhān*, a name frequently given to the prince of Balkh (Balkh appears as the residence of the heir-apparent beside Bukhārā, the royal residence of the Khān of the Özbegs); this word also is sometimes written *Ka'ikhān* (no doubt for *Kaghilkhān*); cf. J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns* etc., St. Petersburg 1824, p. 74 sq. When, under Muḥammad Girāy II (985—992 = 1577—84), Alp Girāy, brother of the Khān, was designated *kałgha*, the rank of second heir-apparent (*wali 'ahd khāni*) was created for the Khān's son, prince Sa'ādat Girāy and retained in later reigns. The name Nūr al-Dīn of this prince's tutor (*ataliġh*) was transferred to the prince himself and to his rank (Muḥammad Riḍā, *al-Sab' al-Sayyār*, Kazan 1832, p. 103, more fully in the abbreviated recension by Hurramī Ćelebi, which only exists in manuscript; on the manuscript see A. Samojlovich in the *Izv. Tavrič. učenoj arch. kom.*, No. 49; cf. O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 93 = *Trud. Mosk. Numism. Obsč.*, iii. 32). Henceforth the Nūr al-Dīn along with the *kałgha* is found not only among the members of the ruling house but also among the members of the most important families like the Širīn and Manķit (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 253, where both family names are erroneously taken as adjectives). (W. BARTHOLD)

KAŁHĀT (in Marco Polo CALATU, in Portuguese writers CALAIATE), a once flourishing seaport in 'Omān lying northwest of Rās al-Hadd. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the town during his travels in 'Omān, specially mentions the fine streets and splendid lofty mosque, which afforded a wide view of the sea and the harbour and was built by the pious Biti (of noble family) Maryam. The inhabitants of the town, who lived by trading in Indian products, and spoke a bad Arabic, were members of the Ibāḍiya sect (see IBĀḌIYA), but concealed their creed from their rulers, the kings of Hormuz [q. v.] (cf. also Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 198 below), who were Sunnis. According to Yāqūt, who calls Kałhāt the most beautiful district in 'Omān and places its foundation in the xiith century, the sectarians of this town openly professed their faith. The Portuguese broke the power of the kings of Hormuz in the beginning of the xvth century.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 168; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti) ii. 220, 224—226; Ibn Sa'īd in *Relations de Voyages et textes géogr. arabes ... rel. à l'Extrême-Orient*, transl. by G. Ferrand (Paris 1913/4), p. 336; *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Omān* by Saḥīl-Ibn-Razīk, transl. by G. P. Badger (London 1871), p. 37 sq., 39. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, transl. by Yule, 3rd ed., ed. by H. Cordier (London 1903), i. 120 note, ii. 449—451; S. B. Miles, *The Countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919, p.

473—5, 528 sq. and Index s. v. *Kilhat*; Ritter, *Erskunde*, xii. 305, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378; *Géogr. d'Edrisi* (French transl. by A. Jaubert of al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushṭāk*), i. 151; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, i. 44. (J. SCHLEIFER)

AL-KĀLĪ, ABŪ 'ALĪ ISMĀ'IL B. AL-KĀSİM B. 'AYDĤŪN B. HĀRŪN B. 'ISĀ B. MUḤAMMAD, a great Arab philologist, born in Djumādā II, 288 = May-June, 901 (according to others in 280), at Manāzġuird, a little town in Armenia which was then a dependency of Diyār Bakr, and died at Cordova on Djumādā I 7, 356 = April 19-20, 967 (according to others Rabi' II, Djumādā II, 356, and also 366 according to Ibn 'Idhārī).

In 303 having gone to Baghdād in company with some people of the town of Kāliqala, he was confused with them and in consequence was surnamed al-Kālī. However, he is usually called in the East Abū 'Alī al-Baghdādī. After studying Islāmic Tradition and particularly Arabic language and literature, al-Kālī, at the end of his resources, left Baghdād in 328 (939/40) and went to Spain where he did not arrive until 330 = 941/2, in the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir. The son of this prince Abū 'l-'Aṣī al-Ḥakam who was fond of learning and of scholars received him very kindly, and, indeed, it is said that even he had written to the East to get al-Kālī to come to the West. Abū 'Alī arrived in Cordova on Sha'bān 26, 330 (May 16, 942), where he began to teach Tradition and especially the Arabic language and literature. As teachers he had 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī, 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sidjīstānī, Ibn Duraid, Ibn al-Sarrāġ, al-Zaġdġādġ, al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr, Niṭṭawaih, Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn Ḳutaiba, Ibn Durustawaih, etc. Among his pupils we may specially mention the grammarian and lexicographer Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidī.

Among his works we now only possess: 1^o. *Kit. al-Amālī wa 'l-Dhail wa 'l-Nawādir*, a kind of anthology containing a large number of notes on proverbs, language and poetry, publ. at Bulāġ in 1324; indexes of poets and rhymes have been published by F. Krenkow and A. Bevan at Leiden in 1913; 2^o. *Kit. al-Nawādir*, part I, Cambridge, Univ. Libr., E. G. Browne, *A Hand-list of the Muḥammadan Manuscripts*, No. 926; 3^o. *Kit. al-Burī' fī Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth*, remained unfinished, Paris, Bibl. Nat., No. 4235.

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arab. Litt., i. 132, Suppl., ii. 692; Huart, *Litt. Arabe*, p. 160. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KALĪ, KALĀĪ: 1. The name for tin, or for a specially good quality of tin among the Arabs, occasionally also called *al-raṣāṣ al-kaḷī* and *al-raṣāṣ al-abyaḍ*, i. e. "Kaḷī-lead" or "white lead"; see *Lisān al-'Arab*, x. 167, 16; Dozy, *Supplément aux Dict. arab.*, ii. 397^a; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 735^a; Quatremère in the *Journ. des Savants* 1846, p. 731. For other names of tin in Arabic (Kaṣḍir = *Κασσίτερος*, etc.) see e. g. al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (*Cosmography*, ed. Mehren), p. 54, 1. The word apparently comes from the Far East, from which the Arabs may possibly have got it directly, without the (not impossible) intermediary of modern Persian, which al-Djāwālīqī, *al-Mu'arrab* (ed. Sachau), p. 125, 6 demands (the original would be Persian *Kalhā*). The correction *kalahi* for *Kalhā* there proposed is based on Ibn Sa'īd, quoted in G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et Textes géograph. ... relat. à l'extrême-Orient* (Paris 1913—1914), p. 343. The word *Kalī* (in Ghilānī: *Kālīb*) found in the modern Persian dialect of Māzandarān — see Melgunof in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxii. 198 — must have come through the Arabic; from the latter the word entered Turkish: *Kalai* (Sāml, *Kāmūs-i Türki*, p. 1032) and thence into modern Greek: *τὸ καλδί*. As a loan-word *Kalā'ī* travelled still further, into Portuguese (*calaim*, *calin* = Indian tin); see Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*², (Leiden 1869), p. 245; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², (London 1903), p. 143. The cradle of the word might be the district of Kalah in the peninsula of Malacca, which was celebrated for its tin-mines (see KALAH above). The Arabic geographers and lexicographers usually derive the name *Kalī* from al-Kal'a in India (= Kalah, q. v.); so, for example, Yāqūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 162, 6; al-Firūzābādī, *al-Kāmūs* (Cairo 1301), iii. 71, 5; cf. also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* (ed. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii.), p. 203, 6. At the same time the word — certainly erroneously — is also connected with an (alleged) tin-mining area al-Kal'a in Ceylon (Yāqūt, i. 21, 13; iv. 162, 13), in Spain (Yāqūt, iv. 162, 15 sq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, p. 203, 8) and in Yemen (Yāqūt, iv. 162, 17; al-Firūzābādī, *op. cit.*).

The most usual word for tin in Malay at the present day seems to be *timah*. At the same time we find with this meaning also *kaling*, *kaleng* — not *kelang*, as written by Langlès, Quatremère, Dozy-Engelmann, Yule-Burnell and others — which, according to the dictionaries, means primarily tin-plate, or tinned iron-plate (but nevertheless is the meaning tin an older one?); cf. Wilkinson, *A Malay-Engl. Diction.* (Singapore 1901), p. 497^b; Wilkinson, *An abridged Malay-Engl. Diction.* (Singapore 1919) and Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederl. Woordenboek* (Leiden 1916). It is obvious that the Arabic *Kalī* is to be traced back not to *Kal'a* (*Kalah*) but to this Malay word. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, definitely puts forward some such derivation of *Kalī*, whereas Dozy-Engelmann, *op. cit.*, and Yule-Burnell, *op. cit.*, leave the question undecided. Is the similarity of name simply an accident? It is hardly possible that the Malay *Kaleng* itself is only a corruption of the Arabic *Kalī*. The further pos-

sibility has also been considered that the name of the district of Kalah — from the Malay *Kaling* — may mean simply "land of tin", a view expressed as long ago as Langlès in his edition of the voyages of Sindbād the Sailor in Savary's *Grammaire de la langue arabe* (Paris 1813), p. 499 = reprint (Paris 1814), p. 63. Yule and Burnell quote as an analogy the fact that the little state of Selangor (north of the town of Malacca) was formerly known as Nagri Kalang = "land of tin". To this we may add, quoting Wilkinson, *Malay-English Dictionary*, p. 526^b, that *Kēlang*, *Klang*, properly only the name of a district in Selangor and of a little township in this district, is also often extended to include the whole state of Selangor. Perhaps the origin of *Kalī* is to be sought in this *Kēlang*.

2. The name of a particular kind of sword, which is often mentioned, especially in the old Arabic poetry. Cf., for example, Aws b. Ḥaḍjar (ed. Geyer, *Sitz.-Ber. d. K. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1892), xii. 33; Ru'ba b. al-Adjdjadī (ed. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, iii. 137), N^o 49, 43; scholiast to Tarafa, *Mu'allaka* (in Arnold, *Septem Moallakat*, Leipzig 1850, p. 61). On Tha'alibi, *Laṭā'if*, p. 102, 7, 130, 4 (quoted in Dozy, *Supplém. aux dictionn. arabes*, ii. 396^b) see Fleischer in the *Sitz.-Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1886, p. 45. Cf. also Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, I/1. 50, 21. This kind of sword is usually said to be of Indian origin (cf. for example al-Firūzābādī, *al-Kāmūs* under *ḵl'*) and, indeed, Indian swords were from early times famous among the Arabs and celebrated by the poets; on this cf. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber* (Leipzig 1886), p. 127 sq. and A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen 1919), p. 88 sq. As a more definite place of origin we usually find the Arab geographers and lexicographers giving that al-Kal'a from which the tin of this name comes. Occasionally also the Syro-Arabian desert (the Bādiya) or the district of Ḥulwān in the 'Irāk is given as the place of origin; cf. *Lisān* and al-Firūzābādī, *al-Kāmūs* under *ḵl'*. The Yemen, which produced the finest swords next to India, is sometimes also described as the place of origin of the *kaḷī* sword, for example in the above quoted gloss to Tarafa's *Mu'allaka*. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin 1897), p. 149, would like to decide in favour of Yemen, in particular the "fortress" (*kaḷ'a*) of 'Aden, in support of which could be quoted the fact that in a poem by 'Alkama (ed. Socin), N^o 3, 4, there is mention of "pearls from *Kal'a*" *Kalā'ī*. Nevertheless, the derivation of the Arabic word from an East-Indian place al-Kal'a (Kalah on Malacca? see KALAH) seems to me more probable. It is unnecessary to distinguish between two different kinds of sword, *kaḷī* and *kalā'ī* (see Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.*, s. v. *kaḷ'a* and *kalā'a*), in spite of Schwarzlose, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(M. STRECK)

KALĪ KALĀ. [See ERZERUM].

KALĪLA WA-DIMNA is the title of an Indian mirror for princes, formed by the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two principal characters, two jacksals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka (in the old Syriac translation the forms are still Kalilag and Damag); it was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and thence into Arabic,

and became widely known in Muslim as well as Christian literatures.

1. The original work. The Indian original was composed by an unknown Viṣṇuīte Brahman, according to Hertel probably about the year 300 A. D. in Kāshmir; the main argument for this, the reproduction of denarius by *dināra* is, however, not cogent, as the pronunciation of the *ṇ* as *i* is older than Hertel supposes (see also A. Berriedale Keith in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1915, p. 505). It consisted of an introduction and five books each of which bore the name *tantra* i. e. "case of good sense". The book was intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal-fables composed in perfect Sanskrit. The oldest descendant of the original work is the *Tantrākhyāyika*, rediscovered by J. Hertel (see *Tantrākhyāyika*, die älteste Fassung des *Pañcatantra*, transl. from the Sanskrit with introd. and notes by J. Hertel, 2 parts, Leipzig and Berlin 1909). A second recension of the original work is called the *Pañcatantra* (see J. Hertel, *Pañcatantra*, etc. in Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 11—14); it has become a very popular book in India and is current there in countless versions. J. G. L. Kosegarten published an uncritical mixed text, Bonn 1848; on this Th. Benfey based his translation, *Pantschatantra, fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*, transl. from the Sanskrit with introd. and notes, 2 parts, Leipzig 1859. In the introduction to this work the history of the migration of Indian literary subjects to Europe was first exhaustively investigated.

2. The Pahlavi translation. A rather early recension of the *Pañcatantra* was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by order of the Sassanian king Khusrav Anūsharwān (531—579) by his physician Burzōe, whom he had sent to India for this purpose, and expanded by the addition of an appendix of fables from other Indian sources; of these the three first (chap. 11—13 in de Sacy) are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*, the other five (de Sacy's chap. 14, 15, 17, 18 and the story of the king of the mice, see below, not given in de Sacy) have so far not been found again in Indian literature, although there is no reason to doubt their Indian origin. Burzōe prefaced his translation with an autobiographical introduction which the vizier Buzurjmihr, it appears, signed with his own name as an honour to the author (see *Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa-Dimna*, transl. and annot. by Th. Nöldeke, *Schriften der wissenschaftl. Gesellsch. in Strassburg*, Heft 12, Strassburg 1912).

3. The old Syriac translation. Burzōe's Pahlavi translation itself is lost; but by about 570 A. D. it had already been translated by the Periodeut Būd into Syriac. This translation only survives in one manuscript, which was formerly preserved in the monastery at Mārdin, then in the library of the Patriarch of Mōsul and afterwards came into the possession of Mgr. Graffin in Paris. From a defective copy of this, which Socin had brought with him, Bickell prepared the first edition (*Kalilag und Damag, alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, text and Germ. transl. by G. Bickell, with an introduction by Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1876). F. Schulthess was later able to prepare a much more reliable text based on three new copies which

Sachau had had prepared in Mōsul (*Kalila und Dimna*, Syriac and German, Berlin 1911).

4. The Arabic translation. About three centuries later 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffa^c (see IBN AL-MUḲAFFA^c, II, 404) translated Burzōe's Pahlavi version into Arabic. He wrote an original preface to his book, inserted in Burzōe's introduction probably the section on the uncertainty of religions, added after the first book of the *Pañcatantra* a chapter written by himself on Dimna's trial (chap. 6 in de Sacy), which by punishing the traitor satisfies the feeling of justice, outraged by the immoral teachings of this book, and apparently also added the chapter "monk and guest" (N^o. 16 in de Sacy). Ibn al-Muḳaffa's edition was originally a stylistic work of art intended for literary connoisseurs; but from the nature of its matter, it soon became very popular and therefore much corrupted in transmission. Even the numerous quotations in Ibn Kūtaiba's '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*' already no longer reproduce Ibn al-Muḳaffa's text word for word. The fairly numerous manuscripts of the work are all of late date. Sylvestre de Sacy's edition (*Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai*, Paris 1816) is based on an inferior manuscript and arbitrarily emended from other manuscripts (see Nöldeke, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, p. 676). In de Sacy's text, Ibn al-Muḳaffa's preface is preceded by a new preface by an otherwise unknown Bahnūd b. Saḥwān or 'Alī b. al-Shāh al-Fārisī, in which he gives an account of the history of the book in India, as well as a report said to have been written by Buzurjmihr regarding Burzōe's mission to India with the commission to bring back the book; in several manuscripts this is followed by another story of Burzōe's being sent for a miraculous plant. Some manuscripts (see J. Derenbourg, *Directorium vitae humanae*, p. 323) add at the end two more fables, of the heron and the duck and of the dove, the fox and the heron from other, as yet unknown sources. This latter story is also inserted in the oldest Oriental reprint of de Sacy's edition, Bulāḡ 1249 (according to Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 13, in the University Library of Cambridge; a copy in my possession also); from this it has passed into the more recent editions printed at Cairo, Mōsul and Bairūt, the list of which in Chauvin, p. 13 sqq., according to Cheikhō (see below), p. 6, is not yet complete. Valuable contributions to the criticism of de Sacy's text from Italian manuscripts are given by I. Guidi, *Studi sul testo arabo del Libro di Calila e Dimna*, Rome 1873. The story of the king of the mice and his ministers, not given in de Sacy, which is shown by the Syriac text to belong to the Pahlavi work, was published by Nöldeke in text and translation in the *Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, 1879, xxv. N^o. 4. The complete material from 16 Paris manuscripts for the story of the ascetic and the broken jug was given by Zotenberg in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. 8, vii. (1886), p. 117—123.

While the numerous printed editions of the East in the main reproduce de Sacy's text, A. N. Tabbara (*Kalila et Dimna, trad. arabe copiée d'après un ancien manuscrit trouvé à Damas, avec notes*, Beyrouth 1322 = 1904) claimed to have discovered a new source for textual criticism; but his manuscript (of 1080 = 1675) is too modern to afford new material and his edition is, besides, bowdlerized. On the other hand L. Cheikhō found

in the Lebanon monastery of Dair al-Shīr a valuable manuscript of the year 749 = 1339, and made it accessible in an excellent edition: *La version arabe de Kalilah et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe daté*, Beyrouth 1905. I have not seen the new edition by Khalil al-Yāzidjī (ibid. 1908); that of Salīm Ibrāhīm Šādir and Shāhīn 'Atīya (ibid. 1910) is intended for school use. The modern European translations from de Sacy's text are given by Hertel, *op. cit.*, p. 393; to these may now be added M. Moreno, *La versione araba de Kalilah e Dimnah*, transl. into Italian, San Remo 1910 (see *Riv. d. Studi Orient.*, vi. 201).

5. Arabic versifications. The translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' has been three times put into Arabic verse. The first version was made by his younger contemporary Abān al-Lāhīkī (q. v.; see also A. E. Krymski, *Abān al-Lāhīkī, le Zindīq (environ 750—815), versificateur arabe des recueils des apologues indo-persans. Essai sur sa vie et ses écrits, tiré de l'unique manuscrit de Souli...*, *Bibl. Khéd.*, No. 594, et d'autres sources primitives. Appendices: a. Barlaam et Joasaph, essai littéraire-historique; b. Texte arabe intact d'al-Awrāq par Souli, éd. en collaboration avec Mirza Abdoullah Ghaffarov (also in Russian with Russian title) Moskva 1913; on the manuscript cf. Horovitz in the *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, Berlin, x. 35. This version is lost; with the help of it, but on the basis of the text of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' about the year 1100, Ibn al-Habbāriya [q. v.] composed in ten days a poetic version in elegant and flowing language entitled: *Natā'idj al-Fiṭna fī Naḡm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, lith. Bombay 1317 (see Houtsma in the *Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke...*, *gewidmet*, i. 91—96). A third versification of the book entitled *Durr al-Hikam fī Anthāl al-Hunūd wa'l-Adjam* was completed by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain al-Ṣaḡhānī after 80 days' work on Djumādā I 20, 640 (Nov. 15, 1242). It exists only in a manuscript in Vienna (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hds. der...*, *Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i. 469, No. 480).

6. The later Syriac translation. In the tenth or eleventh century a Syriac cleric translated the work from Ibn al-Muḳaffa's text again into the then already dead language of his church; he endeavoured to give the book a Christian tinge and therefore amplified the verses of the Indian original, already much distorted in the Pahlavi translation, into long and weary moral discourses. He also made a series of mistakes in the translation. But as the text he used was much nearer the original than the most of our manuscripts, this translation is, in spite of its defects, of considerable value for textual criticism; it is edited by W. Wright, *The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah transl. from Arabic into Syriac*, London 1884. In contrast to the naturalism of the original, Keith-Falconer, the English translator of this version (Cambridge 1885) is even more prudish than the latter itself; on text and translation see Nöldeke in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, p. 673 sqq., 1885, p. 753 sqq.

7. Persian prose and verse translations. According to Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* (see de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X (1818), i. 140 sqq.), Ibn al-Muḳaffa's book was translated into Persian under the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (914—943) by order of the vizier Bal'āmī [q. v.]; but

it appears that this translation was never completed. By order of the same ruler the poet Rūdhakī (d. 304 = 916) put the book into Persian verse of which, however, only 16 verses have survived in quotations in Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. Horn, p. 18 sqq.

Ibn al-Muḳaffa's work was translated into Persian prose probably after the year 539 = 1144 (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 745/6) by Nizām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, who dedicated his work to Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna [q. v., I, 586]. Naṣr Allāh in a new preface announces his intention of reproducing the work completely, including the aphorisms which seemed to him particularly valuable, with all the rhetorical adornment of artificial prose; he only gives Burzō's introduction in ordinary prose, as an artificial style does not suit its matter. The work was lithographed in Tih-rān in 1282 (= 1864; this disposes of Chauvin's doubts, p. 46/7), 1304 and 1305. Cf. de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X, i. 96 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. (London 1906), p. 349.

A metrical version of the book was given by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Tūsī Kānī, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya, whither he had fled before the Mongols from his native city of Tös, for Sultān 'Izz al-Dīn Kaikā'ūs (643—662 = 1244—1263), probably based on Naṣr Allāh's translation, which, however, he nowhere mentions; see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 582 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *A History of Pers. Literature under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge 1920), p. 111.

This work was, however, put in the shade completely by the revision of Naṣr Allāh's translation done by Ḥusain Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 910 = 1504, see KĀSHIFĪ), the court-preacher of Ḥusain Baikarā of Herāt [see ḤUSAIN MİRZĀ]. In honour of Ḥusain's minister Aḥmad Suhailī he called his work *Anwār-i Suhailī*. He professed to be making the rhetorical artificial prose of Naṣr Allāh easier to understand by giving it in a new version but in reality he created an even more florid and verbose concoction, "full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast and represents to perfection the worst style of those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids" (E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 352, *op. cit.*, p. 503 sqq.). But as this style remained predominant in Persia and particularly in India down to the threshold of the modern period, the work had an unparalleled success and was printed in England (first complete edition London 1836), where it was used as a text book for the examination of English officials in India in Persian and repeatedly printed and lithographed in India and Persia, translated into several Indian dialects, into Pushtu, Georgian and all the principal languages of Europe (see Chauvin, p. 26—43). Ḥusain replaced the four prefaces at the vulgate of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' by a new introduction from a so far unidentified source; de Sacy supposes (*Not. et Extr.* X, i. 59) that in it we have the older *Djāwidān Khirad*, which al-Turtūshī was still able to use for his *Sirādj al-Mulūk* (Bulāḡ 1289), p. 97, 22—24, 185, 25 sqq. The Emperor of China Humāyūnfāl is persuaded to give up the idea of abdicating his throne by his vizier, who

tells him how the Indian king Dabshalim was directed by a dream to a cave in which an old man would give him a treasure. Of the latter Dabshalim keeps only the testament of Hōshang, king of Persia, which contains 14 pieces of advice for rulers, and with these he goes to Ceylon where the Brahman Bidpai or Pilpai explains each of these precepts by stories which form the separate chapters of the book.

Dislike of the extravagant and luxurious style of the *Anwār-i Suhailī* induced the Emperor Akbar (1556—1605) to commission his vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl to prepare a new edition of the work. This bears the title *'Yār-i Dānish* and was completed in 996 (1578). It retains the arrangement of its model but restores Ibn al-Mukāffā's preface and Burzōe's introduction. The work itself is not yet printed but a Hindustānī translation by Hafiz-uddin, entitled *Khirad Afrōz*, was published by Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1815) and by Eastwick (Hertford 1857, London 1867) on account of its elegant diction.

8. Turkish translations. Ibn al-Mukāffā's work was twice translated into Eastern Turkī from Naṣr Allāh's translation; see the manuscripts in Dresden in Fleischer, *Cat. Codd. Mss. orient. Bibl. Regiae Dresdensis* (Lipsiae 1831), p. 19, N^o. 136 and Munich in Aumer, *Die pers. und türk. Hdss. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, p. 54.

Naṣr Allāh's edition was translated into old Ottoman Turkish (not into Eastern Turkī, as Hertel, p. 407 says, relying on a somewhat misleading expression of Éthé's, *op. cit.*) by Mas'ūd for 'Umürbeg, prince of Aidīn (d. 750 = 1349) (a MS. in the Bodleian, Marsh. 180). This prose text was put into verse by an unknown author who dedicated his work to Sultān Murād I (761—792 = 1359—1389); only about half has survived in a Gotha manuscript (see Pertsch, *Verz. der türk. Handschr. d. Herz. Bibl.*, p. 168, N^o. 189). A modern Ottoman prose version, which must have been made before 955 (1548), exists in the Bodleian MS. Marsh. 61; cf. H. Éthé, *On some hitherto unknown Turkish Versions of Kalilah and Dimnah* in the *Actes du 6^e Congr. internat. des Orientalistes*, 2nd sect., i. 241 sqq.

'Alī b. Šālih, called 'Alī Wāsī' or 'Alī Čelebi, translated the *Anwār-i Suhailī* into Ottoman rhymed prose and dedicated his work to Sultān Sulaimān I (1512—1520) with the title *Humāyūn-nāma*; it has been several times printed in Būlāḡ and Stambul (see Chauvin, p. 50). Among the different European translations of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, the best known is the French of Galland, published after his death by Gueulette (Paris 1724); it was translated by Gonggrijp into Malay (Batavia 1866) and the latter version inspired a Javanese translation by Kramaprawira, which was put into Javanese verse by an anonymous poet. The luxuriousness of its language, in which the *Humāyūn-nāma* surpassed even its Persian original, induced the Mufti Yahyā Efendī and 'Oth-mānzāde, who died in 1139 (1726) as Kādī in Cairo, to prepare extracts from it (see Éthé, *op. cit.*, p. 242).

The *Anwār-i Suhailī* was translated, apparently with the assistance of the *Humāyūn-nāma* by Faḍl Allāh b. 'Isā Tashkendī at the instigation of Muḥammad Mūsā Bai Bāčā into modern Eastern Turkī prose (to be more accurate into the language of Tashkend and Farghāna as the colophon,

or the language of Turkeṣtān and Farghāna as the title states); the latter then had the book lithographed by the calligrapher Mīrzā Hāshim Khodjandī, according to the colophon in 1306 (1888); according to the title, the book was published in 1893.

Ibn al-Mukāffā's book was translated from the Arabic into Qazan Turkī by 'Abd al-'Allām Faiz Khān Oghlu and printed at Kāzan 1889 (University Press, *Orient. Bibliographie*, iii. 1421), in the same year at Wjatschakow (*ibid.*, iv. N^o. 3935) and in 1892 at Cirkova (*ibid.*, vi. 167, N^o. 3166). The introduction, however, was, according to a communication from Prof. Hommel, borrowed from the *Anwār-i-Suhailī*.

9. The Mongol translation. The Mongol translation which Malik Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, a descendant of Muḥammad Bakrī, prepared in Qazwin has not survived (see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, Gibb Mem. xiv. p. 844/5, transl. p. 233; Browne, *A Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 93, and correctly stated as early as Hammer-Purgstall in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 3rd Ser., i. 580). This statement is confused in Ḥādjīdī Khalīfa, v. 239, who ascribes a translation into Turkish (*lughat al-Turk*) to the ancestor Muḥammad Bakrī (see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* X, 175; Éthé, *op. cit.*, p. 243, who does not take notice of von Hammer's correct statement). As Flügel wrongly translates *in linguam Tatarorum*, Hertel (p. 414) wrongly identifies this reported Tatar translation with the above mentioned Qazan Turkī (so-called Tatar) translation quoted in Chauvin, p. 78, note.

10. The Ethiopic translation. An Ethiopic version, which was certainly based on a text, indigenous to Egypt, of the Arabic of Ibn al-Mukāffā, is also lost: it is mentioned in a work composed in 1582 (see Wright, *Cat. of the Ethiop. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 82b) (see Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrte Anz.* 1884, p. 676, note 5).

11. The Hebrew and older European translations. At the beginning of the twelfth century a certain Rabbi Jō'el translated Ibn al-Mukāffā's work into Hebrew from a valuable manuscript which, however, already contained the false story of Burzōe's mission and the two not genuine fables at the end of the heron and the duck and of the fox, dove and heron. From the unique manuscript, exceedingly corrupt in the beginning, J. Derenbourg published this translation along with that of Jacob b. Eleazar of the xiiith century (*Deux versions hébraïques du Livre de Kalilah et Dimnah* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 49., Paris 1881). Jacob's version while based on a similar text to that of Jō'el is, however, very free, composed in elegant rhymed prose and full of Biblical locutions. The version of the Rabbi Jō'el was then translated into Latin by the baptised Jew John of Capua for Cardinal Ursinus between 1263 and 1278 with the title *Directorium vitae humanae* (cf. Johannes de Capua, *Directorium vitae humanae*, publ. and annot. by J. Derenbourg in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 72, Paris 1887; a new edition based on manuscripts which he has recently discovered is to be expected from Hilka). With the exception of an old Spanish version, which reproduces the same text as Rabbi Jō'el much more faithfully than John of Capua does (see Clifford G. Allen, *L'an-*

cienne version espagnole de *Kalila et Digna*, texte des mss. de l'Escorial, précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi d'un glossaire, Thesis, Paris-Macon 1906), all later translations into Western European languages with the exception of quite modern ones are based on the Latin text of John of Capua (see Chauvin, p. 59—72; Hertel, p. 366—400).

12. The Greek translation. Towards the end of the xith century, Symeon son of Seth translated Ibn al-Muḳaffā's work fairly freely into Greek from a manuscript which was still free from later additions but contained the chapter on the king of the mice and his ministers. He called the book *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, because he recognised in *Kalila* the Arabic *ikhlāl* and in *Dimna* the Arabic word for "trace". See *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*. *Quattro recensioni della versione greca del Kitāb Kalilāh wa-Dimna*, pubbl. da Vittorio Puntoni, *Pubblicazioni della Soc. Asiat. Ital.*, ii. (1889). This version was in turn translated into Latin and German as well as into several Slavonic languages.

13. The Persian translation of the *Hitoṇpadēsha*. The later Sanskrit version of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitoṇpadēsha*, was translated very freely into Persian, probably in the reign of Akbar, by a certain Tādj al-Dīn, under the title *Mufarriḥ al-Kulūb* (see de Sacy, *L'électuaire des cœurs, ou traduction persane du livre indien intitulé Hitoṇpadēsa par Taadj-eddin, ms. persan de la Bibl. du Roi*, No. 386 in the *Not. et Extr.* X, i. 226—264). This work was then translated by the highly esteemed Hindūstānī author Mīr Bahādur 'Alī Ḥusainī in 1217 (1802) into his mother tongue (see Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littér. hindoue ou hindoustanie*², i. 609 sqq.). A year later the latter was edited by Gilchrist as *Ukhlaqi Hindie or Indian Ethics*, transl. from the Version of the celebrated Hitoṇpadēs or Salutory Counsel by Meer Buhadoor Ulee, . . . under the superintendence of John Gilchrist, Calcutta 1803; cf. J. Hertel, *Die Akhṣāq-ḥ Hindī und ihre Quellen* in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lxxii. 65—86, lxxiv. 95—117, lxxv. 129—200.

14. The older Malay translation. On a mixture of Ibn al-Muḳaffā's work and a Tamil text of the *Pañcatantra* is based the Malay version *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, which was first brought to notice by Werndly in his *Malteische Sprachkunst*, Amsterdam 1736, and was published in 1876 by Gonggrijp at Leiden (2nd ed. 1892; cf. J. J. Brandes in the *Festbundel aan Professor M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, p. 77 sqq.). This work was next translated into Javanese (Batavia 1878) and Madurese (ibid. 1879).

15. Imitations of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. Setting aside the fables included in the *1001 Nights*, Ibn al-Muḳaffā's work has been three times imitated in Islāmic literatures. Ibn al-Habbāriya (see above) followed up his versification with the *Kit. al-Sādīḥ wa'l-Bāghim* (see above p. 378 sq.; also printed in Cairo 1294). While this was only an imitation of the beast-fable, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zafar al-Ṣakālī (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172) in his *Sulwān al-Muṭā*, which he first composed in 545 (1150) and dedicated in 554 (1159) in a new edition to the Kā'id of Sicily, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī, intended to produce a mirror for princes, like the *Kalila wa-Dimna*; in addition to beast-fables the book also contains

historical anecdotes. It was lithographed at Cairo 1278, printed Tunis 1279, Bairūt 1300; translated into Turkish by Kara Khalilzāde (d. 1168—1754) and printed Stambul 1285; translated into Italian by M. Amari, *Solwan al-mota ossiano Conforti politici di Ibn Zafer, arabo siciliano del XII secolo*, Florence 1851, 1882 (Engl. transl. London 1852).

Another mirror for princes in which historic anecdotes are mingled with beast-fables for the edification of the reader, was composed about the end of the fourth century A. H. by the prince of Ṭabaristān, Ispahbadh Marzubān in the Persian dialect of his land. This work itself has not survived, but in the viith (xiiith) and viiith (xiiiith) century it was twice translated into classical Persian. This was first done at the court of the Saldjūk of Asia Minor, Sulaimānshāh (588—600 = 1192—1204) by his vizier Muḥammad b. Ghāzi of Malatya; his work, entitled *Rawḍat al-'Uḳūl*, exists in two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris. The *Marzubānnāma* of Sa'd al-Dīn-i Warāwīnī, composed between 607 and 622 (1210—1225), enjoyed greater popularity. It has been edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. viii.).

Warāwīnī's version was translated by an unknown author into Ottoman Turkish (a copy of 848 (1444) in Berlin; see Pertsch, *Verz. der Türk. Hdss.*, No. 444); this Turkish version was again translated anonymously into Arabic (MS. Berlin, see Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, No. 8472). A second Arabic translation, which, according to the Gotha MS. (see Pertsch, *Die Arab. Hdss. der Herz. Bibl.*, No. 2692), is also based on the Turkish, was made by Ibn 'Arabshāh [q. v.]; there is another MS. in Paris (de Slane, *Catal.*, No. 3524) and it was lithographed in Cairo in 1278. The same author then rewrote his work in artificial prose in his *Fākihat al-Khulafā' wa-Mufakkarat al-Zurafā'*, and added several new stories.

The same recension which had been translated into Ottoman Turkish and which is distinguished from Warāwīnī's vulgate as well as from the *Rawḍat al-'Uḳūl* by the tenth (concluding) chapter *dar bayān-i ziyādat-i 'umr wa-dawlat wa-zindagānī kardan bā dōst udushman*, was translated into Ḳazan Turkī by an unnamed writer for a certain Sulaimān Bek, son of Muḥammad Bek, and printed at Ḳazan in 1864 under the title *Kitāb Destūri Shāhī fī hikāyāti Pādishāhi*.

Bibliography: V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes* etc., ii. *Kalilāh* (Liège—Leipzig 1897); J. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig and Berlin 1914.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KALĪM, a Persian poet of India of the seventeenth century. His full name was MĪRZĀ ABŪ ṬĀLIB KALĪM of Hamadhān. He lived first in Kāshān, so that he is also given the *nisba* Kāshānī as well as Hamadhānī. In the beginning of the reign of Djahāngir (q. v., 1014—1037 = 1605—1627) he came to India to his court. A considerable journey took him in the following years to the 'Irāq, from which he returned in 1028 (1619) to India and lived there henceforth as court-poet of the Moghul Emperors. Under Djahāngir's successor Shāh Djahān (1037—1068 = 1628—1656), whom he celebrated in an epic — the title of which is given in three forms: *Shāhān-shāhnāma*, *Shāhnāma* and *Pādishāhnāma* — he was given the title of honour *Malik al-Shu'arā'*.

He died in Kashmīr in 1062 (1652); the date 1061 (1651) has less authority. His *Diwān* contains the usual kinds of poetry, especially *qaṣīdas* and *mathnawīs* of a panegyric character. Manuscripts of the *Diwān* are frequent — a lithographed edition appeared at Lucknow in 1878 — but his *Shāhānshāhnāma* seems only to exist in extracts. He is estimated to have left 24,000 verses.

Bibliography: Hādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, iii. 304, N^o. 5636; Ethé in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 238, 309, 311; more details are given in the Catalogues of manuscripts: Sprenger, *A Cat. of the... Mss. of the Libraries of King of Oudh.*, p. 453 sq.; Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, ii. 686 sq.; Pertsch, *Verz. der pers. Handschr. ... zu Berlin*, p. 920 sq.; Sachau-Ethé, *Cat. of the Persian ... Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 692—4; and especially Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, p. 854 sqq., where the references in the *Tadhkirāt* to K. are given.

(H. H. SCHAEFER)

KALĪM ALLĀH. *Kalīm* is one who speaks to you, following the equation *fa'il = mufa'il* (e.g. al-Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 445, 20, 583, 13, 595, 7); so in the *Lisān* (xv. 428 *infra*) which adds that the *Tahdhīb* (of al-Azhari) allows it to mean also one to whom you speak. In consequence, *Kalīm Allāh* has become the special honorific title of Mūsā, "He who spoke to Allāh", or, following the *Tahdhīb*, "He to whom Allāh spoke", because of several passages in the *Qur'an* describing direct speech between Allāh and Mūsā — especially *Qur.* iv. 162, *wa-kallam Allāhu Mūsā taklīmā*, where the addition of the infinitive is said to show that literal and direct speech is meant and not a metaphor (*Lisān*, xv. 429, 3 sqq.; al-Ash'ari, *al-Ibāna*, ed. Haidarābād, 1321, p. 27 *infra*). In these passages the emphasis is always on Allāh's speaking to Mūsā, and this may be the cause of the extension of meaning of *kalīm* in the *Tahdhīb*. Further, the third stem of *kalm* does not occur in the received text of the *Qur'an*; but in *Qur.* ii. 254, there is a variant reading, *kālam Allāha* (al-Baidāwī, i. 130, 9) and this variant reading is given by al-Baidāwī as the source of the honorific title, *kalīm = mukālīm*. Yet in this passage there is no mention of Mūsā. Cf., also, the epithet with similar meaning *naḍī*, applied to Mūsā in *Qur.* xix. 53, where al-Baidāwī (i. 583, 13) equates *naḍī* with *munāḍī*.

Bibliography: See under KALĀM. Add Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 174; and on variants in the *Qur'an* text, pp. 1—54; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 486b.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

KALIMA. For the primary meaning see under KALĀM. Each utterance of Allāh is a *kalima*, whether it is the single creative word, *kun*, "come into being!" or a longer expression. Thus it is a synonym of *dīn* (Dozy, *Suppl.* ii. 286a); *kalimatān baḳīyatan*, in *Qur.* xliii. 27 is interpreted as meaning the *tawhīd*, the first of the two articles of the Muslim creed (al-Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii. 237, 25) and "two words" in *The 1001 Nights* (Calcutta ed., N. 834, iv. 159; in the Breslau text, iv. 327, it is *fard kalima*) means the two articles. In this wide sense the *kalima* of a poet can mean a whole *qaṣīda* by him (*Lisān*, xv. 428 *infra*; al-Baidāwī, i. 154, 17 on *Qur.* iii. 34) and

it is a question whether 'Isā is called a *kalima* from Allāh (*Qur.* iii. 34, 40) because he is an expression of the *kalām* of Allāh, or because he was produced by the single creative word *kun*, and is thus a primary creation like Adam (al-Baidāwī, *loc. cit.*; *Lisān*, xv. 430 *supra*). From the doctrine of Allāh's *kalām* it follows that his *kalimāt* must be innumerable (see KALĀM). But all contingent existences (*al-mumkināt*) have been produced by *kalimāt* of Allāh, i. e. the creative commands *kun*; therefore the Speech of the Reality (*al-ḥaqq*) is the self of the identities of the contingent existences, or the contingent existences themselves (*nafs a'yān al-mumkināt*, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1271, *infra*). The half page which follows the last reference shows how this is the bridge from the orthodox doctrine of Allāh's quality, Speech, to the Neoplatonic Chain and all its descendants.

Bibliography: Has been given above. See further on 'ABD AL-RAZZĀK (i. 61 sqq.); AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL (ii. 510 sq.).

(D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-ḲALḲASHANDĪ, *nisba* from ḲalḲashanda near Ḳalyūb.

I. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH (in MSS. often briefly called AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH) B. ABĪ GHUDDA, died on Djumādā II 10, 821 (July 16, 1418), wrote besides a number of smaller works a guide to the artistic composition of essays and reports, especially for the use of Egyptian government officials; just as Ibn Ḳutaiba [q. v.] in his *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* and the supplements to that work wished to afford the secretary class an encyclopaedic survey of the most important branches of knowledge of his time, so al-ḲalḲashandī's work, composed after 791 (1387), entitled *Subḥ al-A'shā fī Shīn'at al-Inshā'*, presents in a much more comprehensive and systematic form practically the whole knowledge of his time and contains information of the utmost value, especially regarding the history and geography of Egypt and Syria. It has been printed as a publication of the Dār al-Kutub al-Ḳhadiwiya (al-Sultāniya) (Cairo 1331—8 [1913—9], 14 vols.). Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten nach dem Arab. des Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Calcaschandī in the Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Cl., XXV (1879); W. v. Tiesenhausen in the *Zapiski Vost. Otdj. Imp. Russk. Arch. Obš.*, i. 208; do., *Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, i. 395; H. Sauvaire, *Extraits de l'ouvrage de K. intitulé Lumière de l'aurore pour l'écriture des hommes* (Arab. MS. of the Bodleian Library) in the *Mém. de l'Acad. de Marseille*, 1886, 1887; H. Lammens, *Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes in the Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, ix. (1904), 151—187, 359—392. A selection from it entitled *Daw' al-Ṣubḥ al-Musfir wa-Djany al-Dawḥ al-Muthmir* was printed in Cairo 1906. His second great work which he composed in 812 (1409) is a genealogy and history of the Arab tribes before Muḥammad with an alphabetical list entitled *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ma'rifat al-Ḳabā'il al-Arab*, MSS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, N^o. 9382/3) and London (*Cat. Codd. Mss. Or...* in *Mus. Brit.*, N^o. 341/2); according to Lammens in the *Mél. de la Fac. orient. de Beyrouth*, III/i. 150 N. 1, it has been printed in Baghdād n. d.; in this

text the author is called Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh; Lammens concludes from this that the authors of the *Ṣubḥ* and of the *Nihāya* were different individuals; but here either the father is confused with the son (see N^o. 2) or the printed book contains the work of the son. The alphabetical list was worked up by Abū'l-Fawz Muḥammad Amīn al-Suwaydī in 1229 (1814) into a genealogical survey and extended to the Caliphs and Sultāns with the title *Sabā'ik al-Dhahab fī Ma'rīfat Ḳabā'il al-'Arab*, lith. Baghdād 1280, Bombay 1296. After the year 818 (1415) al-ḲalḲashandī wrote a supplement to it entitled *Kalā'id al-Djumān fī 'l-Ta'rīf bi-Ḳabā'il 'Arab al-Zamān*, MSS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, N^o. 9384) and London (Rieu, *Suppl. to the Cat. of the Arabic Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, N^o. 595); a synopsis by al-Suyūṭī in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, N^o. 9385).

2. His son NAḌīm al-Dīn Muḥammad imitated his two chief works, the *Ṣubḥ* under the title *Kalā'id al-Djumān fī Muṣṭalah Mukātabāt Ahl al-Zamān* (see Rieu, *Suppl.*, N^o. 1020) and the *Nihāya* under the title *Nihāyat al-'Arab fī Ma'rīfat Ansūb al-'Arab*, dedicated to the Grand Emīr of the Arabs of the East and of the West Zain al-Dīn Abū 'l-Djūd Baḳr b. Rashīd al-Zainī; the autograph of the year 846 (1442) in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (see de Slane, *Cat.*, N^o. 2049), another MS. in Cairo, Khed. Bibl. (*Fihrr.*, v. 170; author Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, see Vollers, *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xliii. 118; on the Baghdād printed text see above).

3. ABU 'L-FATH IBRĀHīm b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maḳḍisī, BURHĀN (DJAMĀL) al-Dīn, d. 922 (1516), Traditionist, whose works are detailed in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, ii. 78.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N^o. 467; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 134.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KALMUCKS, the Turkish name for a Mongol people who call themselves OIRAT. In Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (ii. 272), the forms Ḳalmaḳ (Central Asian dialects), Ḳalmīḳ (Volga dialects; whence the Russian word) and Ḳalmūḳ (Ottoman; whence the Crimean Tatar expression *ḳalmūḳ-i bad-maḳhūḳ*) are given. In Central Asia the Turkish speaking Teleuts are called "White Kalmūcks" (Aḳ Ḳalmaḳ) and the Western Mongols proper "Black Kalmūcks" (Ḳara Ḳalmaḳ). The word is derived (probably only by a popular etymology) from the verb *ḳalmaḳ* "to remain"; it is said to denote the Oirat, who "remained" pagans, in contrast to the Dungans (the Chinese-speaking Muḥammadans), who "returned" (verb *dönmek*) (according to the well known Muslim idea) to Islām.

The word Ḳalmaḳ seems first to occur in the *Muḳaddima* (not included in the printed edition) to the *Zafar-Nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, not, it seems, as an ethnographical term but as a geographical one. It is said that after the expulsion of the Mongol dynasty from China only their "original territory" (*yurt-i aṣlī*), i. e. Ḳaraḳorum and Ḳalmaḳ remained in their possession; the "Emīrs of the Oirat" later deprived them of this also.

From the time of Wais Khān (1418—28) the Mongols on the Ili [q. v.] had to fight against the "infidel Ḳalmaḳ"; accounts of these wars are found, notably in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (ed. Ney-Elias, see Index). Wais Khān was twice taken prisoner by the Ḳalmaḳ and had to give his sister

in marriage to the chief of the Ḳalmaḳ Isān Taiḣi (properly Esen Taiḣi). Toghon, father of the latter, was then ruling in Mongolia on the Chinese frontier, where he was succeeded in 1439 by Esen Taiḣi. After the death of Esen Taiḣi (1455) the great nomad kingdom of the Oirat broke up; individual princes are mentioned from time to time later, as ruling in the neighbourhood of Muslim lands; in the beginning of 864 (end of 1459) a Ḳalmaḳ embassy appeared in Herāt. According to Chinese sources, the Oirat in 1552 had to submit to Altan Khān, prince of the Tūmet. The name Ḳalmaḳ seems to have been extended by the Muslims to this kingdom. According to the Ottoman Saifī (wrote 990 = 1572), the prince of the Ḳalmaḳ bore the title *Altun Khān* (Turk. *Altun* = Mongol *Altan*); cf. the text in the Leiden MS. N^o. 917 and the translation by Ch. Schefer in Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, transl. p. 292 sq. The Muḥammadan sources also report the restoration of the Oirat kingdom under Khara Khula (d. 1634). In Turkestan the Ḳalmaḳ, during this period also, were regarded as powerful foes to Islām. The prince of the Ḳazaḳ (Kirgiz), Tawakkul Khān, had to fly before them to Tashkend, where he was received by Nawrūz Aḥmad Khān or Barāḳ Khān (d. 1556); but Nawrūz Aḥmad is said to have replied to his guest's appeal for help that ten such princes as they two could do nothing against the Ḳalmaḳ. At a later date on the other hand we find Tawakkul described in Russia as "Czar of the Ḳazaḳ and of the Kalmucks" on the occasion of his embassy to the Czar Feodor (1594), perhaps because a few bodies of Kalmucks had attached themselves to him; according to the *'Abdallāh-Nāma* (MS. of the Asiatic Museum, N^o. 574, f. 352^a) there were also Kalmucks (Ḳalmāḳān) in Tashkend in the army of Bābā Khān (a son of Nawrūz Aḥmad) about 1582. In the winter of 1603—4 took place the first raid of the Kalmucks into Khwārizm (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, text p. 275). Soon afterwards, under the Czar Wassilij Shuiskij (1606—1610), the Kalmucks for the first time entered into relations with the Russian government, although it was not till 1632 that Kalmucks settled on the Volga on a large scale. This branch of the Kalmucks had separated from their kinsmen, under the leadership of Kho Urluk, as early as 1618. The land of the Volga Kalmucks therefore did not belong to the empire founded by Khara Khula, although the relations between the two branches of the people had not yet been broken. Representatives of the Volga Kalmucks still appeared at the *ḳurultai* (parliament) of 1640; Batur, the son and successor of Khara Khula gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Kho Urluk. By the same *ḳurultai* the dominance of Buddhism was firmly established among all branches of the Kalmucks. The progress made by Islām described in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (p. 91) in connection with the above mentioned marriage contract apparently was not maintained. Most of the Muslim territories of Turkestan were under the suzerainty of the Buddhist Kalmuck prince on the Ili, the founder of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia, until the destruction of this empire by the Chinese in 1758 (subjection of Kāshgharia in 1682, conquest of Tashkend in 1723); as late as 1749 the regent (*Atalik*) of

Bukhārā and his opponent had to submit a dispute to the verdict of an embassy of the Kalmuck prince (*Tūra-i Kalmūk*) (Muḥammad Waḡa Karmīnagī, MS. of the Asiatic Mus., c. 581b, f. 101^b sqq.) A great part of the pasture grounds of the Kazaḡ was at once occupied by the Kalmucks. Islām was then almost completely driven out of the southern part of the modern Semirječe. From this period date several Buddhist monuments, including Tibetan inscriptions. It was only after the decline of the Kalmuck empire that these areas were again occupied by the Muḥammadan Kazaḡ. The wars of the Volga Kalmucks with the Crimean Tatars and their raids into Khwārizm had less effect on Islām; from 1724 the Kalmuck chiefs on the lower course of the Volga were simply considered governors (*namjestnik*) of the Czar of Russia. No connection existed then with the ruler on the Ili. The decision of the "governor" Ubushī and a great part of his people to migrate from Russia and settle on Chinese territory proved disastrous for the Kalmucks. During this migration heavy losses were inflicted on the Kalmucks in Central Asia, especially by the Kazaḡ (1771). Henceforth the Kalmucks were of no political significance either in Russia or in China. During the Muḥammadan rising in the Ili valley the great Kalmuck temple of Buddha near Kulḡja was destroyed (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 403). After the Russian revolution an "autonomous Kalmuck territory" (*awtonomnaja kalmizkaja oblast'*) arose in what was formerly the gouvernement of Astrachan, between 45° and 48° N. Lat. and 44°—48° E. Long. A portion of the Kalmucks in Semirječe (less than 2000 souls) which has adopted Islām and taken to agriculture is called Sart-Kalmaḡ.

Bibliography: Iakinf, *Istoriteskoje obozrenije oiratov ili kalmikov*, St. Petersburg 1854; Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, i. London 1876; W. Barthold, *Očerki istorii Semirječija*, p. 78 sq.; N. Pal'mov, *Očerki istorii kalmizkogo naroda za vremja jego prebivanija v predjelach Rossii*, Astrachan 1922; *Oiratskije Izvestija*, founded in 1922. (W. BARTHOLD)

KALPAK (т.), A Central Asian headdress, which was introduced by the Turks into Europe and became widely distributed there. The word *kalpak* is found in the most diverse Turkish dialects in meanings which are detailed by W. Radloff in his *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkidialekte*, ii. 268 sq. (cf. also *kalabak*, ii. 234). The Eastern Turkish *tülpäk*, Djag. East. Turk. *tälpäk*, Kirg. and Karakirg. *telpäk*, meaning cap, felt cap (cf. also the French *talpack*) is certainly related. Cf. thereon Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-oriental*, p. 408). In its original form the *kalpak* is a cone-shaped sheepskin cap, flattened on top, covering the head down to the eyes and ears, for the manufacture of which skins of darker colour, in people of rank particularly a black astrachan, were used and then trimmed with softer fur of a brighter colour. Such caps have been worn among almost all Tatar tribes from ancient times to the present day. In earlier times, as G. Rosen suggests, they were a part of the national costume also among the Ottomans. Nevertheless, neither this headdress nor the word *kalpak* can be proved to have existed before the middle of the xviiith century. The *kalpak* must, very soon after this, under the arabicising influence of Islām,

have been driven out by the turban in its countless forms (cf. 286 styles in Michael Thalmann, *Elenchus librorum or. mss.*, Vienna 1702, vi. 29 sq. on Codex Turc. VII, Bologna). But the *kalpak* remained as the distinguishing headgear of prominent Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte, with, it is true, considerable alterations in its original appearance. In place of the fur a thick black felt was used and the shape became swollen almost like a melon. Of these headdresses three kinds were especially known, called after professions which particularly wore them, viz. the *kalpak* of the physicians, of the money-changers and of the interpreters (*hekim*, *şarraf* and *terdžumān kalpaghī*). As late as the beginning of the sixteenth century the embassy interpreters, who were not Turkish subjects, had to wear the *kalpak*, when they went on business to the Porte. In the house the *kalpak*, which, on account of its weight, was too hot and uncomfortable for indoor wear, was placed on a stand elaborately carved, often painted and adorned with gilding, the *kalpaklık*, a piece of furniture, which was considered the sign of a distinguished and prosperous Christian household. When, with the coming of the fez, the *kalpak* threatened to go entirely out of use among the Christian population also, an edict (*firmān*) of the grand vizier 'Izzet Meḥmed Pasha ordered in 1842 that all non-Turkish subjects should wear the *kalpak* instead of the fez. But this order was not long enforced. At the present day the *kalpak* is still made and worn only by Armenians. The fine lambskins stretched over pasteboard shapes were at one time imported from Ural in Russian Tartary, and also from Khiva and Bokhārā, and manufactured and sold on the so-called *Kalpakdžilar* Čarshusu in Stambul. Among the peoples who adopted the name *kalpak* for their corresponding headdress, special mention may be made of the Slav tribes of the Balkans (cf. Slav *klobuk*; Greek *κολβάκι*). Down to 1763 the *kalpak* was also the headdress of the Hungarian Hussars. The high felt cap made of the finest arctic furs and adorned with valuable jewelled clasps, which is still worn as part of the state-dress of Hungarian magnates and Rumanian boyars, is also called *kalpak* (Magyar *kalpag*, cf. also *kalap* = hat). The Hungarians may have adopted the headdress from the Ottomans in the beginning of the xviiith century. Cf. also J. Szendrei, *A magyar viselet történeti fejlődése*, Budapest 1905, s.v. Among the Hussars of the German army, where the *kalpak* was worn since the time of Frederick the Great, *kolpak* means the cloth tab above in the bearskin, the colour of which served to mark the regiment. Under the First Empire in France the *kalpak* (*colback*) was introduced into the French army as the headdress of certain arms; under the Second Empire the mounted chasseurs wore a cap called *talpack*.

Bibliography (in addition to the works quoted): cf. Ch. White, *Häusliches Leben und Sitten der Türken*, ii. (Berlin 1845), p. 299 sq.; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. (Paris 1790), 137; *Magyar Nyelvőr*, iv. (Budapest 1875), 400 (G. Szarvas); also vi. 365. (FR. BABINGER)

KALYÜB, a fair sized town in Lower Egypt with a railway station, 10 miles north of the central station at Cairo on the Cairo-

Alexandria railway. The town proper lies about a mile west of the station and about 3 miles from the right bank of the Nile, on the Tur'at al-Sardūsiya. Down to the middle of last century Qalyūb was the capital of the Mudiriya al-Qalyūbiya. Under the Khedive Ismā'il the Dīwān of the Mudiriya was moved to Benha. Since that date Qalyūb has been a *markaz* (district-capital). Branch lines run to Zaḳāzīk and the Barrage du Nil. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslims. According to 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, Qalyūb possesses a Shari'a court (*maḥkama Shar'iya*) and a hospital. Cf. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xiv. 114 sqq.; Baedeker, *Égypte*¹⁷ (1914), p. 34; Samibey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, Stambul 1314 (1896), v. 3693b, where (line 2—3) we should read *simālinde for ḡenūbinda*.

A Greek Καλλιόπη — not yet, however, found — is at the base of the name. In the *Scalae* it is found under the form Καλιωπε (Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, Series i. 151).

Historical: John of Nikius mentions Qalyūb in his *Chronicle*, Chap. 113 (ed. Zotenberg, p. 321, 509). 'Amr b. al-'Ās [q. v.] had a bridge thrown over the canal at this town to be able to conquer the other towns of the province of Miṣr (circa 20 = 641). In 549 = 1154/5 the Caliph al-Zāhir granted Qalyūb as a fief to his great favourite Naṣr b. 'Abbās. Usāma b. Munqidh so depreciated this present in the eyes of Naṣr and his father that it became one cause of the murder of the Caliph by Naṣr and 'Abbās (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 126; Usāma b. Munqidh, ed. Derenbourg, i. 245; Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, p. 93). In the fighting between Selim I and Tumān-Bey, Qalyūb did not escape the raids of the Arabs (Ibn Iyās, *Tārīkh Miṣr*, under Ṣafar 923 = March 10, 1517). For embassies etc. Qalyūb was the last stage before Cairo. Thus, for example, in Rabi' I 925 (= March 1519) 'Alī Pasha Mubārak wrongly gives R. I 25, 923 for R. I 23, 925). Khā'ir Bey had the Sulṭān's envoy received there with the greatest ceremony by the Kādī Barakāt b. Mūsa (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii. 109). The town had again to suffer exceedingly from the extortions and plundering of the half-savage soldiers and Mamlūks in the years 1219 and 1220 (1804 and 1805); cf. al-Djabartī, *Adḡūb al-Aḥbār*, under the years quoted. Qalyūb, as a result of its situation close to the gates of Cairo, may not have escaped on other occasions the effects of the political happenings in the capital. Ibn Duḳmāk (809 = 1406) and al-Zāhirī (839 = 1434/5) report, that in their day Qalyūb was for the most part lying in ruins.

Economic: Almost all sources praise the wealth of Qalyūb in gardens and trees, among which the acacias (*sanṭ*) are mentioned as particularly valuable. In spite of the restrictive edicts of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the ground was very badly farmed, so that Qalyūb's prosperity suffered considerably (cf. 'Othmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusi — wrote 637—648 = 1240—1249; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.* i. 335 — who devotes a longish section to Qalyūb in his *Luma' al-Qawānīn al-Muḍ'ira fī Dawūwīn al-Diyār al-Miṣriya*; quoted in 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114 sq.). — In 1240 (1824/25) Muḥammad 'Alī built a cotton mill in Qalyūb and later barracks and a remount depot were established there. The al-Shawāribī

family deserves special mention for its share in the economic development of Qalyūb, where they also built a serai with a mosque.

There are six mosques in Qalyūb, in one of which the Friday service is held. Among these the "great Mosque", formerly called *Djāmi' al-Zainabi*, with its great *Manāra*, made a great impression on Ibn Djabair (578 = 1182/3 in Egypt; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i. 478; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, p. 114). According to the inscriptions on its minbar and above the door it was renovated in 1148 = 1735/6 by the Shaikh al-'Arab of Qalyūb, Aḥmad al-Shawāribī. Among the tombs of saints the most important is that of Sidi 'Awwād with popular amusements and horse-racing.

'Alī Pasha Mubārak gives a very full account of the above mentioned al-Shawāribī family as one of the most prominent in the town. Al-Malik al-Zāhir Baibars gave them charge of the new bridge over the Baḥr Abu'l Manadjdja (cf. also al-Ḳalkashandī, transl. Wüstenfeld, p. 28) and granted them large estates as fiefs and an annual pension (which lasted till 1275 = 1858/9). Muṣṭafā Pasha granted them the supervision of the whole province of al-Qalyūbiya. Various members of the family also filled important posts in the administration, besides the office of Shaikh al-'Arab of Qalyūb, which seems to have been hereditary with them. Sulaimān al-Shawāribī's patriotism cost him his life: in Radjab 1213 (Dec. 1798) he was beheaded by the French for his part in an attempted rising (cf. al-Djabartī, *op. cit.*, iv. 37 sq.).

According to Ibn Djabān (cf. 'Abd al-Latif, *al-Ifāda wa 'l-I'tibār* etc., French transl. by de Sacy entitled *Relation de l'Égypte* etc., p. 595) the province of al-Qalyūbiya comprised in his time (777 = 1375/76) 59 townships and yielded a revenue of 419,054 dinars (but on p. 599 a list of 61 townships is given). Ibn Duḳmāk gives 60 with a total revenue of 383,140 dinars. In the time of the French expedition the revenues of the province from the estates (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i. 306 sqq.) amounted to: 1. for the payment of the *miri* 3,390,742 dinars; 2. for the *kushūfiya* 1,710,462 dinars; 3. for the *fā'iz* 15,119,199 dinars.

The Baḥr al-Sardūs — according to legend built by Pharaoh and enlarged by his 'vizier Ḥamān' (Ibn Duḳmāk, al-Ḳalkashandī) — was, according to the enthusiastic description in Ibn Duḳmāk (whom al-Ḳalkashandī follows), a large canal, apparently with water always in it. This is indicated also by two documents of the years 891 (1486) and 1061 (1650/1) (quoted by 'Alī Pasha Mubārak) in the possession of the al-Shawāribī family. Al-Ḳalkashandī notes that the canal in his time had disappeared and that its place had been taken by the Abu 'l-Manadjdja canal, (cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 25 sq.); Maspero-Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 105). According to 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, there was only a small canal in his time: the Tur'at al-Sardūsiya. Ibn Khallikān, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak give several scholars, who have the *nisba* al-Qalyūbī. The best known of them is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalyūbī (see the following article).

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Kitāb al-Rawḍatāin in the *Hist. des Crois.*, iv. 147; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Adjā'ib al-Barr wa 'l-Bahr*, ed. Mehren (Copenhagen 1874), p. 231; al-Maḳrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Wiet), i. 313, Chap. 25, ii. 85, note 1; Ibn Duḳmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, with title *Descr. de l'Égypte* (Bulāk 1309, v. 43, 47; al-Kāḷashandī's *Subḥ al-Aṣḥā* in *Wüstenfeld, Calasch-andī's Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, (Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, xxv. [1879]), p. 25 sq., 28, 109; al-Zāhirī in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*² (Paris 1826), ii. 5; Ibn Iyās, *Tārīkh Miṣr* (Bulāk 1311), ii. 54, 109, 157, 197, 204, iii. 109, 110, 170, 192, 206, 286, 303, 318; d'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*... (Paris 1766), p. 39; al-Djābartī, *'Adjā'ib al-'Athār fī 'l-Tarādjim wa 'l-Akhbār* (Cairo 1322), iii.; 'Alī Pasha Muḥarak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadida*... (Bulāk 1305), xiv. 114—119 (cf. also the article EGYPT).

(A. RICHTER)

AL-KALYŪBĪ, AḤMAD B. AḤMAD B. SALĀMA, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, an Arab author, pupil of the celebrated Shāfi'ī Faḳīh Shams al-Dīn (al-Shams) al-Ramlī (d. 1004 = 1596), was regarded in his day as an unchallenged authority and died towards the end of Shawwāl 1069 (July 1659). He composed numerous works, of which 21 have survived, in the fields of Fiqh, geography, medicine, secret sciences and Adab. To the 17 works mentioned by Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, we have to add 1. a *Kit. al-Muḍjarrabāt* in Göttingen (see *Verzeichn. der Hss. im Preuss. Staate*, 1. Hannover, 3. Göttingen, iii. Berlin 1894, N^o. 100); 2. *Mī'rādī al-Nabī* in the Zāhiriya or 'Umūmiya in Damascus, see Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khasū'in al-Kutub fī Dimashk wa-Ḥawālikā* (Cairo 1902), p. 74, N^o. 40; Houtsma, *Cat. d'une coll. de Mss. arabes et turcs* etc. (Leiden 1889), N^o. 241; 3. *Risāla fī Ma'rīfat Asmū' al-Bilād wa-Urūdḥā wa-Aṭwālḥā* in Princeton, see Littmann, *A list of Arabic Mss. in Princeton Univ. Library* (Princeton—Leipzig 1904), p. 9, N^o. 40; 4. a *Kit. Hikāyāt*, anecdotes of pious individuals, different from the *Kit. al-Nawādir* in the Brit. Mus., see Ellis and Edwards, *A Descr. List of the Arabic Mss. acquired ... since 1894* (London 1912), p. 62, Or. 7018. Of his works there have been printed: 1. *Hāshiya* to al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1400) commentary on al-Nawawī's *Minḥādī al-Ṭālibin*, along with the *Hāshiya* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Burullūsī, Cairo 1306, 1318, 4 vols.; 2. *K. al-Ṣalawāt*, Bulāk 1300; 3. *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-Ṭibb* on the margin of al-Suwaydī's *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1302, alone Cairo 1305; 4. *Hikāyāt Ḥarība wa-'Adjība* or *Hikāyāt wa-Ḥarā'ib wa-'Adjā'ib wa-Laṭā'if wa-Nawādir wa-Fawā'id wa-Nafā'is*, usually briefly quoted as *Nawādir al-Kalyūbī*, which was only published after his death; see *The Book of Anecdotes, Wonders, Marvels, Pleasantries, Rarities and Useful and Precious Extracts*, ed. by W. Nassau Lees and Mawlawī Kabīr al-Dīn, Calcutta 1856, 2nd ed. 1864, also in Cairo several times since 1274, last ed. 1323, 1328, the conclusion of which differs from the Calcutta edition.

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KAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'OMAR B. AḤMAD... B. ABĪ DJARĀDA B. AL-'ADĪM AL-'UḲĀLĪ, historian of Aleppo, a member of the highly esteemed family of notables, the Banū Djarāda, whose ancestor had migrated from Baṣra into Syria with other members of the tribe of 'Uḳail about 200 (815) on account of a pestilence and had settled as a merchant in Aleppo, born in Dhu 'l-Hijda 588 (Dec. 1192; in the *Fawāt* wrongly 586), the son of a Ḥanafī ḳāḍī, whose office had been hereditary in the family for four generations. After studying in his native city, in Jerusalem, to which his father took him in 603 (1206/7) and again in 608 (1211/12), Damascus, in the 'Irāk and in the Ḥidjāz, he became in 616 (1219) professor in the madrasa of Shādbakht in Aleppo. He later filled the office of ḳāḍī there and served the two last Aiyūbids, al-Malik al-'Azīz (613—634 = 1216—36) and al-Malik al-Nāṣir (634—658 = 1236—1260) as vizier and several times, by their command, acted as ambassador to Baghdād and Cairo. When his native city was captured and destroyed on Ṣafar 9, 658 (Jan. 26, 1260) by the Tatars, he fled with al-Malik al-Nāṣir to Egypt. Hūlāgū summoned him back to Syria as Chief ḳāḍī, but he died in Cairo on Djumāda I 29, 660 (April 21, 1262) before he could obey.

His principal work was an alphabetically arranged history of the famous men of his native city, on the model of those of Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [q. v.] and Ibn 'Asākīr [q. v.] in ten (according to some in 40) volumes entitled *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, which on account of its too great bulk was never completed in a fair copy and was therefore already scattered to all the winds before the Mongol invasion under Timūr, so that even Ibn al-Shiḥna (see below) only knew of one volume of it (see *Cat. Codd. Arab. Bibl. Acad. Lugd.-Bat.*, ii. 82); odd parts are preserved in Paris (Bibl. Nat., de Slane, *Cat.*, N^o. 2138), in London (*Cat. Codd. Mss. Or. in Mus. Brit.*, Pars ii., N^o. 1290) and perhaps in Constantinople, Aya Ṣofya, N^o. 3036 (see Horovitz, *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, Berlin, x. 60, N^o. 51). Out of this he made a synopsis arranged chronologically entitled *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* down to 641 (1243), but died before he had finished the fair copy of this work either. The Paris MS. (de Slane, N^o. 1666, another in St. Petersburg, which, however, is perhaps only a copy of the Paris one, see V. Rosen, *Not. sommaires des manusc. arabes du Musée Asiat.*, St. Pétersbourg 1881, p. 98, N^o. 160) has been utilised by G. W. Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Lutetiae Par. 1819; *Regnum Saahd-aldaulae in oppido Halebi*, Bonn 1820; *Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iii. 691—732; H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma* (Publ. de l'Éc. des Langues or. viv., 2nd series, xii./i.), 569—585; E. Blochet, *L'histoire d'Alep de Kamāladdīn*, French version after the Arabic text, in the *Rev. de l'Orient latin*, 1896, p. 509—565, 1897, p. 146—235, 1898, p. 37—107, 1899, p. 1—49. A further synopsis with continuation down to Rabī' II 6, 951 (June 28, 1544) was made by Muḥammad Ibn al-Hanbalī, d. 971 (1564), entitled *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh A'yān Ḥalab* (see *Cat. Codd. Mss. Or. in Mus. Brit.*, N^o. 334; *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. Mss. Orient.*, i. N^o. 810, 836, cf. ii. 597; V. Rosen, *Not. sommaires*, N^o. 203).

The basic work, the *Bughya*, was twice continued in the ixth century: 1. by 'Alā' al-Dīn

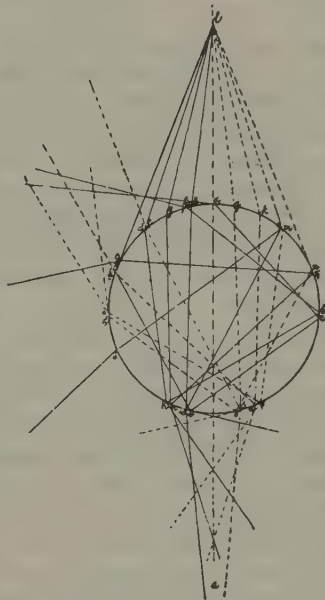
Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriya, d. 843 (1439) entitled *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Ta'rikh Ḥalab*; the work contains a description of the city of Aleppo followed by biographies of distinguished natives since 658; Horovitz details the MSS. in the *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, x, 60 sq.; 2. by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna al-Ḥalabī, d. 890 (1485), entitled *Nuzhat al-Nawāzīr fī Rawḍ al-Manāzīr*, MSS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, No. 9791); vol. i. in London (*Cat. Codd. Or. in Mus. Brit.*, No. 436, 2); vol. ii. in Gotha (Pertsch, *Verz.*, No. 1772); vol. iii. in Paris (de Slane, *Cat.*, No. 2139). From this one of the descendants of Ibn al-Shiḥna between 1014 and 1024 composed a synopsis with occasional notes down to his own time; MSS. of this synopsis are given by Pertsch, *Verz. d. arab. Hdss. zu Gotha*, No. 1724 and further in *Cat. Codd. Arab. Bibl. Lugd.-Bat.*, ii, 85, No. dcccclii. This synopsis was published as *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Ta'rikh Mamlakat Ḥalab* by Joseph Elias Sarkis, Bairūt 1909. Extracts from it were given by A. v. Kremer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., IV (1850), i, 125 sqq.

Of the history of his family al-Akhbār al-Mustafāda fī dhikr Banī Abī Djarāda, which he composed for Yāqūt, the latter gives extracts in his *Irshād*, vi, 18—35. Of his verses an elegy on the fall of Aleppo, of which Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, gives specimens, is the most famous. In 610 (1213) he handed al-Malik at-Zāhir a congratulatory letter on the birthday of his son Malik al-'Azīz, entitled *al-Darārī fī dhikr al-Dharārī*, which is printed from the MS. Nūri 'Oṭhmāniye, No. 3790 in the *Madjmu'a*, Stambul 1298, as No. 2. Last he wrote under the title *al-Wuṣla ila 'l-Ḥabīb fī Waṣf al-Ṭayyibāt wa'l-Tib* a guide to make all sorts of perfumes; MS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, No. 5463), in the Brit. Mus. (Ellis and Edwards, *A descr. List of the Arab. Mss. acquired ... since 1894*, London 1912, p. 56, 62, Or. 6388, and in Bankipore (*Cat. of the Arab. and Pers. Mss. in the Orient. Publ. Libr.*, iv, 146, No. 96). Specimens of his hand-writing — he was one of the most famous calligraphers, according to Yāqūt — are in St. Petersburg (see *Cat. des Mss. et Xylographes orient. de la Bibl. Imp.*, No. 147).

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KAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-FARISĪ (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasan) died about 720 = 1320. He was a scholar equal in calibre to Ibn al-Haitham [q. v.] and, indeed, perhaps surpassed him in originality. Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī had called his attention to the latter's *Optics*, which he procured and wrote an excellent commentary upon. He added a series of brilliant treatises to it. These deal more particularly with the refractions and reflections of a sphere, the rainbow, the halo, *camera obscura*, etc. As to the latter it should be noted that the first scholar whom we know to have used the *camera obscura* was Ibn al-Haitham. On the wall opposite the orifice, he showed the image

of the sun during an eclipse of the sun and explained the phenomenon. That he did not succeed in obtaining a representation of the crescent moon is due, not to some error in his assumptions, but to the fact that its tips are too faint. Kamāl al-Dīn gave a more perfect theory and tested it by brilliant experiments. He first made the orifice very small and placed opposite it a surface half red and half green. He then showed how one got the sharper images the smaller the opening and that the images were independent of the shape of the orifice. The larger the opening the less these principles applied. It was to be noted that the images were reversed. With this apparatus Kamāl al-Dīn also observed on the wall the clouds and their movements as well as a bird flying past. The movements in the image are in the contrary direction to real life. At a later



The figure, taken from a manuscript, shows the path of the rays, which start from *b* and undergo a second reflection in the interior of the sphere. They produce the secondary rainbow. The primary bow would be the result of the first reflection. Goethe and Boissérée at a later date observed the secondary rainbow.

period Levi ben Gerson (Levi de Balneolis, d. 1344) used the *camera obscura* in eclipses of the moon also.

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KAMĀL AL-DĪN ISMĀ'ĪL. [See KEMĀL AL-DĪN ISMĀ'ĪL.]

KAMĀL KHODJANDĪ. [See KEMĀL KHODJANDĪ.]

KAMĀL PASHAZĀDE. [See KEMĀL PASHAZĀDE.]

AL-KAMAR, the moon, the satellite of the earth, considered in quite early times the principal heavenly body next to the sun, whose path lay on the sphere next to the earth (*falak al-kamar*). Pythagoras was the first to recognise it as a dark body illuminated by the sun, from whose relative position with regard to the sun its changes in illumination or phases were seen to result; the recurrence of the latter, when the sun and moon have again reached the same positions with regard to the earth, led to the conception of the synodic month (29½ days). The Muḥammadans calculate time by lunar years, each of twelve months. These are alternately "full" of 30 days and "empty" of 29 days. This gives a year of 354 days. The Iranian astronomer al-Birūnī [q. v.] in his *al-Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (Maḳāla iii. Ch. 7) makes the interesting suggestion that the number 360 may have been introduced for the division of the circle, because it is midway between the solar and lunar years.

But as the synodic month, to be quite accurate, is 29.5306 days, which means that the month as reckoned by the Muslims is .0306 and the lunar year .367 days too short, a number which in 30 years amounts to 11.01 days, in the Muḥammadan calendar an intercalary period of 30 years is in use. It is called *al-maḍimū'a* and the intercalary year itself *al-sana al-kabisa*. Within an intercalary period there are 11 intercalary years.

The Muḥammadan year begins (or rather should begin) with the sunset after which the crescent moon is seen for the first time (first day of Muḥarram). The beginning of this era was dated on the first Muḥarram of the year in which the Prophet migrated to Medina from Mecca (July 15, 622 of the Christian era = *al-Hiḍjra*).

The first appearance of the crescent moon (*ru'yat al-hilāl*) (cf. *Ziḍj* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib, Berlin MS., Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, No. 5750, f. 151^b) on the night of Sha'bān 29 is of special importance as the fast of Ramaḍān begins with this moment. It is necessary to be able to calculate this moment when the weather prevents the observation of the first appearance of the crescent moon. This is one of the most difficult tasks of Arab astronomy. H. Suter has illustrated this from the example: "to find whether on the night of Sha'bān 29 of the year 540 A.H. the moon is visible" (cf. *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmī*, Copenhagen 1914, p. 67 sqq.) and C. A. Nallino gives a formula for ascertaining the smallest phases of the moon (cf. *al-Battānī sive Albatēnī Opus Astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i. 269).

Even in the earliest lunar theory, as stated by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, the complicated and irregular movement of the moon during a month is apparent: it is in reality due to the double attraction of earth and sun to which the moon is subjected (the three body problem of modern astronomers). The determination of the longitude of the moon in its orbit is the main problem of lunar theory and, in order to solve it in some degree, Ptolemy was forced to substitute for the eccentric circle of the moon's orbit an auxiliary circle, the so-called epicycle, which the moon would traverse regularly in an anomalistic month (27 days, 13 hours, 18 minutes), while at the same time the centre of this epicycle moved uniformly round the earth on a second called the deferent circle in a nodical month (27 days, 5 hours, 5

minutes). In addition the plane of oscillation was, according to Ptolemy, inclined to the plane of the earth's motion (ecliptic) at 5° (to be more accurate 5° 9'), while he made the line of intersection of the paths of the earth and moon (nodal line) execute a retrograde movement and put the centre of the oscillation about 104¹/₁₀ nearer the apogee (distance from the earth).

The true longitude of the moon therefore consists of the four so-called great variables, equation of centre, evection, variation and annual equation. The first denotes the transition from circle to ellipse, the second the displacement of the centre of the deferent just mentioned, while the fourth was laid down by the astronomer Kepler. As to the variation, it is given by the following expression:

$$-2' = \sin(1-\lambda) + 39' 5'' \sin 2(1-\lambda)$$

in which l and λ are the mean longitudes of sun and moon. From this formula we find that the variation in the syzygies ($1-\lambda=0^\circ$) and in the quadratures ($1-\lambda=90^\circ$) i. e. $2(1-\lambda)=180^\circ$, quite disappears or is very small, but on the other hand is very marked in the octants. Ptolemy, in order to reconcile smaller differences between theory and observation, actually introduced a kind of variation of the line of apsides, the *πρόσνευσις*. After Tycho Brahe had long been regarded as the real discoverer of the variation, the orientalist and astronomer L. Am. Sédillot in his article *Sur un manuscrit arabe dans lequel la variation de la lune est signalée* (*Compt. Rend.*, 1836) asserted that it was evident from the *Almagest* of the mathematician and astronomer Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzḍjānī (328–388 = 940–998) that he was really the discoverer of the variation to which he gave the name *Ikhtilāf al-Muḥādḥāt*. A long dispute arose on the accuracy of Sédillot's interpretation of the text, which ran through many years of the *Comptes Rendus*; Sédillot, Mathieu, Chasles etc. formed the one party, Biot, Binet, Bertrand etc. the other, who held the contrary view that Abu 'l-Wafā' had discovered nothing new but only substituted his *Muḥādḥāt* for Ptolemy's *prosneusis*. In the end Carra de Vaux has been able to prove definitely the erroneousness of Sédillot's argument by a thorough analysis of the Arabic text in question and the citation of other Arabic and also Persian and Hebrew sources.

The Arab astronomers adopted the lunar theory of Ptolemy and developed it. They also recalculated several numerical values on which the study of the *Ziḍjāt* accessible to us, e.g. those of al-Khwarizmī, al-Farghānī, al-Battānī and al-Djaghminī gives the information we require.

In determining the parallax of the moon (*ikhtilāf manẓar al-kamar*) and ascertaining its distance from the earth, the Arabs did not go beyond Ptolemy. Al-Birūnī in chap. 8 of *maḳāla* iii. of his *Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī* makes an interesting observation on the shadow thrown by a gnomon (*mikyās*) in moonlight. As the size of the radius of the earth in relation to the distance of the moon from the earth is not infinitely small (as in the case of the sun), the staff at the same apparent altitude of the moon and of the sun throws longer shadows in the case of the moon. Al-Birūnī calculates the difference between the two shadows for an altitude of 45°.

The Arab astronomers devoted special attention to the exact calculation of the frequency of eclipses (*kusūf al-kamar*), as they made use of it to

ascertain the difference in longitude between two places on the earth. They worked out tables (based on Ptolemy) which gave the times of the beginning and ends of the eclipse for various parts of the earth as well as the area of the moon's disc covered. But it is impossible to calculate these with great accuracy from observation only. The difficulties (according to al-Bīrūnī) lie in ascertaining the point where the eclipse begins on the edge of the moon, in the indistinctness of the shadow, the lack of agreement between the astronomical instruments of the two observers, etc. The result was that the calculations of longitude from eclipses of the moon were often very inaccurate. It is true that in al-Khwarizmi's astronomical tables (H. Suter, *op. cit.*, p. 85) there is an example in which the period of commencement of the eclipse agrees perfectly with the previous calculation of it, but not every calculation was so accurate. The Fātimid astronomer Ibn Yūnus (d. 399 = 1009 in Cairo), who goes so far as to distinguish five phases in the course of an eclipse, gives in his *al-Zīj al-Kabīr al-Hakīmī* cases where the difference between calculation and observation amounted to as much as 23 minutes (cf. Caussin, *Le Livre de la Grande Table Hakīmīte observée par . . . Aboul-hassan Ali . . . ibn Iounis* in the *Not. et Extr.*, vii. 92).

Several studies on the moon, none of which are yet published, have been preserved to us from the pen of the exceedingly prolific Arab mathematician, physicist and astronomer Ibn al-Haitham (d. 430 = 1039). We may mention: 1) the great *Maḳāla fī Daw' al-Kamar* (India Office Catalogue, N^o. 734, ix.); 2) *Maḳāla fī Ikhtilāf manẓar al-Kamar* (ibid., N^o. 734, xix) dealing only with a special case of parallax ("when the altitude of the moon is less than 30° and is western, its latitude lies south of the ecliptic and the head of the constellation of Cancer is under the western horizon so that it does not reach the meridian from below, the latitude of Medina being taken at 30° or near this figure, the parallax of the moon is in longitude the opposite of the order of the signs of the zodiac . . ."); 3) *fī Mā'īya al-athr alladhī fī Wadīh al-Kamar*, Municipal Library (*maḳālis baladī*) of Alexandria ("If one carefully observes and examines these marks on the superficies, one finds them always the same in shape and never changing, either in configuration or in position or magnitude or as regards their dark character").

Bibliography: For all questions relating to the moon and its orbit, see: C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, i. 59—60, 76—84, 85—92, 96—113, 265 etc., and also: H. Suter, *op. cit.*, p. 81—94. On the stations of the moon (*Manāzil al-Kamar*): C. A. Nallino, *Ilm al-Falak. Tārīkhuhu 'inda 'l-'Arab fī 'l-Kurūn al-Wusṭā* (Rome 1911), p. 117 sqq.; on the ascertainment of the first visibility of the moon: K. von Littrow, *Zur Kenntnis der kleinsten Mondphasen*, S. B. Ak. Wien, math.-naturw. Kl., 1872, p. 459—480, following Maimonides' *Constitutiones de Sacrificacione Noviluni*. For details of the eclipse: C. Schoy, *Aus der astronomischen Geographie der Araber*, in *Isis*, xiii. (1922), p. 63 sqq., and: *Moslem Geography of the Middle Ages*, in *The Geographical Review*, New-York 1924, p. 265, where original passages from the Hākīmī tables of Ibn Yūnus are given. On *al-Muḥādḥāt*: Carra de

Vaux, *L'Almageste d'Abū 'l-Wēfa al-Būzānī*, *J. A.*, series 8, xix. (1892), p. 440 sqq.; on optical phenomena in eclipses of the moon: E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bīrūnī in the Jahrbuch f. Photographie und Reproduktionstechnik*, 1914, p. 1—9. (C. SCHOY)

AL-KĀMAR. Title of Sura liv. of the Qur'an, after the splitting of the moon which is mentioned in the first verse. Cf. *MU'JIZĀT*.

KAMARĀN, an islet in the Red Sea, on the coast of Tihāma, opposite Zabīd. The fortified town of Kamarān has always belonged to who-soever possessed Tihāma; it contained prisons of the King of Yemen, in al-Maḳdisi's times, and a spring of sweet water called al-'Akd. Taxes and customs duties were collected there.

The jurist Muhammad Ibn 'Abdūya, a disciple of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, author of works on *uṣūl al-fikh*, lived in Kamarān and is buried there. When there is a storm and ships are in danger, the natives throw dust from his grave into the sea, which is then supposed to subside.

In modern times Kamarān has become one of the quarantine-stations for pilgrims; cf. on this subject Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 299, note 1; do., *Verspreide Geschriften* (Bonnen and Leipzig 1923 sqq.), iii. 27, 32.

Bibliography: al-Muḳaddasī (ed. de Goeje), *B. G. A.*, iii. 2 103; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 80. (V. VACCA)

KĀMIL, the fifth metre in the system of Arab prosody, is regularly composed of three *mutafā'ilun* in each hemistich: it has three 'arūd and nine qarib:

I	{	<i>mutafā'ilun</i>	■	n	..	n	n	<i>mutafā'ilun</i>
		<i>mutafā'ilun</i>		n	n	..	n	<i>mutafā'il</i>
II	{	n	n	n	..	n	n	<i>mutafā</i>
		n	n	<i>mutafā</i>	..	n	n	<i>mutafā</i>
III	{	n	■	<i>mutafā'ilun</i>	..	n	n	<i>mutafā'ilātun</i>
		n	n	n	..	n	n	<i>mutafā'ilān</i>
		n	n	n	..	n	n	<i>mutafā'ilun</i>
		n	n	n	..	n	n	<i>mutafā'il</i>

In all the feet except *mutafā* and *mutfā* one may suppress either the second vowel of the foot (*mutafā'ilun*), or the second consonant with its vowel (*ta*), or the second vowel and the prolongation of the third consonant (*mutfā'ilun*) which is exceedingly rare.

As a result of these suppressions the regular foot, *mutafā'ilun*, may become *mutfā'ilun* (= *mu'af'ilun*), *mufā'ilun* (= *mafā'ilun*), *mutfa'ilun* (= *mustā'ilun*); if this is done so that a piece does not contain a single whole foot in *mutafā'ilun*, it then belongs to the *radjās* metre.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL. [See AL-MALIK].

KĀMRĀN MIRZĀ, second son of Bābur, and half-brother of Humāyūn; his mother was Gulrukh Bēgam, and he was born in Kābul city about 1509. He was cleverer than Humāyūn and had a poetical turn, but he was cruel and vicious, and a restless schemer. He repeatedly rebelled against Humāyūn, who was at last compelled by his officers to make him innocuous by blinding him in the end of 1553. He went to Mecca in 1554 and died there in October 1557. The most interesting thing about him is the devotion of his wife, Māh Čitāk Bēgam Arghūn, daughter of Shāh Ḥasan of Sind. She insisted on going on board his vessel

and accompanying him to Mecca, in spite of her father's remonstrances, saying that he had given her to Kāmran in the days of his greatness (in 1546) and that she would not abandon him now in the time of his misery. She died at Mecca a few months after her husband.

Kāmran was put in charge of Kandahār by his father, and in the beginning of Humāyūn's reign he was governor of the Panjāb. During the interregnum, when Humāyūn was in Persia, Kāmran and his younger brother, 'Askari, ruled over Afghānistān. He left one son and three daughters. The son, Abu 'l-Kāsim, who inherited his father's poetical talents, was confined in Gwalior by Akbar in 1557, and was put to death some years later as a dangerous competitor. All three daughters were given in marriage; one of them, named Gulrukh, was a woman of a masculine spirit; she married Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Sulṭān, and she and her son were thorns in Akbar's side. (Firishta, lith. ed., p. 221, and Muḥammad Ḥusain, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nūma*, vol. i; Muḥammad Ḥaidar, *Ta'riḫ-i-Rashīdī*, Engl. vers. by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross; Djawhar Aftābī, *Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn*, transl. by Major Stewart (O. T. F. 1832); Bābur's *Memoirs*; Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*; Gulbadan Begam, *History of Humāyūn* (O. T. F.), London, 1902; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawāriḫ*, i. 451 sqq.; Elliot-Dowson, iv. 498, v and vi. There is a copy of Kāmran's *Diwān* in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Cat., ii. 145, and 215, where a biography of Kāmran is given. (H. BEVERIDGE)

KĀMRĀN SHĀH Durrānī, the last sovereign of the Sadozai family of Afghānistān who succeeded his father, Maḥmūd Shāh, in the limited sovereignty of Herāt in 1245 (1829) and reigned till 1258 (1842). In the civil wars between the sons of Taimūr Shāh, the princes Zamān, Shudjā' al-Mulk and Maḥmūd, the prince Kāmran proved himself a brave warrior and in 1221 (1806) he took Kāndahār from Shudjā' al-Mulk, but lost it soon afterwards. In 1232 (1816) he took a leading part in the events which led to the disruption of the Durrānī monarchy. In revenge for an insult offered to his sister by Dōst Muḥammad he blinded and beheaded Fath Khān, the Bārakzai Wazīr (Dōst Muḥammad's father), to whom Maḥmūd Shāh owed his kingdom. This led to the loss of the whole kingdom except the Herāt province. Kāmran was debauched and indolent in his later years, but maintained himself at Herāt through the efforts of his able and unscrupulous wazīr, Yār Muḥammad Alikozaī. The siege of Herāt by the Qādjār Shāh of Persia in 1837-39 was the principal event of his reign. The rivalry between England and Russia was one of the principal causes of this siege, the Persians being advised by Russian officers, while Lieut. E. Pottinger, a young English officer, was the main spirit in the defence. In 1258 (1842) Kāmran Shāh was assassinated by Yār Muḥammad, who was in league with the Persians and remained in possession of Herāt. Coins were struck at Herāt by Kāmran.

Bibliography: Elphinstone, *Cabul*, 2nd ed., London 1839-42; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, London 1858; Kaye, *Hist. of the War in Afghanistan*, London 1851; Masson, *Travels in Afghanistan*, London 1844; Mōhan Lāl, *Life of Dost Muḥammad*, London 1846. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KĀMRŪP, a district in Assam, situated between 25° 43" and 26° 53" N. and 90° 39" and 92° 11" E.; the greater part consists of a wide plain, through the lower portion of which the Brahmaputra R. flows from east to west; but south of the river there are ridges of hills, thickly covered with jungle. Under the rule of the Kōē dynasty, the first attempt to bring this country under Muhammadan rule was made by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī [q. v.], but his victorious progress eastward was checked when he attempted to enter Assam, and successive rulers of Bengal after him made similar fruitless attempts. In 1256 Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Yūzbak Tughril Khān invaded Kāmrup and erected a mosque in commemoration of his victories, but disease broke out among his troops and the Assamese destroyed the general and most of his army. The thick jungles and moist, unhealthy climate of the Brahmaputra Valley proved to be effectual obstacles to the progress of the Muhammadan troops. It was not until 1638 that they succeeded in gaining a footing in Kāmrup and Gauhati became the capital of a Muslim governor, but 20 years later they were driven out of the country by the Ahoms, who took advantage of the confusion that resulted from the conflicts between the rival claimants to the throne of Shāh Djahān [q. v.]. In 1662 Mīr Djumla [q. v.] made a vigorous attempt to conquer the Assam valley, but though he was at first successful, the difficulty of military operations during the rainy season and the outbreak of disease among his soldiers compelled him to beat a retreat into Bengal, and Mīr Djumla himself did not survive the failure of his expedition. After intermittent struggles for some years, the last vestige of Muhammadan rule disappeared in 1681 from Kāmrup, and it formed part of the Ahom kingdom, until it was ceded to the British in 1826.

Bibliography: H. Blochmann, *Koch Bihār, Koch Hājo, and Asām, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbar-nāmah, the Pādishāhnāmah, and the Fathīyah i 'Ibriyah*. (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. xli., Part i. (1872), p. 49 sqq.); E. A. Gait, *The Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa* (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. lxii., Part i. (1894), p. 279 sqq.); B. C. Allen, *Gazetteer of Kamrup* (Allahabad, 1905), p. 27 sqq. **KĀN**. [See **KHĀN**].

KĀN WA-KĀN, the name of one of the seven kinds of modern poetry (*funūn*), unknown to the classical authors. It was invented by the people of Baghdād and takes its name from the formula used by story-tellers at the beginning of their recitals: "There was once upon a time". Originally the *kān wa-kān* was a rhymed tale and it was only later that it was applied to other subjects, especially of moral tendency. In the spoken language it was always in vogue in the east only, especially in its place of origin. The *kān wa-kān* is a poem composed of strophes of two lines the metre of which is given by the prosodists as follows: *mustaf'ilun fa'ilātun, mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilān fa'tān*.

But, according to the 32 specimens that I have seen, the last foot of the first verse is *mustaf'ilun* and not *mustaf'ilān*; and therefore there is a rhyme only in the last hemistich of every second verse. The principal variations are the disappearance of *s* or *f* in *mustaf'ilun* and *fa'tān* is often changed to *fa'ilān*. Al-Ibshihī, *al-Mustafraf*, Būlāk

1292, ii. 273 sqq., Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1286, iv. 158, and especially Huraifish, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'ih*, Cairo 1311, p. 23, 26, 29, 33, 34, 42, 53, 55, 71, 74, 77, 80, 86, 135, 137, 144, 169, 181, 191, 204, 217 give specimens of *kān wa-kān*.

Bibliography: Besides the majority of the works indicated in the article 'ARŪP see al-Khafādī, *Shifā' al-Ghalīl*, Cairo 1325, p. 9; al-Muhibbī, *Khulāṣat al-aṥhar*, Cairo 1284, i. 109; al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii. 252—277; Muḥammad Ṭal'at, *Ghāyat al-arab fī shifā' al-shī'r al-'Arab*, Cairo 1316, p. 92—110; Muḥammad Diyāb, *Ta'rikh ādāb al-lughat al-'Arabīya*, Cairo (not dated), i. 129—150; H. Gies, *al-Funūn al-sab'a. Ein Beitrag z. Kenntn. sieben neuer arab. Versarten*, diss. Leipzig 1879, p. 53—62. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KĀN'ĀN, the biblical Kēnā'an, is a personality, regarding whom the traditions, in spite of their sparsity, agree in hardly a single point. Al-Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i. 513) mentions him as the father of the famous Nimrūd (Numrūd according to the *Lisān* and the *Tādī*); he is also regarded as the ancestor of the Kanāniyūn (*Lisān*, x. 191) and of the Berbers (al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 266 and Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, vi. 93, 22 sqq., 97, 11 sqq.). — Very little is known about him. Many refer to him the story in Sūra xi. 44 sq., that a son of Nūḥ in spite of his pressing appeal refused to take refuge in the Ark with him and thus perished in the Flood with the unbelievers (al-Baiḍāwī, ad locum and al-Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, p. 36 below). — Al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 199) also knows of a son of Nūḥ called Kan'ān, who lost his life at the Flood, but refers the Qor'ān verse in question to Yām b. Nūḥ (see *Tafsīr*, ad Sūra 44 sq.), whom, however, he identifies with Kan'ān in i. 199, 6.

While Kan'ān appears here as the son of Nūḥ and Ibn al-Kalbī mentions Shālūm (i. e. Kan'ān) as Nūḥ's fourth son (in Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 311) we find him in the parallel passage to Genesis, ix. 25 (in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 212) as a son of Ḥām b. Nūḥ (see also al-Yā'qubī, i. 13, 8 sq., 16, 1; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 240, 294). According to a third tradition (in Yāqūt, *op. cit.*) Kan'ān was a son of Sām b. Nūḥ and according to a fourth — not quite reliable — tradition, a son of Kūsh b. Ḥām (al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*).

(B. JOEL)

KĀN'ĀN PASHA. [See KEN'ĀN PASHA].

KĀNĀT, plur. *kanawāt*, *kanan*, *kanī* and *akniya*, means in Arabic: (1) canal, aqueduct, (2) lance or stick (see *Lisān al-'Arab*, xx. 66; *Tādī al-Arūs*, x. 304; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 414). These two conceptions have developed from the original meaning of "reed". The word may be said with considerable certainty to be borrowed in the western Semitic languages from the Assyrian or Accadian, where *kanū* = reed, bulrush; cf. Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, p. 56. Hence we have in Hebrew *kanū*, in Aramaic *kanūyā*; the word passed through the intermediary of the Aramaic into Arabic; there in the popular dialects of Syria and Egypt it is pronounced *kanāya*, *kanūyāt*. The Greeks and Romans took over the Semitic word as *κάννα*, *κάννυ* (*κάννυ*), *canna*; note the change of meaning — an exact analogy to the Arabic — of the Latin *canalis*, strictly an

adjective meaning "reed-shaped", then "channel, canal". In modern Persian also *kanāt* is in use but there it has the special meaning of subterranean channel or aqueduct. The true Persian word for this particular kind of canal is *kārēz*, earlier *kahrēz* (Vullers, *Lexic. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 767, 927; in the older language we also find *āwghūn*; see Vullers, i. 58). This latter word has in turn entered Arabic as *shirḍī* (also *shuharḍī*), but there means "water-holder", "cistern"; cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, iii. 136; Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1738; cf. also Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 276, 2. Only in Syria (according to Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene*, in the *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1889, iv. 12) do we find *kahriz*, *sharḍī*, vulgar *kahriz*, in the meaning of "subterranean aqueduct". It may here be pointed out that the other words in Arabic for aqueduct seem also to be borrowed (probably all from the Aramaic); cf. Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. 23—25; take, for example, *kaṣāṭil* (Dozy, ii. 344; from the Aram. *kaṣat* = castellum; that is "any large building"; cf. the meaning of *kanṭara* = bridge, aqueduct, castle).

The plural *kanawāt* occurs in Syria as a place-name. It is, for example, the name of a town on the western slope of the Ḥawrān, fifty miles south of Damascus, which is so called on account of its wealth of water, and is certainly a very ancient settlement, although hardly identical with the Biblical Kenāt (*Numbers*, xxxii. 42; *I Chron.*, ii. 23), which Wetzstein would rather recognise in K'neia (diminutive of *kanāt*), a village near Kerak, four hours' journey east of Der'at in al-Nukra; see Wetzstein, *Das batanäische Giebelgebirge*, Leipzig 1884 (from Delitzsch's *Psalmekommentar*⁴, p. 26). *kanawāt's* (*Kanawa*, Canatha) period of greatest prosperity was in the early centuries of the Christian era; splendid ruins still exist dating from the Roman period. Mention is made of the building of a new canal in the reign of Trajan; this must certainly have been simply the restoration of an already existing canal of older date. The upper town still has a well preserved ancient aqueduct. On this Syrian *kanawāt* see Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien und Palästina*, Weimar 1823 sq., p. 157 sq.; Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, Berlin 1854—59, i. 79 sq., iv. 51—54; J. Porter, *Five years in Damascus*, London 1885, ii. 90 sq.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 586; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, i., Berlin 1899, p. 194; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, Halle 1907, p. 76—77; Georgius Cyprius, ed. Selzer, Leipzig 1890, p. 206—207; Moritz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, x. 1856; Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*⁷, Leipzig 1913, p. 153—155.

On the Syrian aqueducts, *kanṭarat Zainab* and *kanṭarīr Fir'awn*, see *KANṬARA*.

Subterranean aqueducts such as we get in Persia are only rarely found in Syria, e. g. at Qaryatēn on the ancient road from Damascus to Palmyra (according to Moritz, *Die antike Topographie der Palmyrene*, loc. cit.). The town of Damascus is supplied by a channel from the river Barrādā, the water of which is led into the dwelling-houses by subterranean pipes. For information on aqueducts in Syria and Arabia in general see also J. Berggren, *Guide français-arabe vulgaire*, Upsala 1844, p. 56—57, s. v. *aqueduc*.

Among the oldest aqueducts of the Muslim period is the aqueduct of Mekka, which was begun in the time of Mu'āwiya. Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, earned special merit by providing for the water supply of the holy city; in 810 (1407) she had canals made which led the water from the district of Tā'if, the valley of Minā and from 'Arafāt to Mekka. The channels, much neglected in course of time and often only very negligently repaired, were restored by the Turkish Wālī 'Uthmān Pāshā (1882—86). For details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, the Hague 1888, i. 6—10, where the Arabic sources are also cited.

In view of the dryness of Īrān, artificial irrigation by means of canals has always been a necessity of existence there (cf., for example, *Polybius*, x. 23), as river water is in many places not available in sufficient quantity and the rainfall is slight. Open canals continually lose large quantities of water through infiltration and evaporation and they are also not infrequently damaged by cloud-bursts and torrential floods. The subterranean *kanāt* or *kārēz* (*kahrīz*) system is therefore generally preferred in Persia. By this means water is brought often from great distances to the humus-covered plains. Wells are made in the higher lying parts of the valleys, especially at the foot of hills, and the water accumulates plentifully in them and is led first by subterranean tunnels, latterly by open trenches and furrows (*ājūz*), to the fields and gardens to be watered. These channels are often 50 or more feet below the surface of the ground, are vaulted and often lined with bricks and so high that a man can crawl through them. Every 30 or 40 paces a perpendicular shaft, often of masonwork, and covered at the top, leads down to the pipe. In the making of these channels the Persians reveal great skill. The searching for springs and the making of channels is a special industry, that of the *muḳannī* (see especially Bishop, *op. cit.*; see *Bibliography*). The making of a *kanāt* costs a great deal in proportion to the water it supplies and the annual cost of maintaining it is also not inconsiderable. It is also very important to see that the water is properly distributed, and much care is taken that the villages in turn have the use of it for the proper length of time. This business of water-distributing is perhaps the most important part of the administration of a Persian village. A special official, the *Mir-āb*, is entrusted with the duty. He has also to see to the maintenance of the pipes etc., especially to their being kept clean; cf. thereon Gordon, *op. cit.*; see *Bibliography*.

At the present day the Persian *kanāt* system is, unfortunately, much neglected; many channels are now quite dry; for example, the great network of channels which once supplied the thickly populated town of Ray near Tīhrān is now so much destroyed that it can barely supply the wants of the village of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm which is built on the ruins of Ray (Polak, *op. cit.*, ii. 118). Tīhrān is, according to Bishop, *loc. cit.*, still supplied by 35 canals.

This method of irrigating the fields by artificial channels is called in Persia the *ābī* system of agriculture, in contrast to the natural method, the *deīmī* or *bārāmī* system; cf. Polak, *op. cit.*, ii. 120; Stolze-Andreas (see *Bibl.*), p. 8.

Bibliography (for Persia): J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia* etc., London

1818, p. 163—164; Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*, London 1816, p. 309; J. Johnson, *A Journey from India to England*, London 1818, p. 127 sq.; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, i. 358, 379, ii. 284 sq.; R. Binning, *Journal of Two Years' Travel in Persia, Ceylon etc.*, London 1857, ii. 171—174; J. Ussher, *A Journey from London to Persepolis*, London 1865, p. 575; J. E. Polak, *Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1865, p. 116—118; F. Stolze and F. C. Andreas, *Die Handelsverhältnisse Persiens in Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg. H. 77, Gotha 1885, p. 8—9; Mrs. Bishop (J. L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i. 241 sq.; Sir Thomas E. Gordon, *Persia Revisited*, London 1896, i. 64—68.

A great network of canals cuts up Central Asia. The planning of this system is ascribed to Tīmūr; but they are certainly much older and their origin may be dated at least as far back as the early middle ages. To make them, the water from springs in the oases miles apart was collected, great rivers diverted, and water led by tunnels through ranges of hills and by aqueducts over the valleys. A great many of these canals are, however, now decayed, as in Persia. There the canal is called *arik* and the canal manager *arik-aksakal*. A thorough account of this Central Asian system of irrigation is given by A. Th. v. Midden-dorf in his article *Einblicke in das Ferghana-Thal* in *Mém. de l'Acad. imp. des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, 1881, Series 7, vol. xxix. See also, especially for the country east of Bukhārā, H. Moser, *Durch Central-Asien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 114—119.

(M. STRECK)

KANAWDJ or **KANŌDJ**, Skr. Kanyākubdjā, (known to the Arab authors as Kānawdj or Kīnawdj) was the capital of a powerful kingdom before the Muslim invasions. It is now a small town in the Farrukhābād district of the United Provinces on the R. Ganges (27° 2' 30" N. 79° 58' E.). It has been supposed to be identical with Ptolemy's Kanagora or Kanagoza (see McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 134; Beal, *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 70). V. Smith disputes this on the ground that the existence of Kanawdj at the time of Ptolemy (140 A. D.) is doubtful. The identification is however not improbable. The first undoubted mention is found in the travels of Fa-hsien (405 A. D.), when it was a place of no great importance under the Gupta kings. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit (circa 641 A. D.) under the rule of Harshavardhana it had grown into an important capital and a centre of Buddhism. It may be noted that this traveller gives the Chinese transcription (Kano-kü-she) of the Sanskrit-name Kanyākubdjā, while the earlier traveller Fa-hsien gives Ka-no-yi, answering to the Prakrit and modern form. The country of which it was the capital was known as Pančāla. After a period of anarchy and short lived monarchies it became the capital of the Gurdjara Pratihāra kings, who founded a dynasty which lasted for two hundred years. The most powerful king of this race was Bhōdja (A. D. 480—90) under whom Kanawdj became the capital of an extensive empire, which may be stated to have included all the plain of northern India from the Satlādj to Bihār and southwards to Gūdjārāt and Saurāshtra. On the west it was bounded by the territories of Sind now under Muslim rule.

Al-Mas'ūdī writing in A.H. 332 (943—4) says that the king of Kānawdj ruled over the country bordering on Multān and Sind and southwards on al-Mānkīr, the country of the Ballahrā (i. e. the Vallabhi kings), and al-Birūnī [q. v.], says that Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim b. al-Munabbih, who had entered Sind from Sijīstān, penetrated India as far as Kānawdj, but the date of this invasion is not given. Probably this invader is identical with Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad, the conqueror of Sind who, according to the *Čač-nāma*, made war on the chief of Kānawdj. But, if any such expedition took place, it could not have been directed against Kānawdj itself, but only against its territories bordering on Sind. There is no ground for supposing that any Muḥammadan invader penetrated as far as Kānawdj before Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. His conquest overthrew the Pratihāra rule, which had already been weakened by the attacks of the Rāshtrakūṭas. At the time of Maḥmūd's invasion, after his conquest of Djaipāl, the Shāhi of Gandhāra, Kānawdj was under Rādjayapāla, who abandoned the city and fell back on Bāri, east of the Ganges, which became the capital. After Maḥmūd's departure the Čandēls seized on Kānawdj and Rādjayapāla was killed. Maḥmūd returned next year and defeated the Čandēls, and the Kānawdj kingdom continued as a small state until it fell into the hands of the Gaharwār Rādjpūts.

In 589 (1193) the final destruction of the Hindū kingdom was brought about by the invasion of Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, the Ghōrī king of Ghaznī, and Kānawdj ceased to be a place of importance. It probably never really recovered from its destruction by Maḥmūd, as al-Birūnī, writing as a contemporary, says that it was mostly in ruins after the transfer of the capital to Bāri. Mu'izz al-Dīn adopted the style of the coins or Kānawdj in some of his issues with Sanskrit legends, and these were probably struck at Kānawdj after the conquest. There are not many important events in its later history.

In 948 (1540) the emperor Humāyūn was defeated here by Shēr Khān, and in the eighteenth century it was included in the territories of the Bangash Nawwābs of Farrukhābād and afterwards in Awadh. During the mutiny of 1857 the Nawwāb of Farrukhābād was defeated by the British army here.

Kānawdj was made a mint by Shēr Shāh after his victory over Humāyūn, and on the Surī coins it appears and "Kānawdj urf Shērgarh". Shērgarh was changed to Shāhgarh in Akbar's reign. Under Muḥammad Shāh and his successors, Aḥmad Shāh, 'Ālamgir II, Shāh Dīhān III, and Shāh 'Ālam II, the name of the mint was Shāhābād Kānawdj.

From Kanawdj are derived the names of the Kanawdjia section of the Brāhman caste and the Kanudjia dialect of Western Hindi. The only important modern industry is cloth-printing.

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M. Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, p. 136—143; do., *Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, i. p. cccxxvi. *sq.*, ccclviii., ii. part 2, p. 120; *Relations de voyages et textes géogr.*, etc., trad. par G. Ferrand, i., ii. (Paris 1913—4), cf. Ind. Kanūdj; J. Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, Berlin 1901, p. 263—5; Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3^d ed., Oxford 1914; Walters, *Yuan Chwang*, O. T. F., London 1904; McCrindle, *Ancient India of Ptolemy*, Bombay 1885; Beal, *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, London 1869.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KANDĀBĪL, a city in the territory of the Budha (Budhiya, var. Nudha) which corresponds to the modern Kačhī or Kač Gandāva in Balōčistān. It is probably the modern town of Gandāwa, which is not now important. Kandābīl was taken by the Arab invaders in the time of al-Ḥadīdjādī probably before the invasion of Sind by Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim [q. v.] in 89 (707). The *Čač-nāma*, a legendary history of Sindh and its capture by the Muslims, mentions Kandābīl as having been taken by the legendary King Čač, who advanced through Armābēl (Las Bēla) and Turān (the hill-country of Kuṣṣār) into a desert, and took the fort situated on the river Sinī (which should doubtless be read Sibī, as a branch of the Nārī flowed through Sibī towards Gandāva). In the reign of Yazīd II (101—105 = 720—724) it was chosen by Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab as a place of refuge for his family when he rebelled. Al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawkal mention it as the principal emporium of the Budha. In the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136—158 = 754—775) it is stated by al-Balādhuri that Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī attacked a body of Arab rebels at Kandābīl, and 'Imrān b. Mūsā in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (218—227 = 833—842) conquered Muḥammad b. Khallī there and carried the inhabitants off to Kuṣṣār. The name of Kandābēl or Kandā'il is not met with in more recent times.

Its identification with Gandāwa is doubted by Raverty on the ground that the *Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 179 g) states that it is but five farsangs distant from Kuṣṣār, but this is not in accordance with its position as shown in al-Iṣṭakhri's and Ibn Ḥawkal's map (see *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* 1892. Plate XI) which shows it to the west of the Mīhrān and a long distance North of Kuṣṣār. There is in reality no other place with which it can reasonably be identified. Cf. also J. Marquart, *Erānsāhr* (*Abh. K. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. kl., new series III, N^o. 2, Berlin 1901), p. 187 *sq.*, 190. Gandāwa remained an important centre as is shown by the Balōč ballads of the commencement of the xvth century, and it is probable that the *k* of the Arab writers represented a vernacular g, as in Kandahār for Gandhāra and other cases. It is an ancient walled town standing on a mound, and was long the capital of the province of Kačhī, which from it obtained the name of Kačh Gandāva. The disappearance of the name Kandābēl from history may be therefore accounted for by the decay of the Arab rule and the revival of indigenous government which naturally gave the chief town its original vernacular name.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri (*B. G. A. i.*), p. 171, 3, 176, 5 *sq.*, 178, 5 *sq.*, 179, 6 *sq.*; Ibn Ḥawkal (*B. G. A. ii.*), p. 226, 19, 231, 12 *sq.*, 233, 8 *sq.*, 234, 5; al-Mukaddasi (*B. G. A. iii.*), p. 486, 10 *sq.*; Yākūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüsten-

feld), iv. 183, 772 sq. (al-Nudha) cf. I.; al-Idrisī, *Nuḡhat al-Muḡtāḡ*, transl. Joubert (Paris 1836), i., 169, 170; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḡ al-Bulḡān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 435, 442, 445; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), ii. 1410, 1412; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* (London 1867—77), i., Ind.; Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sindh* etc. (in *JASB.*, lxi., 1, 216 sq. 1892); Ch. Masson, *Narrative of various Journeys in Balochistan in Afghanistan* etc. (London 1844); A. W. Hughes, *The Country of Balochistan* etc. (London 1877); Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris* etc. (London 1874).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲANDAHĀR. 1. The name given by the Arab historians to the Indian Kingdom of Gandhāra, situated in the valley of the Kābul river as far as its junction with the Indus. Its capital was Waihind or Ohind as noted by al-Bīrūnī (Sachau i. 206); and at an earlier period al-Mas'ūdī speaks of Ḳandahār as the country of the Rādjipūts (Rahbūt) and as situated on the river of Kābul which flows into the Indus (Sprenger p. 381). It was from this Ḳandahār that the name was carried to the settlement of the Gandhārians on the banks of the Arghasān, which afterwards became famous as the modern Ḳandahār.

Bibliography: Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, Trübner's Or. Series, London 1888; Bellew, *Races of Afghanistan*, C. Leutta 1880.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲANDAHĀR. 2. A city in Afghānistān (which also gives its name to a province) situated 31° 27' N. and 65° 43' E. at an elevation of 3,462 ft. between the Tarnak and Arghantab rivers. It is an important centre of trade and administration, with a population estimated at 31,000. The province, now the principal territory of the great Durrānī tribe of Afghāns, is identified with the Haran-wati of the Achaemenians, the classical Arachosia, and the mediaeval Zamīn-dāwar and Zābul, and historians have generally assumed that the town was founded by Alexander and named Alexandria Arachosia, but this does not rest on good evidence, and it is very improbable that the name Ḳandahār can be derived from Alexandria. Its identity with the name Gandhāra, the ancient Indian Kingdom occupying the valley of the Lower Kābul River, on the other hand, appears to be well established. Ḳandahār was the form used by the Arab chroniclers for Gandhāra; the Ḳandahār of Mas'ūdī, for instance, has nothing to do with modern Ḳandahār. There seems some ground for accepting Bellew's theory that the name was brought to Arachosia by emigrants from Gandhāra. The most probable period for such an emigration is the fifth century, when the Ephthalites conquered Gandhāra, as related by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun, who visited Gandhāra about A. D. 520. Buddha's begging-bowl, still preserved in the Shrine of Sulṭān Wais outside Ḳandahār, was probably brought there by refugee Buddhist monks. It was not however till the 12th or 13th century that the new Ḳandahār began to be famous. It is not mentioned by the Arab historians in their record of the conquest of Arachosia (al-Rukhādī): the capital was then Bust which was taken by 'Abd al-Rahmān, and the same place was a mint-town of the Ṣaffārids. It was not until after the destruction of Bust by 'Alā al-Dīn Djahān-sōz in 545 (1150) that Ḳandahār began to rise into

importance. Shams al-Dīn II, the Kart ruler of Herāt, is stated by Khwāndamīr to have besieged Ḳandahār, and as his reign began in 676 (1278) it may be held that by that period Ḳandahār had become the capital, and henceforward it plays a prominent part in history. It was conquered by Timūr and formed part of the province bestowed on his grandson, Pir Muḡammad. At the close of the 15th century it formed part of the Kingdom of Ḥusain Bāikarā of Herāt, and the name Ḳandahār first appears as a mint on his coins. Under Ḥusain, the Arghūn Chief, Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg, obtained the government of Zamīndāwar in addition to other provinces and made Ḳandahār his capital. After his death in the wars with Shaibānī the emperor Bābur drove his son Shāh Beg Arghūn out of Ḳandahār in 913 (1507), but Shāh Beg soon recovered the town with the aid of Shaibānī and held it for several years, but Bābur finally took it in 928 (1522) and it remained part of the territories of the Mughal Empire of India, although always regarded by the Ṣafawī Shāhs of Persia as properly belonging to Khorāsān. Kām-rān succeeded Bābur in the possession of Kābul and Ḳandahār, and held them even when his brother Humāyūn was expelled from India. A Persian attack on Ḳandahār in 941 (1535) failed. In the disputes between the brothers which followed Humāyūn's exile, Humāyūn besieged Ḳandahār with the aid of a Persian army and after its fall made it over to the Persians, but re-took it from them afterwards. In the early part of Akbar's reign Ṭahmāsp Shāh succeeded in taking Ḳandahār 965 (1556) and Akbar did not recover it till the latter part of his reign, 1003 (1594). Persians again took it from the Emperor Djahāngir in 1031 (1621), but Shāh Djahān's army occupied it in 1047 (1637). The last transfer was in 1058 (1648) when Shāh 'Abbās II took it, and the Mughal Emperors were never again able to conquer this province.

Ḳandahār remained under the Ṣafawī Monarchy until the rising of the Ghalzai tribe to power under Mir Wais (v. GHALZAI). The success of the Ghalzai rebellion in driving the Persians out of Ḳandahār emboldened them to invade Persia itself, and Maḡmūd became Shāh of Persia. Ḳandahār itself came into his brother's power, and the Ghalzais maintained their hold on it until Nādir Shāh took it after a year's siege in 1151 (1738). During the siege he built a new town outside the old city and named it Nādirābād. The Ghalzais were driven away from the neighbourhood, and the Abdālīs, who had been removed to the Herāt province, were allowed to return. They are still the most important element in the province. Aḡmad Shāh, one of their leaders who had held high command under Nādir Shāh, obtained possession of Ḳandahār without difficulty after the latter's death, and made it the capital of the Durrānī Kingdom which he founded (v. AḡMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, DURRĀNĪ, AFGHĀNISTĀN). He built a new town and gave it the name of Aḡmad-shāhī with the epithet of *aḡhrāf al-bilād*, "most illustrious of cities", which appears on all coins struck there during the Durrānī rule, but has been replaced under the Bārakzais by the old name Ḳandahar. The vicissitudes of Ḳandahār were not at an end; it passed rapidly from one pretender to another in the course of the wars between Zamān Shāh and his brothers, Maḡmūd and Shudjā

'al-Mulk, and, after Dōst Muḥammad Bārakzai had obtained the principal power, the inevitable rivalry set in and Kandahār was held for long by his brothers. Kohandil and Furdil. In 1839 it was occupied by a British Indian army in support of Shāh Shujā 'al-Mulk, and held till 1842 when the British left Afghānistān. After Dōst Muḥammad's death Kandahār again passed from one to another during the civil wars between his sons (*see* 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN). In the war of 1879—80 after the deposition of Yatqūb Khān, Kandahār was for a time erected into a separate state under the Wālī Shēr 'Alī, but after Aiyūb Khān's invasion and his final defeat by Roberts at Kandahār the British Government decided to put the whole country under 'Abd al-Raḥmān as Amir, and the separate state of Kandahār came to an end. Since then it has remained peacefully under him and his successors.

The changes in the political relations of Kandahār are reflected in its coinage. It first appears under Ḥusain Bāikarā of Herāt; then under Humāyūn. Then for a long season only a few copper coins of Persian origin are known. Rupees were struck by Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān. These are followed by a long series of anonymous copper coins of Persian origin bearing figures of antelopes, peacocks, the hand of Fātima or the sword, *Dhu 'l-fikār*. Mahmūd the Ghazai struck rupees, and Nādir Shāh also, both in the names of Kandahār and Nādirābād. Then follows a full series of all the Durrānī Kings, followed by anonymous coins in the name of the "Ṣāhib-i-Zamān", or "Amir-i-Kullamīr". Last of all come the coins of the Bārakzai dynasty, and even the temporary Wālī, Shēr 'Alī, is represented.

The site of Kandahār has been several times altered. The town taken by Nādir Shāh appears to have been on hilly ground; it was no doubt the Ḥusainābād built under the Ghazais and named after the Persian King Ḥusain Shāh, afterwards dethroned by Maḥmūd. Nādirābād seems to have been some distance away on the open plain, while Aḥmadshāhī, the modern Kandahār, was nearer to the old city, according to Elphinstone. Masson about 1830 describes the ruins of the old town dismantled by Nādir Shāh as on the slope of a hill about two miles distant from the walled town of his days. The tomb of Aḥmad Shāh is in Kandahār.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KANDAHĀR. 3. A fort in the Dekkhan, 77° E. 19° E. which gives its name to a talūka in the dominions of the Nizam of Ḥaidarābād. This place appears to be the mint-town of some rupees of Kandahār struck in the reign of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh from 1157 to 1159 (1744-45). As the city of Kandahār in Afghānistān had been separated from the Mughal Empire since 1058 (1648) and was at this period in Nādir Shāh's possession, it is impossible that these rupees should have been struck there.

Bibliography: H. Nelson Wright, in *J.A.S.B.* Nov. 1910, p. 580; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* xiv. 377. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KANDŪRĪ. The Persian word *kandūra* or *kandūrī* means a leather or linen tablecloth; in Hindūstānī this word means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fātima. In this latter meaning the word has been imported, apparently, from India into the Indonesian archipelago. In Acheen the word is unchanged, in Java it is slightly altered into *kepūduri* or *kepūduren*; it may be noted that nowadays the more usual term in Java is: *seḍekah* or *sidekah*, from the Arabic *ṣadaqa*, *slametan*, from the Arabic *salāmat*, or *ḥādījat*, a well known Arabic word, meaning need, want of a man's presence at a feast, and hence the festival itself. In general it is a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law, just like the *walīma* in the books of *fiḥh*. The occasions which give rise to it are numerous, for instance: days of commemoration, domestic events, especially circumcision, the completion of teaching the Qur'ān, certain periods, such as pregnancy, sowing and harvest, and sundry reasons like setting out on a journey, occupying a new house and other enterprises, the averting of epidemics and calamities, etc. According to the Law each *kandūrī* should have a religious character; the poor must be invited, forbidden things should be avoided, but the strong local *ādāt* is always prone to look for means of effecting a compromise. Every complete *kandūrī*, especially those in commemoration of deceased relatives and those given on the anniversary of a saint, is sanctified by means of recitation of the Qur'ān, *dhikr*'s or prayers; popular superstition, however, regards such *kandūrī*'s as consisting of actual offerings of food to the deceased. Almost every *kandūrī* is opened by a prayer, the commemorative ones by the *do'a kubur*. In Acheen some months are called *kandūrī* with a second word indicating the food the sacred meal consists in.

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(PH. S. v. RONKEL)

KANEM, a country in the Central Sūdān, east and north-east of Lake Tchad. Until recent years Kanem was only known from the accounts of Barth, who visited a part of it in 1851, and Nachtigal, who crossed it in 1871 on his way to Borku. But from 1900 onwards, the work of French scientific missions, as well as the explorations of officers and officials entrusted with the administration of the "territoire militaire du Tchad", have made it possible to rectify and complete the data furnished by these two travellers.

The name Kanem, taken in the widest acceptance, is applied, according to Nachtigal, to a region bounded on the north by the caravan route from Kavar to Lake Tchad, in the south by the Baḥr al-Ghazal [q.v.], in the east by the depression of the Eguei, in the west by the Lake, and lies between 14°—16° N. Lat. and 12°—14° E. Long. (Greenwich). The surface may be estimated at 27,000 to 30,000 square miles. Kanem, in the stricter sense, only occupies about a quarter of this huge area, between Lake Tchad on the west, Baḥr al-Ghazal on the south and the mountainous massif of the Manga, which separates it from the Eguei, on the east.

The most characteristic topographical feature of Kanem is the existence of numerous sand dunes

running N. W. by S. E., separated from one another by hollows several hundred yards broad and sometimes four or five miles long. Dunes and depressions are specially marked in the northern part. The hollows, which are given the name of wāds, are dry except during the rainy season, when ponds are formed in the deepest parts; their bottoms consist of soil impregnated with natron. Below this, to a depth of 3 to 30 feet, lies a vast water-bearing stratum; wells therefore are dug into the beds of the wāds. The existence of this subterranean water supply has suggested that the present Kanem is simply an ancient lagoon formerly fed by the waters of the Bahr al-Ghazal and now dried up. The wāds themselves would be the beds of the ancient exits or *baḥr* of the Tchad. The shore itself is in process of transformation. It is bordered by elongated islets lying S. S. E. by N. N. W. and separated from one another by narrow channels. The islets, which number 300, of which 80 are inhabited, lie from two to three miles from the shore. They are divided into two groups, the Kūri archipelago in the south and the Buddūma archipelago in the north. The gradual desiccation of the south-east part of Lake Tchad has added a certain number of islands to the mainland. Peninsulas and bays, which cut into the shore, have thus been formed and force sailors to make numerous detours.

The climate of Kanem is that of tropical regions. Two seasons are distinguished, the rainy season from July to September, and the dry season from February to June. The intermediate period, from October to January, corresponds to winter and is marked by a perceptible drop in the temperature; in the bottoms of the wāds the thermometer goes sometimes down to zero Centigrade ($\approx 32^\circ$ Fahrenheit). The rains themselves are unequally distributed and diminish from south to north. The very luxurious vegetation of the southern part becomes less and less rich as one ascends northwards. It flourishes on the slopes of the wāds, the bottoms of which remain barren. The date-palm grows wild in many of these wāds. It even forms a regular oasis at Mao, in the centre of Kanem, but disappears in the northern part, which is of prairie character. Cultivation is limited to the area around the villages, built on the slopes of the dunes close to the wooded zone. The commonest crop is the millet, to which may be added beans and cotton in the *baḥr* of the Tchad. The rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and camels is also a very important source of income for the inhabitants. Fishing around the lake and hunting in the interior also contribute to the support of the inhabitants. The fauna is very rich and varied. The elephant is becoming scarce, but the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, lion, buffalo and panther abound in Kanem proper and the ostrich, antelope, gazelle and giraffe on the northern steppes.

The number of inhabitants is difficult to estimate. It is certainly not above 80,000 to 100,000 or about two to the square mile. The population is settled, with a few nomads. The principal settlements are in the south Ngūri, in the S. E. Mondo, in the centre Mao, "a junction of roads, a centre of gravity and of confluence of races... the first oasis in the date country, still rich in millet, suited both for the rearing of camels and cattle". (Largeau).

The population is far from being homogeneous.

The diverse elements which compose it belong some to the negro group and some to the Arab group, more or less altered. To the first belong the Kanembū, the Buddūma, the Kūri; to the second the Ūlād-Slimān and the Shoa; the Tundjur and Tabu are classed between the two.

The Kanembū, descendants of the first settlers in Kanem, constitute the basis of the population, upon whom they have imposed their language. They are dark grey (*asrak*) in colour and tall in stature. Industrious and peace-loving, they are settled and devote themselves to agriculture. They profess Islām and are fairly strict Muslims. In their midst live groups of individuals called Ḥaddād (in Kanembū *dogoa*) who, although differing from the Kanembū neither in language nor in physical type, are considered as belonging to an inferior race and are despised. These natives are distinguished from the others by their weapons and by their mode of life. They use bows and arrows, while the Kanembū use spears, and live chiefly by hunting. Very warlike in disposition, they have played an active part in the civil wars which desolated the country in the course of last century.

The Buddūma and the Kūri inhabit the islands of Lake Tchad, to which they retired when they abandoned the mainland. The Buddūma, who occupy the northern archipelago, live by fishing, cattle-raising and the cultivation of millet. Before the French occupation, they practised piracy to the detriment of their neighbours of Kanem and even at the expense of the natives of Bornū [q. v.]. They have, for the most part, remained fetish-worshippers, although they have adopted some Muslim customs. The Kūri, on the other hand, while leading the same sort of life as the Buddūma, are completely islamised.

The Ūlād Slimān and the Shoa represent the Arab element in Kanem. The first, who came from Tripolitania and Fezzān [q. v.] in the middle of the nineteenth century, have preserved the Semitic type quite pure. They have light complexions, speak the Arab dialect of Tripolitania and dress like the Arabs of the north. Nomads and robbers, possessing, thanks to their rifles, an incontestable superiority over the negro tribes, their sole means of existence was the slave trade and brigandage. Since the French occupation, some sections of them have taken service with Europeans, while others have left the country and entered the service of the Sanūsīya.

Of Arab origin, like the Ūlād-Slimān, the Shoa have been long established in the Sūdān. But if they have retained the use of the Arab language, which they speak quite purely, their physical type has been markedly altered by mixture with the black population. The Islām which they profess is fairly strict among the tribes of the north, where many of them are affiliated to the Tidjāniya brotherhood; among the tribes of the south, however, their faith has been contaminated by fetishist practices and the orthodox regard them as *kirdi*, i. e. idolaters. The Shoa live almost entirely by cattle-rearing; nomads in the dry regions near the desert, they become settled in the moister southern regions. They are represented in Kanem by the Ūlād Serrar, the Bantu Wail and the Dagana of the Bahr al-Ghazal.

The Tabu or Teda, who came originally from Tibesti, are fairly numerous in Kanem. But, as

a result of contact with negroes, they have lost some of their distinctive features, notably the slimness of the body and elasticity of gait. They are also much less fanatical than their kinsmen who have remained among the mountains. Lastly, while the Tabu, strictly so-called, are nomads and live almost entirely by brigandage, the Tabu of Kanem or Damagadā Konumā are for the most part settled. They follow agricultural pursuits, for which they are not fitted, without great success. The principal bodies of them are the Gadoš, the Warabba, the Dogorda and the Yorūmma, related to the Kasherda of the Baḥr al-Ghazal. Their language is connected with the Kanuri spoken in Bornū.

The Tundjur are the descendants of Hilālī Arab tribes, who, after sojourning around Tunis, migrated to Dār Fūr at the end of the fifteenth century. There they passed to Wāḍai and finally settled themselves in Kanem towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Much mixed with negroes since then, they form a group intermediary between the Arabs, the Kanembū and the Tabu. Arabic is their proper language, but they also speak Tabu and Kanembū. They are found especially in the region of Mondo and acknowledge the authority of a chief called *fagḥa*.

History. According to the Arabic sources studied by Marquart, who modifies on this point the data of Barth (cf. BORNŪ), the kingdom of Kanem seems to have been founded by the Zoghāwa, whose territory extended in the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. from Dār Fūr to Lake Tchad and Kavar. Al-Bakrī mentions the inhabitants of Kanem as idolators and al-Idrīsī seems also to consider them as such. Some time after the tenth, but not later than the twelfth century, Kanem was occupied by the Tabu (Teda) who came from Borku and Tibesti, conquered the Zoghāwa and introduced Islām. This occupation seems to coincide with the accession to the throne of the Yazanīs, who claimed to be descendants from Saif b. Dhi Yazan [q. v.] and became the disseminators of Islām, which had been introduced by al-Hādī al-ʿUḡmānī, the predecessor of the Yazanīs. The *Kītib al-Istīḡḥār* (ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 32, transl. Fagnan, p. 61) places the conversion to Islām of Kanem about 500 = 1106/7. According to a Hausa legend, Abū Zaid al-Fāzānī (end of the xiith and beginning of the xiiith century) preached Islām in Kanem and Borku. Another tradition refers the introduction of Islām to the beginning of the twelfth century, in the reign of King Oumé. In any case this religion was solidly established in Kanem in the thirteenth century. Some Muslims from Kanem founded a Maliki school in Cairo between 640 and 650 (1242—1252). The soi-disant descendants of Saif remained in power, as long as the kingdom existed. They preserved their complexion "fair like the Arabs" down to Selmaʿa, son of Bikora, who was the first negro king of the country. This dynasty considerably extended the kingdom of Kanem, the boundaries of which were carried by Dunama I, Selmaʿa and Dunama II up to the frontiers of Egypt. The Sultāns of Kanem maintained friendly relations with the Hafsids. A rapid decline followed this period of prosperity. The Būlala, a Kanembū tribe which at the beginning of the xivth century A. D. had withdrawn to the S. E. of Lake Tchad, attacked the Sultāns of

Kanem and after a century of incessant fighting ended by conquering the country. Ngjimi, capital of Kanem, was taken by the invaders. Sultān ʿOmar b. Idrīs (796—800 = 1394—1398) had to retire to the country west of Lake Tchad, where one of his successors founded the kingdom of Bornū [q. v.]. In the sixteenth century the sovereigns of the new state in their turn took the offensive against the Būlala in order to re-conquer Kanem. This end was achieved by Idrīs Katḡ-karmabi (1504—1506 A. D.). The conquered Būlala had to pay tribute and Kanem became a province of Bornū. The submission of the Būlala remained, however, somewhat precarious. During the xvth century the Sultāns of Bornū found themselves forced to resort to force in order to oblige their neighbours to respect the treaties that had been made. Thus we find Idrīs Alaoma (1571—1603) sending five expeditions against the Būlala, who were supported by the Tabu. The Sultān of Bornū was victorious over his adversaries but his authority and that of his successors were hardly recognised except by the people around the shores of the Lake; the interior of the country slipped from them. Very soon the weakening of Bornū enabled the Būlala to recover their independence. But towards the middle of the xviiith century they were in their turn conquered by the Tundjur from Wāḍai. They then left Kanem and went to settle in the west of Baḥr al-Ghazal, then in Fitūi, where their descendants still are to-day. The Tundjur imposed their authority on the various peoples of Kanem but had to endure the attacks of the Bornūans who drove them into the region of Mondo and reduced them to the state of tributaries. The Bornūan troops, commanded by a Hausa slave named Dalafna, settled permanently in Kanem, where their descendants are known as Dalatua. Their chief (*aiīfa*) settled at Mao and became the representative of the Sultān of Bornū, to whom he paid an annual tribute. This restoration of the Bornūan suzerainty was of short duration. From the beginning of the sixteenth century Kanem was attacked by new enemies, the Wāḍaians, who claimed the country as a former possession of the Būlala settled in Wāḍai. The Sultāns ʿAbd al-Karīm Sabūn (1805—1819) and Muḥammad Sharif occupied parts of the south almost without striking a blow. Bornū, invaded by the Fulbe, was unable to intervene, and Kanem occupied with the feuds of the Tundjur and Dalatua was in a state of complete anarchy. The Dalatua ended by triumphing over their rivals but recognised the suzerainty of Wāḍai. Their chief, the *aiīfa* of Mao, received the title of *agwīd al-baḥr*, and became the representative of the Sultān of Wāḍai, in the name of whom he gave investiture to the Kanembū and Ḥaddād chiefs. The natives who would not submit to the Wāḍaians took refuge in the islands of Lake Tchad. The arrival of the ʿUḡd Slimān (1846) provoked new disorders. Driven out of Fezzān by the Turks these nomads reached the country north of Lake Tchad and began to plunder it. Severely defeated by the Tuaregs in 1850 they moved on to Bornū. The Sultān then took into his service the remains of the tribe and entrusted the ʿUḡd Slimān with the defence of the frontier against the Wāḍaians. The ʿUḡd Slimān took advantage of this to reconstitute themselves and to plunder friends and enemies without distinction.

At the period of Nachtigal's visit to Kanem

1871) they were the real masters of the country. The Tundjur of Mondo tried to resist them but being decisively beaten in 1883, they were reduced to slavery. The Haddād of Ngumo alone succeeded in keeping in check these nomads, who dreaded their poisoned arrows.

The situation was none the less much disturbed. The Kanembū and the Haddād were fighting between themselves while the Wādaian made frequent inroads. Finally, after the death of Shaiḫ 'Abd al-Djālil, the various factions of the Ūlād Slimān began to fight with one another.

The French occupation put an end to this anarchy. Kanem was included in the zone of French influence, as determined by the Anglo-French agreement of March 21, 1899. After being visited by the Joalland and Foureau-Lamy missions (1900) it was effectively occupied between 1901 and 1905. Accepted without opposition by the Kanembū, European domination met with an obstacle in the hostility of the Santūsiya, who in 1900 established a zāwiya at Bi'r Alālī, in the north of Kanem. Muḥammad al-Barrānī, the deputy for the grand master of the brotherhood, at the head of bands of Arabs from Tripolitania, Tuaregs and Ūlād Slimān, endeavoured to arrest the advance of the French. The evacuation of the zāwiya in 1902 determined a number of the Ūlād Slimān to abandon the struggle. The malcontents, who had been joined by Tubu brigands, continued hostilities down to January 1905, when their chief, Shaiḫ Aḥmad, finally made his submission.

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KIANGHRI (also written KANKRI, with the subsidiary form Čangri), capital of the liwā (administrative district) of the same name in the

wilāyet (province) of Kaṣtamūni, on the Adjī Šu, a tributary of the Kızıl İrmak (Haly), the ancient Gangra, famous even in ancient times as a stronghold, was sometimes used by the Byzantines as a place of banishment and later in the wars with the Arabs and the Dānišmand-Oghlu again became important on account of its almost impregnable citadel. On their campaigns against the Byzantines the Umayyads repeatedly penetrated as far as Khandjara (variant Djandjara), e.g. in the year 93 = 711/12 (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1236 = Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ed. Tornberg, iii. 457; al-Ya'qūbi, ii. 350, who calls the town Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadid), in the year 109 = 727/28 (al-Ya'qūbi, ii. 395) and in the year 114 = 731/32 (Bar-Hebraeus, *Kitāb al-Makrībānūt Zabnē*, ed. Bruns and Kirsch, ii. 125; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1561, and Theophanes under the year 6224). When as a result of the defeat at Mangikert in 1071 the eastern frontier provinces were abandoned by the Byzantines, the Saldjuks and the Dānišmand-Oghlu shared the spoil: the former established themselves in Konya, while the latter spread through the northern half of Asia Minor from Amasia to Kaṣtamūni; among the conquests of the first Dānišmand-Oghlu in 468 (1075/6) we find Kianghri mentioned; cf. *Ta'rikhi Ali Dānišmend* in Amāsiali Ḥusain Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Anāsia Tārikhi*, Sтамбул 1322, ii. 286 sqq.; Hezārfenn, *Tanḫih al-Tawārikhi* in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 470. In the year 1101 an army of Crusaders left Constantinople for the land of the Dānišmand-Oghlu, in order to liberate Boemund of Antioch, who had been captured by them at Malātya and imprisoned in Niksār, conquered Angora and reached Kianghri (= praesidium Gangara), but the attack on the fortress failed and soon afterwards the army was completely wiped out by the allied Saldjuks and Dānišmand-Oghlu at Amāsia (Albertus Aquisensis, liber viii. caput 8; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ed. Tornberg, x. 203; cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 476; Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, i. 224 sqq.). The emperor John Comnenus captured Kianghri in 1134 with the help of his heavy siege artillery, after having stormed it in vain a year before (*Chronicle* of Niketas, i. ch. 6 and especially also Joannes Prodromos; see Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii. 84 sqq.); but very soon after the departure of the emperor the fortress was retaken by the Dānišmand-Oghlu and never again passed into the hands of the Byzantines. In the period following we find Kianghri in possession of the Saldjuks of Konya (see Chalandon, *op. cit.*, passim). After the decline of the Saldjuk empire Kianghri belonged to the territory of the Isfandiār-Oghlu of Kaṣtamūni, was taken from them in 795 = 1392/3 (so Neshri) or 797 = 1394/5 (so 'Ashik-pashazāde and the anonymous Ottoman chronicles) by Bayazid I with the greater part of their lands, but restored to them by Timūr in 804 (1401) and finally in 822 (1419) definitely annexed by Meḥmed I ('Ashik-pashazāde, *Tārikhi*, p. 88 sq.; Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 475; the statements of von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, i. 70, 248 and ii. 176 are due to a misunderstanding). In the period of peace that now followed under Ottoman rule, Kianghri falls completely into the background: it is scarcely mentioned by the historians; we have, however, full descriptions of the town from Ewliya, *Siyāhetname*, iii. 250 sq., and Ḥādjdji Khalifa, *Dihānnumā*, p. 645. Among European

travellers we find it first mentioned in 1553—55 by Dernschwam in his *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. Babinger, Munich 1923, p. 196; nearly 300 years later Ainsworth was the first European to describe it from his own observations and in our own time it has been occasionally visited and described by German explorers in Asia Minor. The castle, in its day stormed by Arabs, Dānīshmand-Oghlu, Byzantines and Crusaders, lies in ruins; the tomb still survives of Karategin, who captured the town for the first Dānīshmand prince and is now revered as a saint. The system of cisterns, which dates from pre-historic times, on the castle hill, which Ewliyā and Ḥādīdī Khalifa fully described, has not yet been closely examined, nor has the "Medjid Tash" (Tash Masjdīd), i. e. the monastery of the Mewlewī dervishes, with its inscriptions, which, as Ainsworth was told, are said to date from the Arab Caliphs. Of the 27 large and small mosques some are said to date from the Byzantine period (see Cuinet); the principal mosque was built by Sulaimān I in 966 (1558/9).

The extensive deposits of rock-salt at Maghāra, two hours south-east of Kianghrī (Cuinet, iv. 427 and Märcker) are famous; their product was known even to the Byzantines under the name *ῥαγγρηδὺν ἕλας* (Nikolaos Myrepsos, end of the xiiith century, in Du Cange, *Glossar. ad scriptores med. et inf. Graec.*, s. v.). The severe earthquakes, which have repeatedly shaken the town in modern times, are mentioned in the mediaeval ages also; al-Kazwīnī, *Athār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 368, gives a full account of one of these catastrophes, which destroyed the town in Aug., 1050.

The number of inhabitants may be approximately estimated at 30,000 in 5,000 houses; among them were about 150 Greek and 50 Armenian families, who may now have left it as a result of the Great War.

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KĀNĪ, ABŪ BAKR, a notable Ottoman poet and prose stylist of the old school. Born in 1124 (1712) in Tokād in Asia Minor, while still a young man he attained a great reputation in his native town as a stylist and poet. He belonged to the Mewlewī order and was allotted to the *Shāikh* of the Mewlewī monastery in Tokād to serve him. An important landmark in his career was the passing of Ḥakīm Oghlu 'Alī Pasha through Tokād in 1168 (1754/5); he had been summoned from Trebizond to Constantinople to fill the office of Grand Vizier for the third time. Kānī presented him with a *ḡaṣīda* of welcome and a chronogram which made such an impression on the aged statesman that with the permission of the *Shāikh* of his order he at once took him to Constantinople and procured him a position in

the imperial *Dīwān*. The way to the highest offices of state was thus opened to Kānī; but ambition was foreign to his nature. The careless and somewhat unrestrained life that he had been leading in his native town — he was only a lukewarm Muslim and only at the end of his long life returned again to the devout life of the order — seemed to him more desirable; so he took advantage of the fall of his patron, which took place after only two months of office, to give up his position in Constantinople. Henceforth his activities lay mainly in the provinces: — in Silistria, in Wallachia and in Bucharest. He acted for a considerable time as *Dīwān* secretary to the voivod Alexander; there is a picture of them together in the Museum of Sinaya. Finally Yegen Mehmed Pasha, who had previously been a close friend of his, summoned him to Constantinople, when he became Grand Vizier (1196 = 1782). But this brought nothing but misfortune to Kānī. Kānī showed himself indifferent to all ceremony and conducted himself towards the Grand Vizier with as little politeness as in the old days when there was no difference of rank between them. He also chattered about matters that should have been kept secret. Yegen Pasha enraged at this had him condemned to death and it was only with difficulty that the punishment was reduced to banishment to Lemnos. All his property was confiscated, so that he had to struggle with poverty. He died in Rab' II, 1206 (Jan.-Feb., 1792) and was buried in Aiyūb. Surūrī and Sümbül-Zāde Wehbī composed chronograms on his death.

Kānī is one of the most remarkable figures in Ottoman literature of the post-classical romantic period during which Persian influence died down and was replaced by a more national spirit. As a poet Kānī was not specially distinguished; he even lacks one of the principal features of most Ottoman poets: smoothness and polish of language. In his poems there are many inequalities and harsh passages: this is closely connected with his manner of working and his habit of extemporising verses on any stimulus or on any occasion. Kānī himself, it should be added, never collected and arranged his poems nor put the finishing touch to his *Dīwān*. Only at the instigation of the Re'isü'l-Kuttāb Mehmed Rāshīd Efendi were the poems which could still be found in existence collected by Nūrī and the *Dīwān* published. A portion of the poems have been lost. He wrote poems in Arabic and Persian in addition to Turkish.

His poetical works consist of numerous hymns, *naẓīra*'s and *takḥmīs*, *ḡaṣīda*'s, chronograms and some hundreds of *ghazels*. What distinguishes his poems from those of other poets is his fondness for wit and humour, his humorous phraseology, while otherwise humour is entirely lacking in the old Ottoman poets.

A much higher estimate must be placed on Kānī as a prose-writer in his *Munsha'āt* and we have the very high opinion expressed by Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīk that, as regards his style, a nation produces not more than five or six of his rank. In his letters Kānī gives rein to his humorous mood and produces the most peculiar and unexpected flowers of speech. He might be compared with Rabelais. Many witty sayings and anecdotes of him are recorded. His happy disposition and his humour made him thoroughly

popular and gave his hearers and readers that attraction to him, his letters (of which about 120 exist) and his poems, which is only partly intelligible to our taste and ideas. His works are especially important for the phraseology, as he often uses popular expressions not found in the literary language and says most unusual and unexpected things.

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(TH. MENZEL)

KANĪSA (plural *kanā'is*), synagogue, church, the arabicised form of the Aramaic *kenishā* "meeting (place), school, synagogue" (cf. J. Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*, ii. 359 sq.). The Syriac form *kenūshā* in the Peshittā on the New Testament is a rendering of *συναγωγὴ* and sometimes also of *ἐκκλησία* (cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syr.*, i. col. 1773), whereas the form *kenishā* in Christian Western Aramaic represents *συναγωγὴ* as well as *ἐκκλησία* (cf. Schulthess, *Lex. Syropal.*, Berlin 1903, p. 95). The latter term is nearly always rendered by *'idā* in the Peshittā. The *Lisān al-'Arab*, viii. 83, 2 sq. is nearly right in so far as it derives *kanisa* from *kunishā*; al-Khafādjī (*Shifā al-Ghalīl*, Cairo 1282, p. 195), however, rejects this view and expresses the opinion that the word denotes an especially Christian institution and goes back to *kalisa*, an abbreviated form of *kalisiyā* (*ἐκκλησία*). Al-Bustānī also considers the word as being the arabicised *ἐκκλησία* (*Muḥit al-Muḥit*, Beyrouth 1286, p. 1847a).

In Arabic *kanisa* denotes the Jewish as well as the Christian place of worship; this appears also from the various statements of the lexica; some refer to churches, others to synagogues exclusively (cf. al-Djawahiri, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, Bulāḳ 1282, i. 473 ult.; al-Zamakhshari, *Asās al-Baiṭāgha*, Cairo 1299, ii. 212, 20; *Lisān al-'Arab*, loc. cit.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 314, 7). According to al-Firuzābādī, al-Kāmūs, Bulāḳ 1272, i. 549 1, *kanisa* denotes the place of worship (*muta'abbad*) of the Jews, the Christians or the Kāfir's; cf. also *Tādj al-'Arūs*, iv. 235 *infra*.

In early literature *kanisa* is often found in the meaning of "church". Two documents on papyrus of the year 88 (707) mention the church of a monastery called (*Munyat*) *Kanisat Marya* in Egypt (*Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i., ed. C. H. Becker, Heidelberg 1906, p. 111, g, line 4, p. 112, i, line 4). In a satirical verse Djārīr speaks of the churches of Taghlib (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kamil*, ed. Wright, p. 485, 5). The treaties which 'Umar or his generals are said to have concluded with the inhabitants of several towns usually contain stipulations concerning the *kanā'is* (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 173; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 167, 18; al-Ṭabarī,

i. 2405, 8 sq., 2588, 7; Eutychius, ed. Cheikhō, ii. 17, 7; Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329 sqq., i. 178; cf. also Abū Yūsuf, *Kit. al-Kharāj*, Bulāḳ 1302, p. 80). In the Ḥadīth it is related how Umm Ḥabiba and Umm Salama told the Prophet of a church in Abyssinia adorned with images (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54; *Djānā'iz*, bāb 70; *Manāḥib al-Anṣār*, bāb 37).

Kanisa further occurs with a following noun in the genitive, e.g. *Kanisat Ḥanas* (in Alexandria, Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 257, 32), K. al-Ḡhurāb (on Cape St. Vincent in South Portugal, Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 377, 19; al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushitāk*, partly ed. by Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 180; transl., p. 218), K. al-Kaff (in Egypt, with an impression of Jesus' hand, Yāqūt, ii. 22, 2 sq.), K. Yuḥannā and K. Maryam (in Damascus, Yāqūt, ii. 591, 10, 596, 23); K. al-Kumāma (Church of the dust heap, an intentional corruption of K. al-Kiyāma, Church of the Resurrection, in Jerusalem, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, i. 111; iii. 405; cf. also G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 141 sq., 202 sqq.), K. al-Bāghūta (al-Bā'ūtha?; in al-Hīra, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 127, 2), etc.

Al-Makrizī denotes synagogues as well as churches by the word *kanisa* (*al-Khiṭat*, Bulāḳ 1270, ii. 464 sqq., 510 sqq.).

In Spain and in the Maghrib the Form *Kanisiya* (perhaps influenced by *iglesia*) was in use; it is still current in Morocco and Tunisia (vgl. Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 493).

In the modern language *kanisa* denotes a church, *kanis* a synagogue (al-Bustānī, *loc. cit.*). For the Egyptian dialect cf. S. Spiro Bey, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1923, s. v.).

Al-Kanisa or al-Kanisa al-Sawda' was a town with a stronghold in the frontier province of Northern Syria, which Hārūn al-Rashīd restored from its ruins (Yāqūt, iv. 314; cf. i. 927, 20; al-Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, i. 63, 7; 68, 3; vgl. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 477 sq.). — Al-Mukaddasi, *BGA*, iii. 2, 453, 9) mentions a place K. al-Madjuṣ at a day's journey from Arradjan. — A harbour in Yemen on the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of Zabīd also bore the name of al-Kanisa (al-Firuzābādī, *loc. cit.*; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, *loc. cit.*). — According to *Tādj al-'Arūs*, *loc. cit.*, Kunaisiya occurs in several names of places in Egypt.

On the rules for churches laid down by the Muslims cf. the art. NAṢARĀ.

Bibliography: In addition to the literature mentioned in the art. cf. S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 275. (C. VAN ARENDONK)

KANO (in Hausa KANU), a town in the Central Sudān 300 miles west of Kūka and 290 E. S. E. of Sokoto, 1200 feet above sea-level, situated in 12° 27' N. Lat. and 8° 20' E. Long. (Greenw.). Kano lies in the middle of a marshy plain dominated by the isolated rocky hills of Goron Duchi and Dala. The town is surrounded by a fortified wall (*birni*) 20 to 25 feet high and measuring, according to Barth, nearly 20 miles in circumference. A portion of the area thus mapped out is occupied by tilled fields especially in the West and North-west. The houses are grouped in the South between Dala and the wall. The town divided into two by a marshy pond called Djakara (Robinson: Jakhara) is formed of mud

houses. Only the houses of great personages or of Arab traders or rich Hausa merchants are provided with an upper story. The number of inhabitants, estimated by Barth at 30,000, would, according to Monteil, amount to 50,000 or 60,000, according to Robinson, to 100,000, according to the reports of the English officials in Nigeria, to 200,000. This population comprises very diverse elements, Hausa, Fulah, Kanūri and Arab; of whom 2/3 (Robinson) or 4/5 (Monteil) are slaves. In addition to the fixed population there is a very large floating one, reaching, according to Monteil, the figure of two million individuals a year.

This accession is explained by the economic role of Kano, the commercial metropolis of the whole of the Sūdān and at the same time a much frequented stage on the pilgrim route to Mekka. Representatives of all the negro races from the mouth of the Niger and Senegambia to Bornū and Wadai meet there with Tuaregs and Arabs from Ghadāmes and Tripolitania. Every day a market is held there attended by over 30,000 people. Business is done through the intermediary of brokers, and owing to the scarcity of currency settlements are made most often with cowries; some transactions are carried through by simple barter. The principal articles of commerce are clothes and garments of local manufacture, leather, salt brought from Bilma, natron and above all the *kola* nut from the Western Sūdān, which is perhaps the most important element in the commerce of Kano. To these we must add sugar from Egypt, gunpowder, paper, iron-mongery, cotton goods of European origin, ostrich feathers and ivory to a small extent and finally slaves. The articles sent to or brought from Ghadāmes or Tripolitania are carried by Arabs settled in Kano to the number of 400 or 500. But the Sūdānese trade, which makes up 4/5 of the total transactions, is entirely in the hands of Hausa merchants.

Kano is not only a great centre of commerce; it is also a centre of native industries. Weaving and dyeing flourish there. The manufacture of cotton goods is so active that the town has been given the name of the "Manchester of the Sūdān." Robes (*tobe*) dyed black are much esteemed and exported to all the neighbouring lands. Metal work occupies numerous smiths, who make hunting spears and stirrups as well as ornaments in copper and silver. The leather dyed yellow and red called morocco is very much esteemed and exported as far as Morocco and the markets of Tunisia and Tripolitania. The same is the case with the leather sacks indispensable for caravans.

The province of Kano is very fertile. As early as the xvth century we find Leo Africanus remarking the abundance of cattle, the richness of the soil, the extent of the fields of rice, cereals and cotton. The observations of modern travellers coincide with those of this early writer. The province of Kano, says Barth, includes 27 walled towns with 300,000 inhabitants and an equal number of slaves. "All the ground", says Monteil, "is cultivated for a distance of 60 miles round the town." Robinson notes the large number of separate farm places surrounded by plantations of tobacco, indigo, cotton and dura (*sorghum vulgare*).

A tradition noted by Robinson attributes the foundation of Kano to a group of refugees from Daura, a place three days' journey to the North, led by a certain Kano, son of Bawo. The latter, it

is said, built a new town at the foot of the rocks of Goron Duchi and Dala, on the top of which two villages had long been planted. According to Barth, Kano was the son of Biran and brother of Daura. He would thus be one of the seven "legitimate Hausas" (see HAUSA, ii. 291b). Another tradition to the effect that Kano had been appointed by his father *Sarikin baba*, i.e. chief of the dyers, attests the antiquity of this industry in the town. The date of the foundation is uncertain but it seems that by then Kano was already of some importance. In the second half of the xvth century A. D. education was held in honour in the town. Scholars had settled there on returning from the pilgrimage and were teaching theology and Maliki law. The celebrated 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marhili taught there. At the beginning of the following century, Leo mentions Kano as a town filled with rich merchants and artisans. These facts seem to invalidate Barth's statement that at this date Kano could only have been a citadel built on the rock of Dala. The king of Kano had subjected to his authority the kings of Zegzeg and Katsena, but he was in his turn conquered by the Sulṭān of Timbuktu, Muḥammad Askia, and was reduced to the state of a tributary. Later the kings of Kano had to endure incessant fighting against the Sulṭāns of Bornū, who even annexed Kano to their empire. The Bornūan governor, however, was driven out by king Korafa and Kano regained its independence. The invasion of the Fulah at the beginning of the nineteenth century increased the commercial importance of Kano, as the merchants of Katsena sought refuge there after the capture of the latter town by 'Oḥmān Dan Fodio in 1814. Kano was, however, not long in falling in its turn. On the dismemberment of the Fulah empire, the town was included in the kingdom of Sokoto. The country was administered by a governor (*serki*), who paid the Sulṭān of Sokoto an annual tribute (100 horses, 15,000 robes and other garments, 10,000 turbans etc. in the time of Barth). The Anglo-French agreements of Aug. 5, 1890 and June 14, 1898 having placed Sokoto within the zone of British influence, British representatives attempted to settle in Kano. These first attempts were unfortunate. Rev. C. H. Robinson (1893) and Wallis, a British official of Nigeria, were able to visit the town where the French traveller Monteil had already spent three months (1891—1892) in his journey from St. Louis to Lake Tchad, but Bishop Tugwell's mission was badly received and he had to withdraw. The effective occupation of Kano only took place in 1908 after a military expedition led by Sir Frederick Lugard.

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(G. YVER)

KANSU, a frontier province in the north-west of China proper; it is bounded on the south and east by the provinces of Sze-chuan, Shensi and Shansi, in the west and north by the territory of Kukuror, Chinese Turkestan (formerly included in Kansu, but since 1884 the separate province of Sin-Kiang) and Mongolia. With its present area of 5910 geogr. sq. m. = 125,483 sq. miles, Kansu is the third largest province of China but as regards density of population it is lower than all the other provinces of China with the exception of Kuangsi. The province first formed under the Emperor Kūbilāi in 1282 A. D. is said to have received its name from two towns in the extreme north-west, Kančou-fu and Sučou; both towns are already mentioned in the *Khudūd al-'Ālam* and in Gardizi (cf. W. Barthold, *Oliet o počezke v Irednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 92), the former in the form *Khāmū* (in the Mongol period Kamčū or Kamčē), the second as *Sakhčū* (later *Shukū* or *Sūkčī*).

Down till the xliith century A. D. this territory was for the most part under the rule of foreign peoples of Turkish (Uigur) or Tibetan (Tangut) origin; immediately before the Mongol conquest there was a Tangut kingdom here under the rule of the Hia (or Si-hia) dynasty (1032—1227) with its capital in Ning-hia. Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet, p. 484 sqq.) in giving a list of the twelve provinces (*shink*, chin. *shin*) reckons two with capitals Kīncānfū (now Sian-fu, capital of Shensi) and Kamčū (Kančou) respectively to Tangut (Tangkūt). In reality Kančou was at this time the capital of Kansu: Kansu and Shensi then as now combined in one governorship, the only difference being that the residence of the governor was in the capital of Shensi and not, as now, in the capital of Kansu. The boundary between Kansu and Shensi was formed by the Hoang-ho, so that the present capital of Kansu, Lančou-fu, then belonged to Shensi. In connection with Kīncānfū Marco-Polo (ed. Yule and Cordier, ii. 24) mentions prince Mangalai (d. 1280; called Mingālā by Rashīd al-Dīn), Kūbilāi's third son, as ruler of Tangut, while Rashīd al-Dīn (p. 495 sq.) gives his son Ananda; Rashīd al-Dīn says that Ananda was the founder of the dominance of Islām in this region. He was born about 1270 (in the early years of the viiith [xivth] century, he was 30 years of age, *ibid.*, p. 603, 6) and was brought up by Muhammadan foster-parents (*ibid.*, p. 599 sq.); but it was only after the conversion of Sultān Ghāzān in Persia (i. e. about 1295; cf. GHĀZĀN, ii. 1149 sq.) that he openly professed Islām (Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 602). The greater part of his army, said to have numbered 150,000 men, was converted to Islām (*ibid.*, p. 600); the people of Tangut, except the peasants, likewise adopted Islām (*ibid.*, p. 599). Taken to task by his cousin, Kūbilāi's

successor Tīmūr (1294—1307), for his conversion, Ananda remained faithful to Islām and after a period of interruption was restored to his dominion. In 1307 a party wished to raise him to the throne; he was therefore killed after the success of another claimant, Tīmūr's nephew Khaishān (1307—1311) (d'Ohsnon, *Histoire des Mongols*, ii. 525 sqq.). Not till 1323 was Ananda's son Ūrukīmūr again appointed prince of Tangut (Blochet, in Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 362, note c).

As Marco Polo (ed. Yule and Cordier i., 203 and 219) shows, there were already Muslims in Kansu before Ananda's day; on the other hand he says nothing about the dissemination of Islām south of the Hoang-ho (cf. the erroneous statement in the article CHINA, i. 851, following *Mission d'Ollone*, p. 435, that Marco Polo mentions "the presence of Muslims in the province of Yün-nan only"). The Turkī speaking Salar (cf. CHINA, i. 850), who live at the present day on the south bank of the Hoang-ho, are mentioned as living there as early as the Ming dynasty (1368—1644) and described as unruly subjects (W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, London 1891, p. 40), although no Muhammadan risings are mentioned for this period. The story which reached Tīmūr's lands about 1398 to the effect that the founder of the Ming dynasty had had about 100,000 Muslims slaughtered and had completely rooted Islām out of his kingdom (Nizām al-Dīn Shā'mī and 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarqandī in Barthold, *Uluglek*, Petrograd 1918, p. 42 sq., note 6) finds no confirmation in any Chinese source. Under Manchu rule (from 1644) risings of the Muslims of Kansu are mentioned by 1646 and 1648 and have been several times repeated in the xviiith and xixth centuries.

In Kansu those who profess Islām are at the present day certainly more numerous than in the other provinces (the figures are very variously estimated; cf. the article CHINA, i. 847). The most important centre of Muslim life and culture was until quite recently Iločou (south-west of the capital Lančou-fu), "the Chinese Mekka". Iločou was at an earlier date considered a purely Muslim city (about 30,000 inhabitants); in the year 1884 the traveller G. Potanin (*Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraine Kitaya*, St. Petersburg 1893, i. 169) was told that there were no longer any Muslims at all there; later the Muslims were only allowed to live in a separate suburb there (*Mission d'Ollone*, p. 235). The Muhammadan area in Kansu is divided into two separate tracts, Iločou-Sining in the south-west and Ninghia-Kintsip'u in the north-east; in the intervening area the Chinese have built hill-forts (*ibid.*, p. 253). Kintsip'u, sometimes called "the Chinese Medina", was first founded by the religious reformer and leader of a rebellion, Ma Hua-lung (cf. CHINA, i. 849).

In the xviiith century there still seem to have been more Muslims in Shensi than in Kansu (Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, i. 41 and 156); their language and dress were also different from those of the Chinese (*ibid.*, p. 155). This suggests that the modern Dungsans or Tungans (cf. CHINA, i. 850) did not adopt the Chinese language until a later date.

The rebellions were usually local movements, not general risings under the banner of Islām. During the great rebellion in Kansu, which began in 1871, there was perfect quiet in Shensi (Dabry,

op. cit., i. 159). The rebellion which had begun in 1861 or 1862 in Shensi was only spread to Kansu by the expulsion of the rebels from Shensi. The fighting was carried on with even greater bitterness in Kansu than in Shensi and had the most disastrous effects on the Muslim population as well as on the economic prosperity of the province generally. Just as at an earlier period the number of Muslims in Shensi had been considerably reduced by the expulsion of the rebels into Kansu, so now (since 1872) a considerable part of the Muslim population of Kansu has migrated westwards under the leadership of the valiant Boyan-akhūn. The birthplace of Boyan-akhūn (also written in Chinese Bo-yan-hu or Pai Yen-hu; his Muslim name was Muḥammad Ayyub) is variously given; he had lived for a long time in Peking and only moved to Kansu shortly before the rising. In December, 1877, Boyan-akhūn with the remainder of his army crossed the Russian frontier into Semirečye; the Chinese authorities demanded (of course without success) that he should be handed over to them. After his death in 1883, he was celebrated in songs as a national hero by the Dungans settled in Semirečye; whether his memory is still revered in Kansu also, does not seem to have been ascertained. The last rising (1895/1896) was started by the Salar and is said to have been provoked by the proclamation of their Chinese governor ordering that in future one Chinese should be regarded as equal in value to ten Muslims. There seems to have been no activity in Kansu against the present Republican government.

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KANŠÜH, AL-MALIK AL-AŠRAF SAIF AL-DĪN min Baiberdi (i.e. Baiberdi's Mamlūk) AL-GHŪRĪ (originally pronounced in Eastern Persian with ō and later there and in Egypt with u), of the "al-Ghūr" division of Mamlūks from Afghānistān, which was specially instructed in the Korān and theological subjects. He served for a long time as a *khāṣṣkī* (lifeguard) and *Djāmaār* and only when he was about 40, he became governor of the province of al-Baḥriya [see BAHRĪYA], and in 893 (1490) *Hādīb* [q. v.] al-*Hudūdīyāb* (president

of the military court) in Aleppo, where he gave proof of his great energy in the suppression of a rising. In 903 (1497) he became *Muḥaddam al-wāṣ* (commander of a thousand Mamlūks) and two years later *Ra's nawab al-Nuwab* (commander of the Mamlūk officers) under Sulṭān Džānbalāt [q. v.]. The latter's rival and successor Ṭīmānbāi I during his brief reign in 906 (1500) appointed him Grand Dawādār [see DAWĀDĀR] and, as often happened in the last period of the Mamlūk dynasty, at the same time Grand Ustādār (Grand Chamberlain), visier and *Kāshif al-Kuṣūf* (chief inspector of domains). The choice of the Mamlūks therefore, as a result of his high position, naturally fell upon him, when after a few months they were discontented with Ṭīmānbāi; after considerable hesitation he accepted, as he was now over sixty. By inflicting heavy taxes and levies and issuing a depreciated currency he ruthlessly raised the money to pay the old Mamlūks and to buy new ones in order to create a following. In his financial measures he did not even respect the privileges of the pious foundations and by depreciating the currency injured commerce and trade, and extorted money from merchants, women, eunuchs and from his own court-officials down to the very door-keeper. All this is made a very grave reproach against him by his contemporaries; it was even cast up against him in the Friday sermon. The chroniclers number him among the "bad Sulṭāns". He hurried on the financial ruin of his country by over-heavy taxes on the sales of goods and by oppressive customs duties, even although he made good use of a great part of the money by strengthening fortresses (notably Aleppo), making roads and wells in the Hīdžaz and in providing water by good aqueducts (e.g. the aqueduct in Cairo). One great source of revenue in these days was the harbour and customs dues on Indian goods, which then had to be brought to Europe via Egypt (Aden, Djidda, Suez, Alexandria) or Syria (Hormūz, Baṣra, Aleppo). To avoid these oppressive dues, the Portuguese staked everything on finding the sea route to India, which Vasco de Gama finally succeeded in doing. The Portuguese then gradually established themselves on the coasts of India and brought their great quantities of goods directly to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. In this way the excessively high costs of passing through Egyptian ports as well as the cost of overland transit were avoided and the profits went to the Portuguese. These losses in revenue could not be tolerated by the Sulṭān al-Ghūrī; besides, he felt it his duty as first ruler in Islām, as plenipotentiary of the Caliph and as a servant of the holy places of Mekka and Medina to come to the help of the oppressed Muslims in India. The first encounter with the Portuguese took place in 909 (1503) when the latter robbed an Egyptian ship coming from India of its cargo and sent it to the bottom. Sulṭān al-Ghūrī tried at first to get redress by peaceful means by sending the Grand Prior of the Sinai monastery to the Pope with a letter of complaint, threatening to destroy the holy places in Jerusalem if King Manuel of Portugal did not cease from oppressing Muslims in India and from conducting hostilities against his merchant-ships. The mission failed in its object as King Manuel knew quite well that the Sulṭān's interest in the great profits derived from Christian pilgrimages would prevent him from going to extremes. Sulṭān al-Ghūrī had

therefore to make up his mind to equip a considerable fleet, especially as 17 Arab ships were destroyed in 910 (1504) in the Indian harbour of Panane. The Sulṭān was interrupted even in the building of his fleet by the fact that the Knights of St. John in Rhodos captured a consignment of wood intended for Egypt. To secure a base for his naval war against the Portuguese, the Sulṭān dispatched several expeditions to keep the coast of Arabia under his control; his able general Ḥusain fortified Djidda with walls and towers and made the harbour a base for the fleet. The first encounter in the Indian harbour of Shaḥl between Ḥusain and Lorenzo, son of the Portuguese viceroy, in 914 (1508) ended in favour of the Egyptians, who were supported by the fleet of the Muslim governor of Diu. Lorenzo perished and the Admiral's ship was burned. But the very next year the Admiral avenged his son's death, destroyed a part of the Egyptian fleet (the Indian ships kept aloof) and forced Ḥusain to a hurried retreat into the Red Sea. Hostilities between the Portuguese and Egyptians continued in the following years, a strong Portuguese fleet even attacked Aden but without any lasting success. A new fleet was then sent to India by the Sulṭān. But when it reached Djidda, the political situation in Egypt had changed. In 922 (1517) the Ottoman Sulṭān Selīm I seized Cairo and thereby became protector of the Holy Cities as well as master of the western coast of Arabia. Sulṭān Selīm, who cared little about expansion towards India, as his interests lay in the direction of Asia Minor and the Balkan lands, at the request of the Mekkans, recalled Ḥusain, in spite of his successes, along with his subordinates, who held other parts of Arabia, and had him executed on account of his numerous acts of cruelty to the people of Arabia. The Egyptian fleet had to return. The Portuguese on their side were content with the successes they had won, as they had succeeded in diverting commerce from the route through the Red Sea. After the appearance of the Portuguese in the East and the alteration of the trade-route the most important source of revenue for Egypt gradually dried up so that Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī, for want of an intelligent system of taxation, had to fall back on extortion and the oppression of his subjects as he could do nothing else in view of the disorganisation of the finances. Thus it was not possible for him to pay his Mamlūks well so that his rule now lacked a firm support. His foreign policy also was unsuccessful. From fear of the powerful Selīm, he made an alliance with the latter's most bitter enemy Ismā'il [q. v.], the ruler of Persia. In 922 (spring of 1516) Sulṭān Selīm entered Asia Minor, ostensibly to fight against Shāh Ismā'il. Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī went to Aleppo under the pretext of acting as intermediary between the two rulers. To show his peaceful intentions he had brought with him the Caliph and the chief kādīs but had in secret promised Ismā'il his support. Selīm learned of this through spies and was not deceived by the friendly reception accorded his envoys by Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī. To make war inevitable, he maltreated al-Ḡhūrī's envoy, had his attendants killed and sent him back ignominiously on a mule, with a declaration of war. Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī's cause was hopeless from the first as he was not sure of his generals. He could neither protect his subjects from the extortions and acts of cruelty of his governors nor could he rely

on their fidelity. Although several times warned, he entrusted the command of the left wing to the governor of Aleppo, Khā'irbek; but at the first charge the latter left the battle with his troops and soon after the beginning of the battle the aged Sulṭān fell from his horse, struck with apoplexy. According to his biographer, his body was never found; others say that a Mamlūk cut off the head from the body and took it to Sulṭān Selīm. On the rapid occupation of Syria and Egypt and the last desperate battle of the Mamlūks see the articles SELİM and TŪMĀNBĀI II. Although Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī had tackled his task with energy, he could neither make friends nor bring order into the chaos of the finances. His attention was always directed only to immediate profit and to making ends meet somehow, while he was not sure of his Mamlūks and Amirs. He had no sense of justice nor a proper appreciation of relative strengths. Besides there was his aversion to the new arms, artillery and rifles, due to a certain disdain of using long range weapons, which it did not require personal bravery to carry. The rapid victory of the Turks and the superiority of the Portuguese was certainly to some extent due to the objection of Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī and his knights to proper training with fire-arms, as is specially mentioned by Ibn Iyās.

[In the Kur'an in the Sulṭāniya Library, Cairo, written for him, his name is spelt Kānsawh Ghawri, see E. Denison Ross in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, ii. 334 (London 1922). Red.]

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chaldäer*, v. 384—416; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1827 sqq., ii. 462 sqq. (in both, the principal Oriental manuscript sources as well as the contemporary chronicles and consular reports of the west are given). Ibn Iyās deals with the reign of Sulṭān al-Ḡhūrī in the *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* [see IBN IYĀS]; but only the end is printed in the Cairo edition, the years 906—922 are contained in the Paris manuscript, *Bibl. Nat., de Slane, Cat.*, No. 1824 (years 906—913) and in the St. Petersburg manuscript, Rosen, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Inst. des Langues orient.*, No. 46 (the years 913—922). The full biography by Ibn al-Hanbalī has not previously been utilised; see Ibn al-Hanbalī's *Durr al-Habab fī Ta'rīkh A'yān Halab*, MS. Vienna, Flügel, *Die arab. Handschr. der Hofbibl.*, ii. No. 1184 (cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 368), f. 176b sqq.; J. J. Marcel, *Hist. de l'Égypte depuis la conquête des Arabes*, etc., Paris 1834, p. 407—11; W. Muir, *The Mameluke Slave Dynasty*, London 1896, p. 187—201. On his building operations or detailed particulars will be given in the coming work on inscriptions in Aleppo in the sections "citadels and city-wall"; on his buildings in Damascus see M. Sobernheim, *Die Inschriften der Zitadelle von Damaskus*, No. 24—26 in *Der Islam*, xii. (1921); on commerce in his time see B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultans Selim in the Festschr. Ed. Sachau.... gewidmet*, Berlin 1915, p. 425—27. On his wars with Portugal see S. Ruge, *Gesch. des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Samml. Oncken, ii. 9) and H. Schäfer, *Gesch. Portugals*, iii., Hamburg 1850, p. 200 sqq.; R. S. Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, London 1899. For his coins see *Or. Coins*, of in the *Cat. Brit. Mus.* iv. 214—216. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

KANTARA, plur. *kanāṭir*, means in Arabic (1) bridge, particularly a bridge of masonry or stone; also (2) aqueduct (especially in the plural), dam, and finally (3) high building, castle (similarly *kasātil* = aqueduct from *kastal* = castellum; see *KANĀT*); cf. *Tāḍī al-ʿArūs*, iii. 509; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 412; de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, iv. 334; and particularly R. Geyer in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1905, vol. cxlix. No. 6, p. 114—119. The original meaning of the word, "arch", is found in the earliest Arabic lexicographers; cf. Dozy-de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, p. 369. *Djisir*, a bridge of wood or boats, is the opposite of *kanṭara*, which is of stone; in time, however, the two words came to be used as synonyms (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, i. 194).

No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of the word. The oldest reference is found in a verse of Tarafa (iv. 22; see *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1870, p. 55). On account of this early occurrence of the word, Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 187) considers the word to be genuine Arabic. But we may with considerable certainty regard it as a loan-word. Vollers and Geyer thought it borrowed from Latin or Greek. The former connected (*Z.D.M.G.*, li. 376; *Z.A.*, viii. 100 sq.) *kanṭara* with the mediaeval Latin word *cintrun* (French *cintre*, arch, vault), while Geyer (*op. cit.*, p. 118—119) sought the original either in *καμβίλος* = basket, *cantherius* = wickerwork used in the making of roofs and buildings, or in *κάμπτρα*, *κάμπτριον* = depository (cf. also *καμπτής* = rounding), from which Vollers, *Z.D.M.G.*, li. 302, derived Egypto-Arab. *kimṭar*. But all these explanations had best be rejected, because there are phonetic objections to them and they partly rely for the meanings of the words cited on obsolete, far-fetched glosses; cf., on the other hand, Fränkel in the *Z.A.*, xix. 270 sq., and Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 408. *Kanṭara* is most probably to be derived from the Aramaic and, as Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, thinks, in the first place from *keṭārā* = bond, arch (see Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syriac.*, col. 3591; note specially *keṭārā* in Bar Bahlūl, *Lexic.*, col. 1768). The above mentioned word *djisir* also comes from the Aramaic (Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. 285 and D. H. Müller in the *W.Z.K.M.*, i. 31), but can actually be traced back to the Assyrian or Accadian; cf. Meissner in the *Z.A.*, ix. 269, and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, p. 31.

Al-*Kanṭara* has survived in Spanish in the diminutives *alcantarilla* = little bridge, gutter and *alcantarillado* = arched aqueduct; see Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*², Leiden 1869, p. 47; *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española*¹³, Madrid 1899, s. v.

Al-*Kanṭara* and al-*Kanāṭir* are frequently found — sometimes with descriptive additions e.g. *Kanāṭir Firʿawn* — as names for places like quarters of a city (notably in Baghdad) in areas where Arabic was, or is, spoken in the mediaeval or modern East. In his geographical dictionary (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 180, 187—192, vi. 179—180) Yāḳūt gives a dozen places named al-*Kanṭara* and four called *Kanāṭir*; cf. also, for example, the indices to al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, p. 759—760, and Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xiii. 790. For the numerous districts of Baghdad named

after particular bridges under the Caliphate see the index to Guy le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1909, p. 368.

Of the places named al-*Kanṭara*, the following are worthy of special mention:

1. An oasis on the southern slopes of the Atlas in Algeria at the exit of a narrow pass through which run the road and railway from Constantine to the desert regions; it is a station on the Constantine-Biskra line, 35 miles north of the latter. This, the most northern oasis in Africa, consists of three villages with about 3,500 inhabitants and possesses a very dense date grove. From its situation it was an important military station and, as Roman inscriptions found there show, settled in ancient times. It is presumably identical with the station *Ad Calcem Herculis* of the Roman itineraries; see Dessau in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklop. der klassischen Altert.-Wissensch.*, iii. 1345. The name al-*Kanṭara* is derived from the Roman bridge, restored in 1862 by the French, which spans in one huge arch the ravine, the 150 feet wide Fumm al-*Ṣahārā* = the mouth of the *Ṣahārā* (so-called by the natives), through which flows the Wād al-*Kanṭara*; cf., for example, Vivien de St. Martin, *Diction. de Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1879, i. 66 and Kobelt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Algerien und Tunis*, 1883, p. 322.

2. *Alcántara*, a little town of great antiquity in the province of Cáceres (district of Estremadura) in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, with 3,200 inhabitants. It receives its name from an imposing granite bridge, built in 105 A. D., which crosses the Tagus in six great arches to the north-west of the town. The place is also famous for the order of knighthood founded there in 1176 to defend the frontier against the Moors, which became called the Alcántara Order after its headquarters were moved to this town in 1213; see Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*⁴, Leipzig 1913, p. 459.

3. A small town with a mosque in Egypt, on the Asiatic side of the Suez canal, half-way between Port *Ṣaʿīd* and *Ismaʿīliya*, a station on the railway connecting these two towns. It lies on a low narrow tongue of rising ground, which runs out between the large Menzaleh lake in the north and the little Balāḥ lake in the south. But it hardly takes its name from this "land bridge", but from a bridge which already existed here probably in the early Middle Ages.

The Arab geographer Ibn Faḳl Allāh al-ʿUmāri, who wrote about 741 (1340), mentions the arch of a bridge, called *Kanṭarat al-Djisir*, near the old caravan station of al-ʿAḳūla, under which the superfluous water flowed into the desert at the time of the Nile's inundation. There was still a bridge here at the beginning of the nineteenth century, built over a canal connecting the two lakes already mentioned. The modern al-*Kanṭara* has only arisen on its present site since the making of the Suez Canal. The old settlement was a short half-hour's journey to the east and is marked by the mound of ruins Tell Abū Sēfe (on the maps also called Tell al-Aḥmar). This place may be regarded as the key to Egypt, for it has always been used by conquerors as the gateway to the Nile valley. Its strategical importance led to its being occupied in remote antiquity. Tell Abū Sēfe (with ruins of a temple of Rameses II and remains of the Ptolemaic and Roman period)

marks the site of the ancient Egyptian town of Zaru (*T'rw*), the capital of the fourteenth district of Lower Egypt, which was already a fortress in the time of the Middle Kingdom. In the later classical and Byzantine literature it appears as Sile, Sele (Selle); according to a Latin inscription found here, it had a Roman garrison in 288 and was later also the see of a bishop. In the Middle Ages it was called al-ʿAḳūla (on the name al-ʿAḳūla = "the bend" see above s.v. DAIR al-ʿAḳŪL), a name which was temporarily supplanted by that of the castle of al-Ḳuṣair during the Mamlūk period. In the World War (1914—1918) al-Ḳaṇṭara played an important part in the struggle for the Suez Canal. From November, 1914, to March, 1916, there were frequent encounters there between English and Turkish troops; cf. thereon, for example, Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg. Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914*, Stuttgart 1914 sq., iv. 220—24, viii. 367, xi. 318, xvii. 47 sq., 128, 130, 132.

In remote antiquity as well as in the late Middle Ages and modern times, al-Ḳaṇṭara was the point of departure for the caravan road from Egypt to Syria. Since the World War the new railway line to Syria has branched off here from the Port Ṣaʿīd-Suez line, and runs from al-Ḳaṇṭara via Ḳaṭya, al-ʿArish and Ḡazza to Ludd, where it links up with the line from Yāfā to Jerusalem.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*¹ (1913), p. 177, 171; C. Kūthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, Berliner Dissert., 1911, p. 38—49; R. Hartmann in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 688, 691, 696; lxx. 486 sq., 511 and in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1916, lxii. 373—377; Alt in the *Palästinajahrbruch des deutsch. evangel. Instituts*, x., Berlin 1914, p. 60—63 and Dalman, *loc. cit.*, xx., 1924, p. 44—46. On excavations and finds in the region of al-Ḳaṇṭara see Clédat in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéol. égyptienne et assyrienne*, Paris 1915, xxxvii. 38 sq. and 1919, xxxviii. 1 sq., 70 sq.

4. A sanctuary among the ruins of the ancient Petra on the Sinai Peninsula; cf. Savignac, *Le Sanctuaire d'el Kantara in the Rev. Biblique*, New series, 1906, iii. 391 sq.

5. Ḳaṇṭarat Zainab in the valley of the Nahr Bairūt in Syria, an ancient Roman aqueduct of which considerable remains exist at the present day; according to Arab legend, it was built by Queen Zenobia (Zainab); cf. Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia and Palmyra*, Diss. Königsberg 1902, p. 14 sq.

6. Ḳaṇāṭir Firʿawn ("Pharaoh's aqueduct"), a great aqueduct in the south of Syria, which, beginning at Dillī, at the western foot of the lava plateau of Ledjā (west of Ḥawrān), runs in a south-western direction for some sixty miles as far as Mukēs (Gadara), providing many villages with the necessary drinking-water in the summer months. It is identified by Wetzstein — probably rightly — with the Ḳaṇāṭir mentioned by Ḥamza al-Isfahānī (*Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 117). But the Ḡhassānid Djabala b. al-Ḥārith, who reigned about 500 A. D., can hardly, as Ḥamza says, be the builder of this marvellous piece of work; see Nöldeke, *Die ghassan. Fürsten* . . . in the *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1887, iv. 50; it certainly dates back to ancient times. For further information see Wetzstein,

Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen, Berlin 1860, p. 123—125.

The diminutive Ḳunāṭira (popularly Ḳunētra or Kenētri) is occasionally used as a place name, e.g. a village in the district of Djawlān (Eastern Jordan); see Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*⁵, 1912, p. 268. (M. STRECK)

KĀNŪN, the name of a month, which is found as early as in inscriptions from Palmyra (see S. A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, s. v.) and corresponds to Marḥeshwān. It later appears among the Syriac names of the months (see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syr.*, s. v.) as *K. ḡedem* or *ḡadmayā* and *K. ḡrāy* or *ḡrāyā*. Here the two *K.* are the ninth and tenth months respectively. Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Āthār al-bākiya*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, transcribes the Syriac forms exactly as *K. ḡadīm* and *K. ḡrāy*. In Arabic terminology they are called *K. al-awwal* and *K. al-ākhir*. In the Ḥadīth the former appears in a remarkable connection. In Muslim, *Ashribā*, Trad. 99, a reason is added for the regulation, often mentioned elsewhere, that vessels should be kept covered: "for there is a night in the year in which the *wabā* passes no uncovered vessel". In another version of the same tradition it is added: "foreigners (*aʿāḍim*) among us used to fear this in *Kānūn al-awwal*". (A. J. WENSINCK)

KĀNŪN, a musical instrument, consisting of a flat thin quadrilateral box strung with wire chords, which is laid on the knees and played with a key of metal fixed on the forefinger, like the zither (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 70, 72; Salvador Daniel, *Musique Arabe*, p. 37).

KĀNŪN (from the Greek κανών), canon, custom, law. The development of the Muslim empire, its vast conquests which brought it into contact with peoples of very different characters, who for the most part had laws already codified, the rise of commerce and industries and the institution of regular troops forced the governors to establish alongside of the *shariʿa* or religious law a series of special enactments by the application of the principle of *ʿurf, lex principis*. It is these edicts that are called *kānūn* (plur. *ḡawānīn*). The Berbers give this name to their own statutes, their customary law; see Hanoteau et Letourneur, *La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles*, Paris 1873, ii. and iii.; Morand, *Les Kanouns du Mzab in the Études de droit musulman algérien*, Algiers 1910; Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations arabes sédentaires*, Paris 1886, p. 74 sqq.; *Archives berbères*, i. and ii.; *Le droit Kabyle*, 2nd ed., Paris 1917; Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1919, chapter v.: *La littérature juridique des Kanouns*. (CL. HUART)

KĀNŪN-I EṢĀSĪ, "fundamental law", the name given to the constitution of the Ottoman empire dated *Dhu 'l-Ḥijja* 7, 1293 (Dec. 24, 1876), promulgated by a *ḡaḡṭ-i sharīf* of the same date addressed to the Grand Vizier Midḡat Paṣha. It maintains the order of succession of the family of ʿOthmān and explicitly gives the Sultān the title of *Ḳhalīfa* (art. 3), protector of the Muslim religion (art. 4). It confirms his sacred and non-responsible character (art. 5). It enumerates the rights of Ottoman subjects (art. 8—26), the duties and responsibilities of the ministers (art. 27—38) and other officials (art. 29—41); establishes a parliament (*medjlis-i ʿumūmī*), consisting of two chambers, the Senate (*Heyʿet-i aʿyān*) and the

Chamber of Deputies (*Hey'et-i me'vūhān*); the first is to consist of members nominated directly by the Sultān and its numbers must not exceed a third of the second (art. 60), which is elected by the people on a ratio of one deputy for every 50,000 Turkish subjects (art. 65). It establishes the permanency of the magistracy (art. 81). No tax can be levied if it is not passed by a law, *kānūn* (art. 86). The administration of the provinces is based on the principles of decentralisation (*tewsi-i me'dhūniyet*) and the separation of powers (*tefrīk-i vezā'if*); it is based on elected municipal councils (art. 108—112). In case of trouble, the state has the right to proclaim an autocratic government, *idāre-i urfiyē*; it is the state of siege which is meant by this name (art. 113); banishment on the Sultān's decision is provided for those who stir up trouble. The principle of compulsory elementary education is laid down (art. 114). In spite of the formal terms in art. 115, according to which not a single article of the constitution could be suppressed or not put into operation for any reason or under any pretext, the fundamental law of the empire, although continuing to figure at the head of the *Sālnāmē* (official annuals), was actually suspended after the fall of Midhāt Pasha and only re-established by the military revolution which marked the close of the reign of 'Abd al-Hamīd II.

The same name was given to the Persian constitution proclaimed by a *firmān* (royal proclamation) dated Djum. II 14, 1324 (Aug. 5, 1906) and promulgated on Dhu 'l-Kāda 14, 1324 (Dec. 30, 1906) in the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh. It deals only with the formation and activities of the national assembly; it was granted in reply to the demand of the refugees in the English legation. A supplementary constitution, promulgated by Muḥammad 'Alī, successor to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, on Shābān 29, 1325 (Oct. 7, 1907), laid the foundation for constitutional law in Persia. It laid down more especially that Shī'ī Islām is the official religion of the State, that Tīhrān is the capital, that the national flag is green, white and red (in three horizontal stripes) with the emblem of the Lion and Sun. It provided for the equality of citizens of Persia before the law, the protection of life and property: arrests could not take place without a written order from the President of the Tribunal of Justice. It recognises the freedom of the press, except for heretical publications or those hurtful to religion, as well as the right of association and assembly. Legislative power is divided between two chambers. The ministers must be Muslims, they are responsible to the two chambers; lastly it provides for the establishment of provincial and departmental councils (*andjuman*).

Bibliography: The *Sālnāmē*'s (official annuals of the Ottoman Empire) from 1293; A. Ubicini, *La constitution ottomane*, Paris 1879; Edw. G. Browne, *Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910, p. 119, 123, 353, 362, 372.

(CL. HUART)

KĀNŪN-NĀMA, the name given to the fundamental law of the Ottoman Empire promulgated by Sultān Muḥammad II on the advice of his Grand Vizier, Muḥammad of Caramania. It is divided into three sections called *bāb* (chapter), which treat respectively of the great dignitaries of the Empire, of customs and ceremonies and lastly of the fines for crimes and revenues set aside for special appropriations.

Sultān Sulaimān completed these ordinances by issuing several *Kānūn-nāmē*'s. The one reorganised the administration of the military fiefs (*zi'āmet*, *timār*) established by Murād I; the second codified the administration of the farms in Egypt; the third laid down the rights and duties of the *rafāyā*, "subjects" Muslim and non-Muslim in respect of feudatories; the fourth dealt solely with the police regulations and the penal laws.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Osmatische Staatsverfassung*, i. 97 sqq.; do., *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, iii. 299 sqq., vi. 264 sqq.; G. Jäschke, *Die Entwicklung des osmanischen Verfassungsstaates* (W. I., v. 5 sqq.) Berlin 1917; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, p. 152 sqq.; Ewliya-Efendi, *Travels*, transl. von Hammer, i. 88 sqq.

(CL. HUART)

KAPLĀN GIRĀY, the name of two Khāns of the Crimea in the eighteenth century.

1. KAPLĀN GIRĀY I reigned three times: 1119—1120 (1707—1708), 1125—1128 (1713—1716) and 1143—1149 (1730—36). He died on the island of Chios in Shābān, 1151 (Nov.-Dec., 1738). Immediately after the death of his father Salīm I, in Shābān, 1116 (Nov.-Dec., 1704), he set up as a claimant to the throne but was not proclaimed Khān till after the death of his brother Ghāzī III. His own three depositions were on each occasion the result of the unfortunate course of military operations; the first (according to Smirnow, 9 months before the battle of Poltawa, i. e. Oct. 1708) after an unsuccessful campaign against the (then not yet completely islamised) Circassians, the second as a result of his arriving too late on the scene of operations on the Danube, the third (when he was now enfeebled by old age and illness) after his campaign to Persia, by which without even reaching the frontiers of Persia he exposed his own country to the invasion of the Russians. He was generally regarded as a skilful politician but an unfortunate general.

2. KAPLĀN GIRĀY II, grandson of Kaplān Girāy I and son of Khān Salīm II, only reigned for a short period: 1183—1184 (1770). He fought unsuccessfully against the Russians in the Dobrudja, was falsely accused of having had dealings with the enemy and deposed on Shābān 4, 1184 (Nov. 23, 1770). He died in Rabi' II, 1185 (July-Aug., 1771) of the plague at the age of 32.

Bibliography: W. Smirnow, *Krimskoje chanstvo pod verchovenstvom Ottomanskoi Porti v XVIII. stoljetii*, Odessa 1889, p. 6, 8—14, 25—30, 51—58, 116—127; O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 165 sq., 170 sq., 184 sq., 230 sq. (W. BARTHOLD)

KAPLAN MUŞTAFĀ PASHA, a native of Merzifon, an Ottoman general and statesman of the time of Sultān Mehmed IV (1648—87), one of the ablest and most successful collaborators of the Grand Vizier Köprülü Aḥmad Fāzil (Fādil) Pasha and therefore closely involved in Turkey's struggle under the Köprülü's to regain her old position of power.

He was brought up in the court service, was Silihdār of the Sultān and in 1650 was appointed Wāzīr and Wālī of Baghdād. He spent a number of years as Wālī of important provinces, in Wān, Ḳonya and Damascus, until the Hungarian campaign gave him an opportunity to distinguish

himself, notably before Neuhausl in 1663, at Kanischa and elsewhere. The Grand Vizier gave him his sister in marriage in order to ally him closely to him. Ahmad Fāzil Pasha cleverly managed to transfer the most important affairs to his brothers-in-law. In 1660 Kaplan was appointed Grand Admiral (*Kapudan-i Deryā*) ("a tiger on land and a crocodile at sea", as Rāshid describes him à propos of his appointment in allusion to his name) (Kaplan = panther). He filled this important post for six years, commanded the Ottoman fleet with vigour and caution during the heavy fighting of the time and cooperated with special distinction in the conquest of Crete. He then took part in the campaign against Poland and conquered Lemberg along with the Khān of the Crimea. He then became Wālī of Aleppo in 1672, of Diyār-bakr in 1675, of Baghdad for a second time in 1676 and in 1677 of Diyār-bakr again. After the death of the Grand Vizier Ahmad Fāzil Pasha his frank nature still enabled him to maintain his position against the new Grand Vizier Kara Muştafā, who was not inclined in his favour. Even the severe defeat which he suffered in 1678 in the Ukraine in the swamps between the fortress of Tschechirin and Romodanowski, where he lost the whole of his army and equipment, brought him only temporary dismissal and disgrace. Soon afterwards he became Grand Admiral for a second time. He died in November, 1680, in Smyrna, which he happened to have entered with the fleet, and was buried there. In Baghdad he had restored the mosque and *türbe* of Shaikh Muhammad Kudūri.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1282, i. 117, 134, 153, 353, 364; Ahmad Rifāt, *Kawqāt al-ʿAzīziye*, Constantinople 1282, p. 105; Mehmed Shemʿī, *Ilāweli Ethmār al-Tewārīkh*, Constantinople 1295, p. 142; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-ʿĀlām*, Constantinople 1314, v. 3601; Thuraiyā, *Sidqill-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1315, iv. 52 sq.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1130, vi., cf. Index; Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Gotha 1911, iv. 179.

(TH. MENZEL)

KAPU, gate, the Ottoman Porte, properly the palace of the Sultān or of the Grand Vizier. The name (by synecdoche, cf. "court") may be of Central Asian origin; it recalls names like the Japanese mi kado, for example, literally "exalted gate", etc. (cf. J. Six in *Acta Orientalia*, ii. 205 sq.). Among the Ottomans *Kapu* has been long in use in the above sense and used alternately with the Arabic *bāb* or the Persian *der*. The name may have passed from Turkish into Arabic about the Mamlūk period, as, for example, the passage i. 469, 2 from below, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1847, where *bāb* = palace, shows. — *Kapu Kūli* "gate-slaves" (the meaning of this expression is explained and a list of the troops concerned given in Ahmed Djewdet, *Tārīkh*, xii., Stambul 1301, p. 214, 7 from below; cf., on the other hand, J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv. 566). — The name "lofty gate" for the office of the Grand Vizier (*Pasha Kapusu*, *Bāb-i ʿālī*, "Sublime Porte, Fulgida Porta") probably did not come into use before 1654, when the Grand Vizier Derwish Mehmed Pasha was given a building near the Serai for an office by Sultān Mehmed IV.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 44, 137 sq.;

T. X. Bianchi and J. D. Kieffer, *Dictionnaire turc-français*², Paris 1850, s. v. *Kapu*, ii. 438. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KAPUÇI, gate keeper, porter (Ar. *bawwāb*, Pers. *derbān*), formerly the lowest grade and outermost guard of the Imperial Serai chosen from the Yanıçars, who guarded its gates, 50 at each gate. By day they carried a rod of bamboo, by night they were armed with sword and dagger. They were used as messengers to carry to the grandes of the Empire and foreign princes invitations to court festivities or documents of state. Some performed the duties of eunuchs. They wore white helmet-like caps (*uskuş*, *scuffia*). Their number and pay varied. While they numbered 300 at the beginning of the sixteenth century (cf. T. Spandugino, *Commentari dell' origine de' principi Turchi* (Florence 1551, p. 130; in Schefer's edition, Paris 1896, p. 116 sqq.) and each *Kapuçi* received up to 7 aspers a day, their pay had risen to 20–50 aspers daily about 1511 (cf. the Bailo Andrea Foscolo report of March 6, 1511, quoting Marino Sanuto, in J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ii. 627; cf. ii. 234 as well as Spandugino, ed. Schefer, p. lix.); under Sultān Murād III in 982 (1574) their number was 356 (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, 1861, xv. 283) and under Sultān Mehmed IV (1648–1687), according to Husein Hezārfenn's (d. 1103 = 1691) *Kānūnnāme* (written in 1080 = 1669; cf. F. Pétis de la Croix, *État général de l'Empire Othoman, par un solitaire turc*, Paris 1695, and J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung des Osman. Reiches*, ii. 44 sq.), they had risen to 1962, who received 5,785,004 aspers a year. The *Kapuçiler* were divided into 45 companies, each of which was under its own company-commander (*buluk bashī*), who held a fief in place of salary. The commander of the gatekeepers was the *Kapuçiler Bashī*, a kind of chamberlain. According to the evidences of Menavino, Navagero and Spandugino, the number of *kapuçiler bashī*'s in the first half of the xvth century was only four. Above them was the *kapuçiler kuyası*, head-chamberlain. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KAPUDAN PASHA, formerly the title of the supreme commander of all the Ottoman fleets, who had also unlimited control of the imperial arsenal. The origin of this rank dates back to the beginnings of Ottoman sea power under Sultān Mehmed II. The first naval captain (*Kapudan-i Deryā*; the word *Kapudan* comes from the Greek *Καπαδάνης*) was Balta-Oğlu Suleimān Beg, probably of Bulgarian origin, the Παιτδγληγ or Παντδγληγ or Πατδγληγ of the Byzantine chroniclers (Chalcocondylas, p. 390, 519; Kritoboulos, i. 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 41; Dukas, p. 270, 5; cf. ʿĀlī, *Kūnh ūl-Akhbār*, v. 168, 174). Till 1533 the Sandjakbeg of Gallipoli was at the same time *Kapudan Pasha* (cf. [Ramberti], *Cose de' Turchi*, Venice 1543, p. 142^a; T. Spandugino, *Commentari dell' origine de' principi Turchi*, Firenze 1551, p. 146, 164; Nic. de Nicolai, *Navigations et pèlerinages orientales*, Lyon 1567, p. 77; N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti*, p. 356: capitano dell' armata di Gallipoli; cf. Feridūn Bey, *Münshīʿat-Selāṭīn*², i. 464: *Gelibolu Kapudanı*). With the increasing sea power of the Ottomans and the foundation of an arsenal of their own, especially under Sulaimān the Great when the dreaded Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa

for so long commanded the fleet, the headquarters of the High Admiral were removed from Gallipoli to Constantinople. While the office of Kapudan Pasha, who had the 10th wilāyet of the Empire as well as 13 sandjaks under him and disposed of an income of 885,000 aspers (cf. Sir P. Ricaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1687, p. 102 sq.), was already one of prestige, with the increasing size of the Ottoman navy it soon became one of the first in the Empire. As long as the Sandjak-beg of Gallipoli was at the head of naval affairs, his jurisdiction only extended to Pera and Nicomedia and in larger naval enterprises a special Pasha was appointed beside him, who acted in supreme command as admiral (Spandugino, *Commentari*, Firenze 1551, p. 165). Later, especially from the time of Barbarossa, the Kapudan Pasha was one of the regular and active members of the Diwān and was not only one of the most powerful but also one of the best paid dignitaries in Turkey. In rank he was equal to the *Ser Asker*, directly below the Grand Vizier and the *Shaikh al-Islām*. On account of the revenues attached to the post it was always an object of ambition in the Turkish official world and was granted by the Sultān as a mark of special favour without regard to practical or theoretical training and fitness. Down to about 1780 the Kapudan Pasha was also given the governor-generalship of the islands subject to the Porte in the Aegean Sea, some of the sea-provinces of Asia Minor and the controller-ship of the arsenal on the north shore of the Golden Horn in Galata, where he had his residence among the wharves. In the sixth century the title was abolished under Sultān 'Abd al-'Aziz and replaced by that of *Bahriye Nāzirī*, Director of the Arsenal. All naval establishments were under him, the Minister of Marine; a naval council (*Shūrā-i Bahriye*) assisted him and advised on technical matters and affairs of administration. In June, 1876 under Murād V, the title was revived but only for a short time; it was then definitely replaced by that of Minister of Marine.

A list of all *Kapudanān-i Deryā* is given in J. v. Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte d. Osmanischen Reiches* (at the end of each volume) and in the work — which first appeared as a feuilleton of the newspaper *Djerride-i Hawādith* — by Rāmiz Pasha-Zāde Mehmed Efendi, *Kharīṭa-i Kapudanān-i Deryā* (of 761—1258 [= Chronogram of the title]; 220 pp., 12°, Stambul 1285 = 1868/69) and in Mehmed Rā'if, *Mir'āt-i Istambul*, Stambul 1314, p. 481—497.

Bibliography: Hādjdji Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār fi Asfār al-Bihar*, Stambul 1141; I. Mouradega d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii., Paris 1824, p. 424, 429 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vienna 1818, ii. 291. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KARA, the Turkish word for black or dark colour in general. It is commonly used with this meaning as the first component of geographical names, for example Kara Āmid (on account of the black basalt of which this fortress is built), Kara Dağ (on account of its dark forests), etc. Beside Kara we find in place-names the form *Karadja*. In personal names it refers to the black or dark brown colour of hair or to a dark complexion. It has, however, at the same time also the meaning "strong, powerful" and has

to be interpreted in this sense in the name Kara Osmān or in names like Kara Arslān. In this connection also we have the name Kara Khān, which was assumed by the Karakhānids in Eastern Turkestan.

Bibliography: Von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. 80; Mahmūd Kaşghari, *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333, iii. 167. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KARA ARSLAN IBN DĀ'UD with the *laqab* FAKHR AL-DĪN, third Amir of the line of the Ortokids [q. v.] of Ḥiṣn Kaifā and great-grandson of the founder of this dynasty.

Statements differ regarding the year in which he succeeded his father Dā'ud b. Suḡmān. According to Abū 'l-Faraj Barhebraeus (*Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, p. 305), Dā'ud died in the Greek year 1455 (1143—44). The Arabic sources do not give the year; in any case Stanley Lane-Poole, who bases his view that Dā'ud did not die till about 543 (1148) on a mistaken interpretation of Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, xi. 73) (*Coins of the Urtuqi Turkomāns in Numismata Orientalia*, Part ii., London 1876, p. 6), puts the date too late. Münedjdjīm Bashī (iii. 577) gives 540 (1145). Even before his father's death we find Karā Arslān at war with the Crusaders. When in Ramaḡān, 532 (May, 1138) the Byzantine Emperor John, in alliance with the Franks against the Atabek Zangī of Mawṣil, besieged the fortress of Shaizar near Antioch, he retired when he heard that Karā Arslān had crossed the Euphrates with 50,000 men to come to the help of the town (Kamāl al-Dīn al-'Adīm, *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Orientaux*, iii. 677). Karā Arslān does not, however, seem to have had at all a friendly reception from Zangī on his arrival; the Atabek, indeed, ordered him to go back to his father. His relations with Zangī continued to be strained, as is shown in the account in Kamāl al-Dīn (p. 684) that a battle was fought between the two in 536 (1141—1142) at Bahmard, in which Karā Arslān was defeated. Peace was restored next year again. According to Abū 'l-Faraj's account of his accession (see above), Zangī went so far as to attempt to secure the succession of Karā Arslān's elder brother Toghmish, who had escaped to Mawṣil. Sultān Mas'ūd of Konya, however, gave help to Karā Arslān and Zangī had to abandon his plan.

However strained may have been Karā Arslān's relations with Zangī, his alliance with the latter's son Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo was a most faithful one. In 544 (1149—1150) he accompanied the latter on an expedition against the town of Sindjar, which, however, was later again restored to Nūr al-Dīn's brother Kuṭb al-Dīn. In 559 (1164) he again assisted him, along with Naḡm al-Dīn of Mārdīn and other princes, at the capture of the fortress of Ḥāram, where many Frankish knights were taken prisoner (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 92, 185). For the rest Karā Arslān does not seem to have been of a particularly warlike disposition. He would have preferred to keep out of the last named expedition, if the fear of his own subjects, whose fanaticism had been aroused by Nūr al-Dīn (and apparently also the fear of Nūr al-Dīn himself), had not compelled him to take part. Very little else is chronicled of his activities; for example, the capture of the Kurdish stronghold of Shātān (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 185) in 546 A. H. and the unsuccessful

siege of 'Amīd on a campaign against the Danishmandid Yaghī Arslān in 1163 A. D. (Abu 'l-Faraj, *op. cit.*, p. 329).

The Arabic and Syriac sources are unanimous in giving the year 562 (1166—67) as the year of his death. Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 217) tells how before his death he commended his son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad to the protection of his powerful ally Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo. The latter kept the trust and prevented his own brother Kuṭb al-Dīn from seizing Karā Arslān's territory. Stanley Lane-Poole, on the other hand, relying on coins of the year 570 A. H. of Karā Arslān, places his death in 570 or even not till 571 (*op. cit.*, p. 16).

Hiṣn Kaifā [q. v.] seems to have been his usual residence. There still exist here the remains of the great bridge of one arch over the Tigris which, according to Ibn Ḥawqāl (*B. G. A.*, ii. 152), he had restored. Abu 'l-Faraj, however, calls him, like his father, lord of Hiṣn Ziyād (i. e. Khartabirt) (Kharput). It is very possible that this town belonged to Karā Arslān's territory, for in 1122 it was in the hands of the Ortoqid Balak and Karā Arslān's son 'Imād al-Dīn later (581) founded there a collateral line of the Ortokids. But the town of 'Amīd most probably never belonged to his possessions; it was only presented to his successor by Saladin in 579 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 324). At his death he is, however, described as ruler over Hiṣn Kaifā and the greater part of Diyār Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 217).

Bibliography (besides works already mentioned): F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, ii, iii, Leipzig 1813, 1817; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, Paris 1869, p. 155, 357, and *Historiens Orientaux* (besides Kamāl al-Dīn also Abu 'l-Fidā' and Abū Shāma). On Karā Arslān's coins (remarkable, like the coins of other Ortokid and Atabeg lines, for their pictorial types) see Stanley Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, and his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, iii. (1877), 118. On inscriptions with the name of Karā Arslān cf. M. v. Oppenheim, *Inscriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, i.; *Arabische Inscriften* by M. v. Berchem, Leipzig 1909, p. 83, 85. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KARABĀDHĪN. [See AKRABĀDHĪN].

KARĀ-BĀGH (Turkish-Persian: 'black garden', because of the black and fertile soil of its high valleys), the present-day name of the mountainous part of Arrān [q. v.] forming a province of Transcaucasia bounded by the Kurr, the Aras and the district of Eriwān; area about 6,750 sq. miles and 250,000 inhabitants (half Ādharbaidjāni and half Armenians); capital Shūsha; mountains: Kāmish (12,480 feet) and Kapudjik (12,360 feet). Its horses are famous for their swiftness, and reptiles, scorpions and tarantulas are found there. It is in this province that Faṭḥ 'Alī Ākhondzāde [q. v.] lays the scene of his comedy: *Monsieur Jourdan, botaniste parisien*.

At the beginning of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I, in 996 (1588), the Ottoman general Farhād Pasha, in alliance with the governor of Shirwān, Dja'far Pasha, invaded Karā-bāgh and seized Gandja (v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii. 221; Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 257—258). This province was at that time the hereditary fief of the Turkish clan of Djewānshir, the family of Sariča-lu, a descendant of Avshār or Afshār, eldest

son of Yulduz, third son of Oghuz (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmays, St. Petersburg 1871—74, p. 27). This clan emigrated from Turkeṣtān with Hūlāgū and was brought back from Asia Minor by Timūr and scattered over Turkeṣtān, Persia and Afghānistān, especially around Kābul and Kāndahār. Its chiefs were called from father to son alternately Panāh and Ibrāhīm Khalil; it was Panāh III who built Shūsha in 1165 (1752) and gave it the name of Panāh-ābād, whence the name *panāh-ābādī* given to the coins which he struck there. His son Ibrāhīm Khalil Khān, having succeeded him, found himself attacked by the Persians; after two fruitless sieges, Āghā Muḥammad Khān (later Shāh) Kādjār captured Shūsha but was assassinated there on the morning of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 21, 1211 (June 18, 1797), five days after entering the town, by three of his servants who feared his vengeance. Ibrāhīm, who had fled, came back two months later; he submitted to the Russian general, a Georgian by origin, Prince Sisianoff (Zizishwili), after the capture of Gandja in 1219 (1804) and agreed to pay a tribute of 6,000 ducats; he received the rank of lieutenant-general and a Russian garrison occupied his capital. His eldest son, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Khān, was the brother-in-law of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh and had remained faithful to the Persian alliance; he brought his father back to the Kādjār party and the latter attempted to liberate his capital, but Dja'far Qulī Khān, son of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān and grandson of Ibrāhīm, warned the Russians of the Persian advance. 600 Russian soldiers left the citadel and in the middle of the night of Rabī' I 23, 1221 (June 10, 1806) attacked the camp of Ibrāhīm Khalil, who was killed with his family in the fighting. The Russian major commanding the garrison installed another of his sons in his place, Mahdī Qulī Khān, who reigned till 1238 (1822) when he fled to Persia. The Kādjārs had, however, renounced all claim to Karā-bāgh by the treaty of Gulistān (Oct. 12, 1813).

Bibliography: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 181, 182 (transl. p. 173, 174); Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, *Djāhānumā*, p. 392, 393 (transl. de Norberg, p. 559); Riḍā Qulī Khān, *Rawḍat al-Safā'i Nāṣiri*, ed. Tihirān, ix. 108, 119, 120, 167, 172; Sāmī Bey, *Kāmus al-A'lām*, v. 3621; Schefer, *Chrest. pers.*, ii. 121; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 179; Ed. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, i., Stuttgart 1837, p. 23—31, 550 sq.; K. Koch, *Reise in Grusien... und im Kaukasus*, iii., Weimar 1847, p. 111—116, 200—206; G. Radde, *Karabagh*, in *Petermann's Mitt.*, *Ergänzungsbd.*, xxi. (1890), Heft N^o. 100.

(CL. HUART)

AL-KARĀBISĪ, the cloth-merchant, the *nisba* of several Arab authors; viz.:

1. the mathematician AḤMAD B. 'UMAR, the date of whose death is not known and among whose works, a commentary on the translation of Euclid is specially celebrated; see *Fihrist*, p. 265, 25, 282, 3; Ibn al-Kifī, *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1326, p. 57, 5.

Only one of his works has come down to us, viz. his *Kitāb Misāhat al-halaḳ* (Oxford and Cairo; cf. *Bibl. Bodl.*, *Codd. Mss. Or.*, i. N^o. 913; and *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'arabiya fi 'l-Kutubkhāne al-Kheda'iwiya*, v. 204).

2. the traditionist and faḳīh ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-

HUSAIN B. 'ALĪ B. YAZĪD AL-MUHALLABĪ, who had at first belonged to the Ahl al-Ra'y, but after the arrival of al-Shāfi'ī at Baghdād attached himself to him; at the same time he remained an absolute supporter of the belief in predestination (*djabr*); nothing has survived of his writings on criticism of traditionists and fiqh. He died in 245 (859), according to others in 248 (862).

Bibliography: Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 181, 4; al-Sam'āni, *al-Ansāb*, facsimile ed. by Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xx., 1912, f. 476b; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 180; Cairo 1299, i. 181; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 96; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 774; al-Subkī, *Tabaḳāt*, Cairo 1324, i. 251—6; Ibn al-Aṭhir, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1303, vii. 29; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1287, ii. 439; ed. Reiske-Adler, ii. 204; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, i. 753, 763.

3. the Ḥanafī faḳīh AS'AD B. MUḤAMMAD (d. 570 = 1174), whose *Kitāb al-Furūḳ fi 'l-Furūḳ*, which Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, iv. 419, N^o. 9041 confuses with the *Talkhīṣ al-Uḳūl* of al-Maḥbūbī (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 380, N^o. 34), is preserved in Cairo; see *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiya fi 'l-Kutub-khāne al-Khednwiya*, iii. 96.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KARĀ-CELEBĪ-ZĀDE, epithet of the Ottoman historian, jurist and *Shaiḫh* al-Islām, 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ EFENDI. Born in the year 1000 = 1591/92 at Stambul, the son of the then military judge of Rumelia, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusām al-Dīn Efendi (d. in Muḥarram, 1007 = Aug., 1598 at Brussa and buried there; cf. al-Saiyid Ismā'il Beligh Brüsewī, *Tārīkh-i Brūsa*, Brussa 1302, p. 314—316; Ewliyā, *Siyāhat-nāme*, Constantinople 1314—1318, ii. 53; he bore the *makhlas* Karā-Celebi-Zāde which passed to all his descendants and caused frequent confusion), he enjoyed the tuition of his older brother, the chief district judge Muḥammad Efendi (cf. M. Thuraiyā, *Sidḡill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 155; Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, i. 407; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii. 25; M. E. died *Dhu 'l-Hijja* 6, 1042 = June 14, 1633 and is buried at Aiyub in Stambul) and studied also under the Mufti Ṣan' Allāh Efendi. He then filled a series of offices: in August, 1612 he became Mūderris at the medrese of *Khair al-Dīn Pasha*, in April, 1615 at the new medrese of 'Alī Pasha, in April, 1616 at the medrese of Piri Pasha, in April, 1617 at the medrese of *Qalender Khāne*, in December, 1619 so-called "eighth" (*ṣaḥn-i ṥamīn*) at the mosque of Muḥammad the Conqueror; in Jan., 1621 he was transferred to the Sulaimāniya at Brussa, but by October of the same year appointed to the Sulaimāniya in Adrianople and in May, 1623 summoned to the same institution in Stambul. In June, 1623 he was involved in a mutiny of the 'Ulemā at the mosque of the Conqueror and sent as a punishment to Brussa to the medrese of Molla *Khusrav* but pardoned on the accession of Murād IV and in Jan., 1624 recalled to Stambul to the Sulaimāniye. In March of the same year he became judge of Yenī Shehir, was dismissed in December, appointed judge of Mekka in February, 1626 and dismissed once more in December, 1627; returning to Stambul, after a short stay in Adrianople, he was appointed city-judge of Stambul in Jan., 1634. In this capacity he had to take measures for the

security of the city during the preparations for the Polish campaign; cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v. 178). But when in July of the same year the shortage of grease provoked discontent among the people of Stambul and brought down the wrath of Murād IV upon the judge responsible for the regulation of the market (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xviii. 722) he was dismissed from his office and sentenced to death by drowning. A letter in the Sulṭān's hand ordered the Superintendent of the Imperial Gardens (*Bustāndār Bāshī*), Dudge Efendi, afterwards governor of Bosnia, to take the disgraced magistrate in a boat and to supervise the execution of the sentence on one of the Princes' Islands. The boat was just reaching Prinkipo, where the sentence was to be carried out, when fortunately for Karā-Celebi-Zāde, a second letter, procured by his patron, the Grand Vizier Bairam Pasha (d. 1638), brother-in-law of the Sulṭān, arrived which altered the drowning to banishment to Cyprus and at the last moment prevented the execution of the death sentence (cf. Na'imā, *Tārīkh* Stambul 1147, i. 577). Pardoned by December, 1634, he was appointed military judge of Rumelia. During the rebellion which cost Sulṭān Ibrahim his throne and life in the summer of 1648 Karā-Celebi-Zāde distinguished himself by such shamelessness that even the frank Na'imā (ii. 166; J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, v. 449) has not the courage to repeat his utterances. After Ibrahim had been disposed of, he gained the favour of the youthful Muḥammad IV, who again appointed him military judge in Aug., 1648. The real object of his ambition, which he pursued by every means in his power, was the office of *Shaiḫh* al-Islām. After he had first been granted the title of a *Shaiḫh* al-Islām (Na'imā, ii. 231), a case probably unique in Ottoman history, he was removed in October, 1649 from his position as military judge and appointed *Shaiḫh* al-Islām in place of Behā'i Muḥammad Efendi, dismissed on May 2, 1651 ("Balios Müftisi; cf. von Hammer, *op. cit.*, v. 531—535). On the fatal Sept. 2, 1651 he once more fell into the imperial disfavour and was banished to Chios. Two years later he was given permission to go to Brussa and in 1655 for the barley-money (*arpa'nak*; see i. 460) which he had so far enjoyed he received the revenues of Chios and the office of judge of Mudania, which he exchanged in March, 1657 for that of Gallipoli. On the evening of Jan. 11, 1658, death finally ended Karā-Celebi-Zāde's eventful career. He was buried at Brussa in the cemetery of *Shaiḫh* Muḥammad Dewedji; his tomb may still be seen there.

Karā-Celebi-Zāde is not a very pleasing figure in Ottoman history, as he was a ruthless, selfish and intriguing man. His prestige as a scholar is therefore all the more marked. He was the author of a series of historical works, of which two have so far been printed. With the *Mir'āt al-Ṣafā* his chief production is the *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, a historical work in four parts dedicated to Sulṭān Ibrahim I, which covers the period from Adam down to 1056 (1646/47). The book, of which there are several good manuscripts in Europe (cf. G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Hss. . . . zu Wien*, ii. 96, N^o. 865; Tornberg, *Codices . . . Bibl. Reg. Univ. Upsaliensis*, p. 193, N^o. 277 and p. 197, N^o. 286, which appears not to be complete), was printed in Muḥarram, 1248 (1832/33) at Bülāk

(large 4°, six parts, 637 pp.; on p. 637 full title). His *Sulaimān-nāme* has also been printed (Bulāḡ 1248, large 8°, 230 pp.); it is the epic of the legislator Sulaimān in which he describes his glorious reign to his death (1520—1566) in a pleasing flowery style (a MS. in Vienna; cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 230). He extended his historical work from 1056 to 1068 (1646—58) by a supplement (*Dhail*) of which there are copies in the Vienna National Library (cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 262), in the Johanneum of Graz and in the possession of Dr. J. H. Mordtmann. Several other smaller historical works from his pen exist in manuscript, e. g. an account of the conquest of Eriwān (1635) and Baghdād (1638) entitled *Ta'rikh-i Fatḥ-i Riwān wa-Baghdād* (cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 262). Kara-Celebi-Zāde's translations from the Persian and Arabic as well as other writings are detailed by Hādjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, ii. 113, v. 233. He also dabbled in poetry under the name 'Azizī. A poem entitled *Gülshen-i Niyāz*, written in 1634 on the occasion of his banishment, exists in MS. in the Prussian State Library in Berlin (cf. Pertsch, *Verz. d. Türk. Hss.*, p. 415 sq.) and in the British Museum (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of the Turk. MSS.*, p. 191a; see also Hādjī Khalifa, *op. cit.*, v. 233, No. 10,840).

Bibliography: cf. besides the already mentioned sources the biography in Na'imā under the year 1068; Hādjī Khalifa, *Fedleke*, ii. 152 (biography); the best sketch of his life with all details is given by Ismā'il Beligh Brūsewī, *Güldeste-i Ziyā-i 'Irfān*, Brussa 1308, p. 317—322; *Siğill-i 'Oḥmānī*, iii. 339; Mustakim-Zāde, *Dawḥat al-Mashāyikh al-Kibār*, Vienna MS., Mxt. 153 (Flügel, ii. 409 sq.); Rif'at Efendi, *Dawḥat al-Mashāyikh*, Stambul n. d., p. 58—62; *İlmīye Sātnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 461 sqq. (with reproduction of K.'s signature); J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Osm. Dichtkunst*, iii. 426 sqq.; do., *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v. 178, 184. — K.'s collection of manuscripts is still preserved in the library of the Shāhzāde mosque in Stambul. A catalogue of the books (16 pp., 4°, Stambul n. d.) has been printed. — On the family, of which several members achieved fame, cf. especially Hādjī Khalifa, *Takwīm al-Tawārikh*, p. 191; also Ismā'il Beligh, *op. cit.*, p. 315, where the ancestors of Kara-Celebi-Zāde are dealt with; cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muhiḥbi*, p. 48).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KARĀČĪ (KURRACHEE). 1. An important city and seaport on the coast of Sindh situated 24° 51' N. 67° 4'. E. Population (1901) 116, 663. The administrative centre of the province of Sindh at the present day, and gives its name to a district.

The name does not appear to be of great antiquity, and is probably due to the settlement of a Dodāi Balōḥ tribe called Kulāči, originally Rādjipūt (see *Glossary of Panjab Castes*, Lahore 1911), from whom the town of Kulāči (in the Dēra 'Ismā'il Khān District of the N. W. Frontier) also took its name. Following a common practice in the Sindhi language the *l* has become *r*. (Cf. Kōlī in the Panjāb and Kōtrī in Sindh).

The harbour of Karāči was naturally a good one, although when first surveyed by English sailors it was impeded, as Pottinger tells us (1808), by a bar, which prevented vessels drawing more

than 16 ft. from entering. The population was at that time only 9000, but it had already become the principal port of Sindh. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Bombay, Vol. II) asserts that Karāči began to be known as a port about 1729, and that its rise was due first to the silting up of Khārak and afterwards of Shāhbandar, a statement which is not easy to understand. Khārak (an island in the Persian Gulf occupied by the Dutch from 1748 to 1765) could have had no influence on Karāči, and Shāhbandar is too far to the Eastern side of the Indus Delta to have affected it. The real cause was the gradual deterioration of the two ports of Dēwal and Sindi (often spoken of jointly as Diul-Sindi) which were situated on the two sides of the west mouth of the Indus. These were still in use in Thevenot's time (*Travels in India*, published 1687) and Manucci visited Sindi on his way to India in 1655. During the 18th century the advance of the land cut off these ports from the sea, but Karāči, lying outside the Delta to the west, was not liable to such rapid silting. It also took the place of Tatta as the principal city of S. W. Sindh. Under the Kalhōra rulers of Sindh it was made over to the Khān of Kilāt, and under his suzerainty was held for a time by the Djam of Las, but after the fall of the Kalhōras the Talpur Amīr, Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, took Karāči in 1795 and erected a fort on Manora point to protect the harbour. Henceforward the trade grew considerably. Pottinger's account in 1808 has been alluded to above. Burnes found the population in 1831 to be 15,000.

Sir Charles Napier made it his landing place in 1841 and after the annexation of Sindh in 1843 he undertook its development with the object of making it the military and civil centre of the administration and also an important port equipped to deal with the trade of the Panjāb as well as of Sindh. Through his judgment and foresight he was able to lay the foundations of the progress made in more recent times. Sir Bartle Frere improved the harbour in 1854 by the construction of the Napier Mole which connects Kiāmāri Island with the mainland. The Manora breakwater was constructed in 1869—73, and the harbour has gradually been restricted in area, and at the same time deepened and otherwise improved. In 1883, a good supply of water from the Malir R. was brought in. General Haig in his work on the Indus Delta identifies the harbour of Karāči with Alexander's Haven which Nearchus reached by sailing westwards from the western mouth of the Indus. As the coast here has not changed so much as in the actual Delta, it is possible to identify some of the places mentioned. The Island of Bibakta appears to be Manōra point, and Eiros seems to be the high ground east of the harbour now known as Clifton. In spite of this identification, however, Karāči as a town has no ancient or mediæval history, although the harbour must always have been of use as a haven of refuge. Its enormous development in modern times is due to the opening up of the trade of N. W. India by railways. It is the outlet for the wheat, cotton, oilseeds and hides of the Indus valley.

2. Karāči District. A modern administrative district taking its name from the town of Karāči, lying between 23° 35' and 26° 21' N. and 66° 42' and 68° 48' E. with an area of 11,970 sq. m., and a population in 1901 of 607,

828. Its boundaries are on the N. the District of Iārkāna, on the E the R. Indus and the Haidarābād District on the S. the sea, and on the W. the Kirthār Mts. and the Habb River. Besides Karāčī the most important town is Tatta, the ancient capital of S. Sindh, which first rose to importance about the beginning of the 16th century, and was an important centre of trade and government in the 17th century, and still a large and flourishing town in Nādir Shāh's time (1742). It was an important mint of the Mughal emperors from the time of Akbar till that of Muḥammad Shāh, when Sindh ceased to form part of the empire. Nādir Shāh and the Durrānis both used this mint; their other mints in Sind were Bhakkar and Ilāidarābād which latter mint probably also issued the coins of Nādir and the Durrānis bearing the name Sindh alone. Tatta, which is now far inland was in the 16th century accessible to seagoing ships and was visited by a Portuguese fleet in 964 (1556). The Portuguese had apparently been called in by the Tarkhān chief 'Isā Tarkhān, who had obtained possession of Tatta after the death of Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, but, finding the city unprotected in the absence of 'Isā at the siege of Bhakkar, they turned their arms on their ally and plundered Tatta unmercifully. The port alluded to by the Portuguese as Bandel, which was also plundered on this occasion, was probably Shāhbandar. (See Sayyid Djamāl's *Tarkhān-nāma* in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 324 and Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, I, 408). The town of Tatta quickly recovered from this disaster, and its final decay was due no doubt to natural changes in the Indus Delta.

Bibliography: Pottinger, *Travels in Baluchistan and Sindh*, London 1816; Napier, *Conquest of Scinde*, London 1845; do., *Administration of Scinde*, London 1851; Postans, *Personal observations on Sindh*, London 1843; Burton, *Sindh revisited*, London, 1877; Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, London, 1887; Burnes, *Bokhara and a Voyage on the Indus*, London, 1833; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Bombay, Vol. II.; Thevenot, *Travels*, London, 1687; Irvine, *Manucci's Storia do Mogor*, 4 Vols., London, 1907. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

KARADAGH. [See MONTENEGRO].

KARA DENİZ, the Turkish name for the Black Sea, the Pontus Euxinus (abbreviated to Pontus) of ancient and Byzantine geography. The Arab geographers took over the Greek names Pontus and Maeotis (Sea of Azov) in the forms *Buntus* and *Ma'ūfis*, which early became *Nīfash* and *Mānīfash* in Arabic writing and language (Juynboll on *Marāṣid al-Iḥṭilā'*, iv. 194) and in these corrupt forms have survived down to the latest works of Oriental geography. Other names were also used, for example Sea of Trebizond (*Baḥr Tarābazuṇda*), Sea of the Crimea (*Baḥr Kırım*), Russian Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūs*; cf. *mer de Rossia* in Villehardouin, ed. Wailly, § 226), which are explained by the commerce of the Muslim East with Trebizond and the coast lands of South Russia (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 499; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, passim; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, passim; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dihāb*, ed. Paris, i. 260 sq.; cf. Marquart, *Osteuropäische u. ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 162, 333); on the other hand, in the passages where *Baḥr al-Rūm* — which otherwise means the Mediterranean Sea

only — refers to the Black Sea (e. g. Gardizi in Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 161; al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 18, 259, 4 sq.) *Baḥr al-Rūm* should be emended to *Baḥr al-Rūs*. The name *Baḥr al-Khasar*, which originally meant the Caspian Sea, was, on the other hand, transferred to the Black Sea (Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. passim; Qudāma, *B. G. A.*, vi. passim; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kit. al-Tunbih*, *B. G. A.*, viii. passim), as al-Mas'ūdī (p. 67) thinks, because a connection was erroneously thought to exist between the two seas; as at the same time the name Ma'ūfis (Mānīfash) was extended to the Black Sea (al-Mas'ūdī, *Kit. al-Tunbih*, p. 138, 140; *Murūdj*, i. 272 sq.; al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 18, 143, 13, 228, 17), the name Sea of the Khazars may have been at first limited to the Sea of Azov and only by a mistaken use have come to include the Black Sea.

All these names were driven out of use by the name KARA DENİZ, evidence of which is first found in the xiiith century and which is no doubt the name given to the Black Sea by the Turco-Tatar inhabitants of its shores in Southern Russia; it was understood by the western authors of the time to mean "Great Sea" (locus classicus, Rubruquis, ed. Bergeron, p. 2: en la mer du Pont que les Bulgares appellent la grande mer; Mare Majus in Haytho, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Marco Polo, chap. 1; Mar Majour in Ghillebert de Lannoy and Bertrand de la Broquière; mer mayor in Clavijo; the Grete See in Chaucer, *Prologue*, l. 59), more rarely as Black Sea (Schiltberger, who, however, also writes "Grosses Meer"; mare nigrum, quoted for the year 1338 in Yule, *Cathay* etc., new ed. by H. Cordier, iii., London 1914, p. 81; il mar nero in a document of 1473 in Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Venezia 1865, p. 11), by the Arabs as "Black Sea", *al-Baḥr al-Aswad* (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, p. 31, 34; al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*, p. 139, 143, 145, 220; *al-Baḥr al-A'zam* in Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 110 is to be explained otherwise); among the Greeks we find only *mavri thalassa* and this only for the first time in the treaty with Venice concluded in 1265 (*Fontes Rerum Austr.*, part II, xiv. 62); in literature from the xvth century (see Leunclavius, *Pandectes Hist. Turc.*, Ch. 148). The Italians and French used Mare Maggiore, Mer Majour down to the first half of the xviith century: henceforth we find the name Black Sea throughout geographical literature. The older reproduction of KARA DENİZ by "Great Sea" shows that KARA in this connection does not refer to the colour but means, as often in proper names, "great, powerful, terrible" (cf. KARA), in keeping with the dangers of the voyage, particularly in bad weather, upon this sea so liable to storms and of such extent. All other attempts to explain the meaning, especially those which seek to find the name "Black Sea" among the Greeks and Byzantines, or, like L. de Saussure in his brilliant essay *L'origine des noms de Mer Rouge, Mer Blanche et Mer Noire* (*Le Globe*, xliii. 23 sqq.), to trace it to the cosmographic conceptions of the Far East, are to be rejected; nor should one quote in support of "black" Sea the fact that the Turks called the Mediterranean Ak Deniz (White Sea), as if by contrast, any more than we could justify the mediaeval nigromantia (a corruption of nekromantia) by saying that white magic was invented as a pendant to it. — The name "Sea

of the *Khazars*" has survived into modern times in corrupt form *Bahr-i Hazez* (the result of transposition of the diacritical points) as a name of the Sea of Azov.

After the Black Sea had been treated as a *mare clausum* during the centuries under Byzantine rulers, in the latter half of the Middle Ages it was opened up under the Komnenoi and Palaiologoi to the Genoese and Venetians and thus to European trade with the Near and Far East; in Kaffa [see KAFKA], Tana, Amaşra and Samsûn there arose autonomous Frankish colonies and smaller settlements in Sinope and Trebizond. After the fall of Constantinople Mehmed the Conqueror closed the Black Sea to foreign shipping by barring the Straits; the destruction of Amaşra (1459), Sinope and Trebizond (1461) and Kaffa (1475) completed the ruin of Frankish commerce and the Black Sea became a Turkish inland sea, a Πόντος Ἀξενός, on which only the Turkish flag was allowed to wave. It was only with the advance of the Russian empire to the north coast of the Black Sea that the latter was opened first to Russian commercial navigation by art. X of the treaty of Küçük Kainardja in 1774, and ten years later, in 1784, to Austrian and in 1799 to British commerce; in the thirteenth century the other European powers obtained liberty of access to the Black Sea: France in 1802 and following her the smaller seafaring nations; the last treaties on this matter were concluded in 1827. Down to quite recently foreign warships were not allowed to pass through the Straits and into the Black Sea.

Bibliography: The history of the various appellations of the Black Sea has not yet been written. The main work on commerce at the close of the Middle Ages is W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885—1886; reprint 1924; for commerce under Turkish rule: Ch. Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1787; for the later period: Hommaire de Hell, *Les steppes de la Mer Caspienne*, Paris and Strasburg 1843—1845. — The political and diplomatic events which led to the opening of the Black Sea in the xviiith century are fully discussed in [P. Hadji Mischef], *La Mer Noire et les Détroits de Constantinople*, Paris 1899; cf. thereon the notes in Djewdet, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 284 and vii. 485 sqq.; the documents concerned are given by Nora-dounghian, *Recueil des traités internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i. and ii., Paris and Leipzig 1897—1900. (J. H. MORDTMANN).

KARAFERIYA, a small town in Macedonia, situated about 40 miles to the S. W. of Selânik, on the Ana Dere, a tributary of the Indje Kara Şu, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Salonica. The ancient Greek name is Βέροια, in modern Greek Véria (Slav. Ber), to which form the Turks have added the adjective Kara. According to the Byzantine authors the town was sacked as early as 1331 by Turkish pirates belonging to the country of Karasî. They landed with 70 ships and laid waste the region of Véria and Trajanopolis, but they were finally driven back by the emperor Andronicus. Karafériya was an important military point; in 1347 it was occupied by the Servians and in 775 A.H. (1373/4) it was conquered for the first time by the Ottoman Turks. From the reign of Murâd II, from whom dates the conquest of Selânik (1430) down to the

Balkan war, Karafériya belonged to the Ottoman Empire. In November, 1912 Karafériya was one of the last Turkish supports in the defence of Selânik, which was at last taken on November 8 of that year by the Greeks; since the peace of Athens (Nov. 14, 1913) it has belonged to Greece.

Karafériya is situated at the foot of the richly wooded Aghostos Dagħ in a fertile region which produces all kinds of crops and vegetables and is famed for its tobacco and especially its vineyards on the mountain slopes. The silk-growing has given rise to a rather important weaving-industry in the town. In the neighbourhood are still ruins of the ancient Βέροια. In the last period of Turkish domination the number of its inhabitants was a little less than 10,000 of whom about one fourth Muslims, the rest being composed of Greeks, Bulgarians and Wallachians. It was the chief place of a Kaḏā of the same name in the wilayet of Selânik.

Bibliography: Sâmi, *Kāmūs al-A'lâm*, v. (1314/1892), p. 3639; von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1829, i. 127, 600; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii. 404; Hâdjîdî KHALİFA, *Rumîli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 86; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, iii. col. 304 sq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KARAGÖZ, principal character in the Turkish shadow-play. The shadow-play has been known to the Muhammadan peoples since about the xith century of our era. Its origin is perhaps to be sought, as Jacob suggests, in Eastern Asia, but, as regards the matter of the plays, there seem to be connections with the Hellenistic mime (Horovitz, Reich). The modern Turkish shadow-players attribute the invention of their art to the patron saint of their gild, *Shaikh Küshteri* (i. e. Tustari, the man from Tustar [Shūshṭar] in Persia), after whom they call their shadow-stage *Shaikh Küshteri Maidânî* "Shaikh-Küşteri place". According to the Turkish biographers a certain *Shaikh* Mehmed Küshteri migrated from Persia to Asia Minor in the xivth century and was buried in Brussa. On the various legendary accounts of the origin of the shadow-play see Ritter, *Karagöz*, i. 5. The shadow-players talk among themselves a kind of professional language, in which gipsy elements predominate. Another circumstance in favour of a connection with the wandering gipsies is the fact that the principal figure, Karagöz, is represented as a gipsy. The shadow-play is a favourite image of the transitoriness and worthlessness of all that is mortal with poets, especially those who are fond of mysticism. The idea often expressed by the mystics that all things in the world have only a shadow-existence and only owe their being to the light permeating things from the Primeval One, who alone possesses reality and substance, found in the shadow-play a symbolical application. The shadow-players are fond of calling attention to this edifying aspect of their performance in the so-called stage-ghazel (*perde ghazeli*).

The external apparatus of the shadow-play consists of a stand like that of the European marionette theatre, only that in place of the open stage a canvas is stretched across and illuminated by an oil-lamp. Against this canvas (*perde*) the

shadow-player presses coloured figures about a foot high made of dried skin; this is done by means of guiding rods which are put into the figures through holes provided with links. All the figures that appear are controlled by one player. Two musicians are his only assistants. The performances usually take place in the early hours of the nights of Ramaḍān but are also given as entertainments at domestic festivals, such as circumcisions.

The following is the course of the typical performance of the Turkish shadow-play: an introductory picture (*gösterme*) is shown on the canvas before the beginning of the performance. This is removed during introductory music on a reed-pipe and one of the two principal characters, Hacıwād, comes on the scene singing a song. At the end of the song Hacıwād calls out *Hai Haḡḡ*, "O God", as the introductory religious formula of the play, recites the stage-ghazel, praises God and curses Satan and then proceeds to pay a tribute of homage to the Sultān. After a conventional introduction he begins to express in rhymed prose his longing for his companion Karagöz and to sing to him before the door of his house — where the scene is supposed to be laid — in languishing tones. Karagöz rushes out in anger and a fight ensues between the two at the end of which Hacıwād usually disappears to return after an interval. The prologue proper then begins, consisting of a dialogue (*muḥāwvere*) between Hacıwād and Karagöz, and this is followed after a stereotyped transition-formula by the piece proper, the dramatic part (*faṣl*). The piece again concludes with unvarying turns: Karagöz gives Hacıwād a box on the ear and the latter goes to tell the "master of the curtain" that Karagöz has torn the curtain down and destroyed it. Karagöz then asks for indulgence to the defects of the play and goes off after threatening to punch Hacıwād still harder the next time — here the piece is announced for the next evening.

The principal characters are always Hacıwād and Karagöz. The former is a cultivated elderly gentleman somewhat given to opium eating who is wellknown to all the characters who appear and often acts as their confidant. Karagöz is an uneducated, rough gipsy, the type of simple, natural vivacity contrasted with the decrepit representative of prudence and deliberation. Like his relatives in the European marionette theatre he is the real favourite with the public. He is bald and sometimes still appears with the phallus, both features which indicate a certain connection with the ancient mime. Both characters wear special caps, peculiar to the shadow-play.

The humour of the dialogue between Hacıwād and Karagöz depends for the most part on countless puns and plays on words which are always brought about by Karagöz misunderstanding the learned words of his friend and giving them humorous interpretations. The preludes are not limited to any particular piece (*faṣl*) but are chosen for presentation at will according to the length of the following play. The substance of the dialogue has almost always the same object, to attain humorous effects by the contrast between Hacıwād's learning and Karagöz's stupidity. Hacıwād, for example, gives Karagöz lessons in spelling, proposes games which he does not understand, goes with him as a singing Ramaḍān-night

watchman round the streets, when Karagöz sings all the songs out of tune and misunderstands them, or gives him sentences to be said rapidly, or plays games with him which necessarily end in a fight, etc.

The production of the dramatic part (*faṣl*) which follows the prelude shows certain peculiarities in scenic technique which are the natural result of the paraphernalia of the shadow-stage. The white surface of the canvas, only rarely relieved by a few figures in the wings, always represents the Kūshteri square in front of Karagöz's house, which latter is, as it were, represented by the frame of the canvas. As Karagöz has continually to accompany the action with comments from the window of his house, there are often several scenes of action in one, one quite remote, the real scene of action, and the square before Karagöz's house. The possibility of mixing up the characters into crowds with the conducting-rod is used to present remarkable scenes of recognition.

The players have a fixed stock of pieces, which is practically the same with all companies and, except for a few modern pieces, is considered to have "been handed down from olden times." The pieces are sometimes dramatic versions of popular books (*Ferhād and Shirin*, *Tāhir and Zühre*, *Meḡnūn* and *Lailā* etc.), in which case Hacıwād appears as trusted adviser and Karagöz as servant of the heroes concerned, or suchlike; sometimes they are pictures of everyday life in Stambul. In the latter we are given a series of Stambul types, among which one recognises pathological (the drowsy opium-eater, the pugnacious drunkard, the lame beggar, the dwarf, the crazy man) and racial types (the young Stambul Efendi, the Persian, the Armenian, the Jew, the rough woodcutter from Kaṣtamuni, the Kaışarlı, the Lase, etc.). The effect is very often attained by the formation of a series of incidents. A whole series of characters, differing as much as possible from one another, is brought successively into the same comical embarrassing situation, or they bring Karagöz, around whom the action then usually develops, into some such situation so that the tension increases with each successive character until it is finally relieved by a character superior to the situation.

Pieces of this kind are, for example: *Yalowa Şafaslı*, "The pleasure-excursion to Jalowa". A young Efendi, usually called Çelebi, wishes to take a trip with his sweetheart to the seaside resort of Yalowa and buys a bag and a jug in which to put provisions for the journey. While he is away to make the final preparations, Karagöz appears and teases the young woman, who has remained behind with the sack and jug, with stupid stories about a fatal accident that has overtaken her lover, that he has set the sea on fire with a match he had thrown away and has been burnt or that he has been swallowed by an eater of *lokma*, and so on. Then a series of typical characters appear all of whom wish to go to Yalowa with the young woman and are hidden one after the other by the obliging girl in the sack and jug, in which a new fight begins for the little room available with every new-comer. After 5 or 6 people have disappeared in the narrow jug, Çelebi returns and pulls out all the stowaways again. — Another piece of the same kind is *Kanaḡ Nigar* "Bloody Nigar". The young Efendi is stopped in the street by two

ladies of his acquaintance, each of whom assert they have a good right to him and try to pull him with her. As neither will abandon him, women-neighbours are called in to decide which is worthy of the pretty young man. But when the neighbours decide in their own favour, the two women (one is called "Bloody Nigar") drag the young man into their house, undress him, thresh him and throw him out on to the street to punish him for his infidelity. A series of characters then come up who see the young man sitting naked and volunteer in turn to fetch his clothes out of the women's house; first comes Karagöz, then Hacıwad, then the drunkard, then a negro and next a dwarf. In the attempt to get the young man's clothes, they all meet in turn with the same fate. They are likewise undressed and thrown naked upon the street so that naked figures keep accumulating round the door of the house. In the end the problem is solved by the robber captain Şarî Efe from Brussa, whom the women respect, and the naked forms receive their clothes again. — Another is *Mandıra*: — Karagöz finds himself malevolently abandoned by his wife and enters into relations with a lady who meets him on the street and takes her to his house. To his question whether she also has no lover she replies: "apart from him who comes afterwards, no one". Then various lovers of the woman come in turn, ask for Karagöz's new house-mate and send all kinds of love-verses to her through him which the latter delivers to her in quite a distorted fashion, and ask her to take a trip with them to Mandıra. But they are always driven away by Karagöz and to his repeated question whether there is still any one coming the woman only answers with the above phrase. This goes on for a considerable time until finally Karagöz is turned out of his own house by the drunkard and then collects the admirers he has driven away in order to recapture his own house. In the *mêlée* which follows all take to their heels. — In the "Singer's competition" (*Karagözün Şahîrliliyi*) Karagöz as a strolling singer (*aşyk*) disposes of a number of droll singers who have assembled for a competition. In the "writer-play" (*yazıldıl oyunu*) he appears as a public letter-writer who writes letters which are absolute nonsense for his clients. — In the "Boat-play" (*kayık oyunu*) he acts in his particular way as a ferry-man assisted by Hacıwad. In the "Swing-play" (*şallındjak oyunu*) he lets a swing to the most varied customers, lastly to a Jew who apparently dies on it and is buried by his co-religionists in the most ludicrous fashion and is then brought to life again. Another time we find Karagöz as a rich gentleman (*Karagözün Aghâligli*) and in this capacity he has to deal with a series of people who wish to get positions in his service and with a beggar.

The series of incidents is often made up of vain attempts by Karagöz to gain admittance to a house or a garden, for example in the "Garden-play" (*Bağçe Oyunu*), in the "Bath" (*Hamman*), the "Surprise" (*Başkır*), or of his unsuccessful attempts to ascertain something about his wife's doings by questioning the neighbours, who in turn misunderstand his questions and give the stupidest answers (*"The Well Çeşme"*).

Pieces in which we do not have this succession of incidents are, for example, "The Poplar" (*Kanlı Kawağ*), in which an amusing act is spun round a brief touching episode: the

singer Hasan's son is stolen by the spirit of the poplar but restored on the poetic appeal of his father. Karagöz is first of all bewitched by the spirit of the poplar, then released by Hacıwad and, when he wants to cut down the poplar as a punishment, he is seized by two Albanian foresters and punished with the bastinado, which is made the more severe in a comical way as the foresters continually go wrong in counting the blows and have to begin all over again. — In the "Circumcision" (*sünnet*) Karagöz is circumcised when a full grown man and the usual games are played which are used to distract a boy from the pain. A shadow-player appears, for example, so that we have here a play within a play, also an *orta oyunu*-player, two jugglers, etc. — A kind of competition in magic between two witches, in which the young Efendi and his sweetheart and then Karagöz and Hacıwad are turned into animals, is the "Witch-play" (*Djâzûlar*). — In the "Lunatic asylum" (*timârkhâne*) Karagöz is infected by some lunatics escaped from an institution and chained by Hacıwad in an asylum and treated by a Frank doctor. — In the "Wrong Bride" (*Sakhte Gelin*) Karagöz is brought as bride to the drunkard, in order to cure him of his craving. — Lastly the play the "Bar" (*Maikhâne*) shows the doings of a famous sot named Bekri in a bar. The pieces so far mentioned substantially form with several other less important and less well-known pieces (*Tahmîşdijiler*, "The broken ones", *Kırghınlar*, "The coffee-crushers", *Balıç Oyunu*, "The fish-play", *Djânâzlar*, "The rope-dancers", *Edjâkhâne*, "The chemist's shop") the usual repertoire of the shadow-players.

Very few of these plays have so far been published and translated and those usually in an abbreviated form. The texts printed in the east are almost all bad and defective. For further particulars see the *Bibliography*.

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Abendland. Vortr. geh. bei der Philol.-Vers. zu Strassburg am 4 Okt. 1911, Berlin 1911; do., *Zwei türkische Inschriften* in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1904, lviii. 811—13 (cf. suppl. to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, München, April 15, 1904; do., *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Weltliteratur*, Berlin 1906; do., *Geschichte des Schattentheaters. Erweiterte Neubearbeitung des Vortrages: Das Schattentheater in seiner Wanderung vom Morgenland zum Abendland*, Berlin 1907; do., *Die Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters und der Zauberalsterne bis zum Jahre 1700. Erweiterter bibliographischer Nachweis*, Berlin 1912; K. Süssheim, *Die moderne Gestalt des türkischen Schattenspiels (Karagöz)*, in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1909, lxiii. 739 sqq.; shadow-plays are published and translated most fully by Hellmut Ritter in *Karagöz, Türkische Schattenspiele*, *hsg., übers. u. erkl., 1. Folge. Die Blutpappel, Die falsche Braut, Die blutige Nigar*, Hannover 1924.

(H. RITTER)

KARAGÖZLÜ ("Black-eyed"), a Turkish people around Hamadān, to which they pay their tribute (Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii. 270 and 472). The Karagözlü are several times mentioned in the history of the domestic troubles in Persia in the second half of the xviiith century; cf. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*², Pest 1836, iv. 475; *Ta'rikh-i Zandiya*, ed. Beer, Leiden 1888, p. 33, 42 and 93. In the first half of the xixth century the Karagözlü are said to have numbered some 12,000 souls (C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 404 and ix. 78). Karagözlü is also the name of a small Turkish clan in Fārs, which belongs to the 'Inānlū group of the tribal confederacy İläti Khamsa (Tumanskiy, *Ot Kaspiyskago meria k Khormusskomu profiru i obratno*, St. Petersburg 1896, p. 78). A Tatar village in what was formerly the gouvernement of Yelisawetpol in the district of Djevanshir is also called Karagözlü.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KARA HIŞAR, "Black Castle", the name of several places in Asia Minor, which, although distinguished by epithets, are often confused with one another; lists of them, none of which is complete, are given in a later addition to Yakūt's *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 44, then by Ewliya, *Siyāhanāme*, Constantinople 1314—18, ii. 384 = *Narrative of Travels by Ewliya Efendi*, O.T.F., London 1850, ii. 205 (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1827—35, iv. 619), in Ahmad Wafik's *Lehje-i 'Othmāni*, Constantinople 1293, p. 911, and in 'Alī Djawād, *Turikhi wa-Djoghrafiya Lughati*, Constantinople 1313, i. 599. They are alike in being situated on heights, sometimes difficult of access and fortified; the majority date probably from the middle ages only and were mainly built as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding country during inroads which were continually made in the wars of the Byzantines with the Arabs and Saldjūks and later in the wars between the small states that arose in Asia Minor; many were later abandoned under the peaceful rule of the Ottomans and disappeared from our maps.

The most important places of this name are:

1. Kara Hişar-i Şāhib (in Nashri, *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii. 193 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 140, Şāhibiā Kara Hişari; Saibcarascar in Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Per-*

sia, Venice 1558, fol. 14^b), also called Añūn Kara Hişari ("the opium K. H."). The former name is derived from a notable man of the last period of the Saldjūks of Konya, Şāhib Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī Beg (d. 687 = 1288/9), who had retired there with his treasures before the Karamānians and Mongols and whose successors ruled the town and district under the protection of the Germiyan-Oghlu of Kütābha (Hoatsma, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjucides*, iv. 308, 323, 327, 334, where K. Dewele means this K.; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Aḥqār*, transl. by Quatremère in the *N.H.*, xiii. 359, 357; Aḥmad Tawḥid in the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, first series, p. 563 sq.). The popular name Añūn Kara Hişar later became generally used in place of K. H. Şāhib, which is still the official name. Añūn K. takes its name from the extensive cultivation of opium in the neighbourhood which is mentioned as early as Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables*, Paris 1555, fol. 183^r; cf. Blan in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 250.

Kara Hişar-i Şāhib is now identified with the Byzantine fortress Akroinós, Akroinoi, in the vicinity of which the legendary Saiyid Baḡḡāl in 739 perished with his followers on a campaign against the Byzantines (Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, ed. de Boor, i. 390, 411) and where the Comnenas Alexius I negotiated with the Saldjūk Sultān in 796 (Anna Comnena, *Alexius*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 285); in the course of the xiiith century it must have been taken from the Byzantines by the Germiyan-Oghlu. Khidr Pasha (d. 750 = 1349), son of Sulaimānshāh of Germiyan, and other members of this dynasty are mentioned as presidents (*Calabi*) of the Mewlewī settlements in K. (cf. Ghālib Dede, *Tadhkirat-i Sūfī 'arū-i Mewlewīye*, MS., No. 1257 of the Vienna Nat. Libr., fol. 54^r and 90^r = 'Alī Enwer, *Sims'khāne-i Eski*, Stambul 1309, p. 48 sq. and 102). During the invasion of Asia Minor by Timūr after the battle of Angora (1401) K. also was visited by the victor's raiding parties (Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāme*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1887—88, ii. 446, 457, 484, 492 = *Histoire de Timur-Bec* etc., Fr. transl. by Pétis de la Croix, Del(l) 1723, iv. 21, 31, 69, 68; Dukas, *Hist.*, ed. Bonna, p. 77). In 832 (1428/9) the kingdom of the Germiyan-Oghlu passed to the Ottomans and K. with its lands became incorporated in a sandjak of the eyālet of Anadolu (cf. *Dihānnūma*, p. 641). As a stronghold near the Karamānian frontier it remained of military importance so long as Karamān was still independent; at the beginning of the war with Uzun Hasan in 877 (1472/3) prince Mustafā fell back on its defences and made raids from it upon the Karamān-Oghlu who were allied to the Persians ('Ashk Pasha Zāde, *Turikhi*, Istanbul 1332, p. 177; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tadh al-Tawārikh*, i. 524; Caterino Zeno, *op. cit.*) and in 895 (1489/90) K. formed the base of the operations of the Hersek-Oghlu Aḥmad Pasha against the Egyptians who had invaded Karamānia (Sa'd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, ii. 65). But K. became still more important as a junction of the caravan routes leading from Smyrna to trading centres of the interior, like Angora, Kaşariya, Tokat, etc. In recent years the Smyrna-Cassaba railway there joins the Anatolian railway system which starts in Stambul. On the dissolution of the old eyālet of Anadolu the sandjak of K. was attached to the

province of Brussa; the town of K. is the residence of the *mutesarrif*; its population was estimated at 25,000 in 5,000 houses (20,000 Muslims, 5,000 Armenians, some 300 Greeks), but later figures are not available.

Of the few relics of classical antiquity the majority must have been brought here from ruined sites in the neighbourhood, like Seidler (Prymnessus), İsdje Karahışar (Docimaeon) and Çifut Kaşabasi (Synnada); the monuments of the time of the Germiyan-Oghlū, e.g. the Ulu Djāmi' of Khodja Beg and the tomb of Sültan Diwānī, and the older buildings of the Ottomans have not yet been thoroughly investigated.

The feature of the town, the steep cone of trachyte which rises 650 feet above the level of the town which lies around it, with the late Byzantine defences renovated by the Germiyan-Oghlu, still bore in Niebuhr's time the name *İlek Baran Kal'esi*, ("the fortress which affords shelter to the Beg"); this citadel was probably never really a permanent settlement and is now left to fall to pieces, although it has been from time to time used for the internment of political prisoners ('Ashik Pasha Zāde, *Tārikh*, p. 243—4), the last occasion being in 1802 when French prisoners of war from Egypt were kept there. The "Arabic" foundation inscription at the entrance, which Niebuhr and Oberhummer saw, has not yet been copied.

Bibliography: *Sālnāme* of the wilāyet of Brūsa for the year 1302, p. 466 sqq.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 224 sqq.; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihan-nūmā*, Constantinople, p. 641 sq.; Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, Paris 1677, i. 87 sqq.; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, 11/ii. 82; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 131—134 (with plan and view of the town); William George Browne (1802) in Robert Walpole's *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1820, p. 116 sq. Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, p. 64 sqq. (with fine views); W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 462, 470; *Planatlas von Kleinasien* by v. Vincke, [F.L.] Fischer and v. Moltke, Berlin 1846—1854, plate No. 4; *Mitt. des deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athen*, 1882, vii. 139 sq.; G. Radet, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Asie Mineure* in the *Nouv. Archives des missions scientifiques*, 1895, viii. 425 sqq.; F. Naumann in *Globus*, vii., No. 19 (picture); Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin 1896, p. 81 sqq.; Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin 1899, p. 390 sqq.

Some 15 miles or 5 hours north of Kara Hişar-ı Şāhib lies:

2. İsdje Karahışar — the correct name, not Eski K., as in Hamilton, *op. cit.*, i. 461, 467, de Laborde, *op. cit.*, p. 68 sq., Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, i. 145—152, and following them C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 605, 642 sq., nor Itchki or İstya (Ramsay, *Mitt. Dtsch. Arch. Inst. in Athen*, vii. 132 sqq., x. 348), nor again İschtschi (Körte, *op. cit.*, i. 88 sqq.) or Ishite K. (v. Diest, map in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, Erg.-Heft No. 125 —, a village of 251 houses near the quarries of the ancient Docimaeon, from which the marble of Synnada came; the quarries have again been worked in modern times by European enterprise (*Sālnāme Brūsa*, 1325 A.H., p. 125).

3. Kara Hişar-ı Sharķī, also called Şābin (or Shebin, Shēb) Kara Hişar, or Karahışar-ı Şābhkhāne, from the alum-mines in the neighbourhood which were worked in ancient times and still more in the middle ages and produced a particularly esteemed kind of this mineral.

As was first pointed out by Blau in 1865 on the authority of a Byzantine inscription the town is the ancient and mediaeval Colonia and bore this name down into modern times. After the reforms of Justinian it belonged to Armenia Prima; in the *Notitiae Episcopatum* it appears as the see of the bishop of Armenia Secunda. In 162 (778) the town was captured by Yazīd b. Usaid al-Sulamī in a raid on the Pontus (Ghé-vond, *Hist. des Guerres des Arabes en Arménie*, p. 106, quoted by Blau; cf. al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 493; cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 108). On the other hand the Kalūniya which, according to Eutychius, ed. Selden and Pococke, p. 383, was taken by the Sāsānid Shāpūr with Cappadocia and the Kalūniya, which the Hāmdānid Saif al-Dawla captured in 335 (946/7) (*Z.D.M.G.*, x. 467; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ix. 168) are almost undoubtedly identical with Colonia Cappadociae, which, according to Niketas (p. 72 and 689), is the later Ak-sarai. This strong fortress must have been lost to the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert. The Dānishmand-Oghlu first established themselves there (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 164); later we find the Saltūkids of Erzerūm in possession (Niketas Chon., *Ann.*, ed. Bonn, p. 185, 294) who were dispossessed in 598 (1201/2) by the Saldjūks of Konya; they in turn were succeeded by the Mangūdids, vassals of Konya. After the fall of the Sūltānate of Konya, the descendants of Eretnā ruled there and various princes of the house of the Ak-Koyunlu and Kara-Koyunlu (cf. Sa'd al-Din, i. 287 = 'Ali, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 178 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474, 14 sqq.); in 1473 after the battle of Terdjān the town was taken by Mehemmed the Conqueror and incorporated in the Ottoman empire ('Ashik Pasha Zāde, *Tārikh*, p. 378 and 181, who describes the town as the Kara Hişar of Kamākh, and Sa'd al-Din, i. 541 and 542; Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, col. 589, 42 sqq.). Kara Hişar-ı Sharķī formed a sandjak of the eyalet Erzerūm (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii. 205; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihan-nūmā*, p. 422, 424); this district now belongs to the wilāyet of Siwās and the seat of government is in the town of the same name.

The old name Colonia was taken over by the Saldjūks in the Armenian form Kughūniya, which we find in Ibn Bibi's chronicle (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii. 291—295, iv. 151, 152, 319) and on the coins of Eretnā (Ahmad Tawhīd, *Meshkāt-i Kadime-i Islāmīye*, iv. 439). If, as seems almost certain, the Mavro-Kastran mentioned by Michael Astaliota, ed. Bonn, p. 125, and Skylitzes, p. 679, "on a high hill difficult of access in Armenia", is identical with Colonia, Kara-Hişar seems to have already been in use alongside of Colonia; among the Greeks of the xviiith century we again find the form Garasaris, corrupted out of Kara Hişar, in use as well as Colonia.

The imaginative description of the town in Ewliyā Çelebi and scanty references in the *Djihan-nūmā*, both of the second half of the xviiith century, are corrected and supplemented by the descriptions of modern travellers. The town, built on

the slopes of a hill below the ancient fortifications possessed—according to Cuinet, with whom travellers agree—12–13,000 inhabitants (7500 Muslims, 3000 Armenians and over 1500 Greeks) and was the residence of the *mutesarrif* and of an Armenian Bishop and of the Greek Metropolis of Nicopolis; there is no more modern information available. The citadel surrounded by a ring of walls, in which old well-shafts suggest a pre-Hellenic settlement, is no longer inhabited; within this fortress on the summit of the hill lies a small fortified redoubt with an octagonal watch-tower. The defences date from the Byzantines and were further developed by the Muslim rulers.

Schiltberger (*Reisebuch*, ed. Langmantel, p. 57) calls Karassere "ein fruchtpars lant an weinwachs" (a land rich in vine-yards); more famous than the vine-yards which still exist were the rich alum-mines in the adjoining village of *Shābkhāne*, in which were obtained the valued "alume de rocca di Colonna" (i. e. Colonia) (Pegolotti in Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii. 565); these are the *aluminis minera iuxta Sebastiam quae valet unam argentariam* of Vincentius Bellocensis, xxxi. col. 143; they were also mentioned by Rubruquis (ed. Bergeron, p. 147). Mehmed the Conqueror took possession of them for the state treasury (Sa'd al-Din, i. 542) and from the rent they yielded when farmed out the garrison of the fortress was later paid (*Djihānnumū*, p. 424).

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Siyāhatnāme*, ii. 384 sqq. = *Travels*, ii. 204 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 208 sqq.; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, Supplement to *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Gotha 1860, p. 14 sqq. (with plan of the town), thereon A. D. Mordtmann's additions in *Ausland*, 1863, p. 406 sq., 414 sq.; O. Blau in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1865 p. 252; Taylor in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1868, xvii. 293 sqq.; P. Triantaphyllides, *Ἡ ἐν Πόντῳ Ἑλληνικὴ Φυλὴ*, Athens 1866, p. 113 sqq.; X. A. Sideropoulos in the Arch. Suppl. to vol. xviii. of the publications of the Greek Syllogos at Constantinople; F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* ii.; *Voyage d'Exploration archéologique dans le Pont*, p. 296 sqq. (with pictures).

4. Kara Hişār-i Behrāmshāh (Bairāmshāh) is first mentioned by Hamdullāh Mustawfī, *Nushat al-Kutub*, p. 97; Sidi Re'is (xvth century) visited the place on his journey from Siwās to Bozak and Kırşehir (*Mir'at al-Mamālik*, Stambul 1312, p. 96). In K'ātib Çelebi's time (xvth century) it was a *kaẓā* of the eyālet Siwās (*Djihānnumū*, p. 622); it is now the residence of the *Mudir* of the nāhiye of the same name of the *kaẓā* of Ma'den in the sandjak Yozghad in the wilāyet of Angora, of day's journey east of Yozghad. The place is not marked on our maps.

5. Kara Hişār-i Demirdji, a village in the *kaẓā* Çorum of the wilāyet of Angora, a few hours north of the famous ruined site of Üyük, given in the *Djihānnumū*, p. 625, among the *kaẓā*'s of the sandjak of Çorum. W. Hamilton in 1838 was the first European to visit and describe it (*Researches* etc., i. 379, 381, 403; following him Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 147, 149 sqq.); next came in 1859 H. Barth (*Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, p. 42) and A. D. Mordtmann (in *Ausland*, 1863, p. 785; *Sitzungsber. Bayr. Ak.*, 1861, p. 191 sq.). The ruined

site of Kaṭā Sarāy which belongs to it is mentioned under this name in the *Djihānnumū* also. On our maps this Kara Hişār appears without an epithet; it may be identical with the Kara Hişār which the older Ottoman chroniclers mention in connection with the fightings of prince Muḥammad with the Yürük chief Gözleroghlu about 805 A. H. (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 386; Sa'd al-Din, i. 200).

6. Kara Hişār-i Teke (*Djihānnumū*, p. 638; Aḥmad Wafik, 'Alī Djawād, *loc. cit.*) also called Kara Hişār-i Adalia (Ewliyā, *Travels* etc., ii. 705), is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 44 as a village a day's journey from Antākiya (or rather Antāliya). In the time of Ibn Faḍl Allāh a certain Zakariyā, a former Mamlūk of the lord of Adalia, had made himself independent there and ruled a small territory which included 3 towns and 12 strongholds (*N. E.*, xiii. 372 sq.). The place is still mentioned in the surveys of Mehmed the Conqueror (*Revue Historique publ. par l'Institut d'histoire Turque*, part ii. 76) and as a *kaẓā* of the sandjak of Adalia in the *Djihānnumū*, *loc. cit.* According to Aḥmad Wafik, K. is the capital of a nāhiye of the *kaẓā* of Sirik in Adalia, in the wilāyet of Konya; the *Sālnāme* of this wilāyet, however, only knows the place-name Sirik, nor is the older name found on our maps. Sirik, a miserable village on a tributary of the Köprü Şu (Eurymedon), is the ancient Selge (Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. 515 sqq., 653; G. Hirschfeld, *Reise im südwestlichen Kleinasien* in the *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1875, p. 134). The similarity of names is accidental because Sirik is originally the name of a Yürük clan.

Besides these towns of the name Kara Hişār and Dewele K. dealt with separately (see above, i. 952) the following are also given:

Kara Hişār in the land of Osman (Yāqūt, *op. cit.*); this may refer to Karadja Hişār, also called Karadja Shehir near İnözü in the ancestral lands of the Ottoman Sultans for which even in the older historians Kara Hişār is often written.

Kara Hişār in the land of Ibn Torghut (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *op. cit.*, p. 350); no other reference is known, unless it is an older name for Torghudlu Kaşabasi near Mānisa.

Kara Hişār, capital of the *kaẓā* of Na'llukhān, wilāyet of Angora (Aḥmad Wafik, *op. cit.*), not given in the *Sālnāme* nor marked on the maps.

Hamām Kara Hişār-i, village of the nāhiye of Günyünzi, *kaẓā* of Siwri Hişār, wilāyet of Angora (*Sālnāme*); also on the maps.

Wān Kara Hişār-i (Ewliyā, *op. cit.*); no other reference known. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

KARAK. [See KERAK.]

KARAKALPAK ("black caps"), a Turkish people in Central Asia. In the Russian annals a people of this name (Černii Klobutzi) is mentioned as early as the twelfth century; whether these "black caps" are identical with the modern Karakalpak cannot be definitely ascertained. It is not till the end of the xvth century that we find records of the Karakalpak in Central Asia. According to the embassy report of Skibin and Troshin (1694), they then lived on the Sir Daryā, 10 days' journey below the town of Turkestan. There they are again mentioned in the xviii century as neighbours of the land of the Khāns of Khiva; about 1722 a treaty was concluded by the ambassador Vershinin between Peter the Great and the Khān of the Kara kalpak, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Sa'ādat 'Ināyat Muḥammad

Bahādur (*Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov*, 1722, No. 4101). The eastern part of the lands of the Volga Kalmūcks between the Ural mountains and the Volga used to be raided by the Қарақалпақ. Even then the Қарақалпақ lived not only by their herds and by their raids but also by agriculture — with artificial irrigation of their fields — and by fishing (on Lake Aral). They are said to have migrated to Central Asia from the Volga region. About the middle of the xviiith century the winter quarters of a body of the Қарақалпақ were on the central course of the Sir at Khawās (north of Ura-Tūbe); the prince (*tura*) of these Қарақалпақ entered into an alliance in 1755 with the *Atalik* of Bukhārā, Muḥammad Raḥīm; 3,000 families of the Қарақалпақ were settled at Samarḳand and received from there 400 ass-loads (*kharwār*) of corn; the son of the *tura* joined the army of the *Atalik* (Muh. Waḥā Karīmnaḡi, MS of the Asiatic Museum, c. 581 b, f. 148^b). Radloff (*Aus Siberien*, Leipzig 1893, i. 228) visited in 1868 north-east of Samarḳand some settlements of the Қарақалпақ, who had immigrated "from the Amū-Daryā not long ago". A considerable number (about 20,000) still live in Farḡhāna at the present day. The Қарақалпақ are said to have been driven out of the lower valley of the Sir Daryā by the Qazaḡ towards the end of the xviiith century; they are still mentioned in the xixth century a little farther south on the (now dried up) Yeni Daryā à propos of the campaigns of Muḥammad Raḥīm, Khān of Kḥiwa, against the land of Kungrat (1807—1811). The Қарақалпақ were then subject to the Khān of Kungrat and lived, in part, on the lower course of the Amū Daryā, especially on the arm of the river known as the "Qazaḡ"; there they succeeded in holding their own even at a later date against the Qazaḡ. After the union of Kungrat with Kḥiwa (1811) the Қарақалпақ also had to submit to the Khān of Kḥiwa, but made frequent attempts to throw off this yoke; in 1827 the town of Kungrat was even captured by them for a time; after the suppression of this rising a part of the Қарақалпақ migrated to Farḡhāna (*History of Kḥiwa*, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob, f. 300^b—305^b). In 1855 the leader of the rebel Қарақалпақ, Ir-Nazar-bi, adopted the title of Khān (*ibid.*, f. 516a); the fortress built by him near where the Qazaḡ flows into Lake Aral, the ruins of which still bear his name, did not fall till the following year, and then through treachery, into the hands of the Kḥiwans. After the Russian conquest of Kḥiwa in 1873, when the Khān had to cede to Russia all his possessions east of the main arm of the Amū and the most north-western arm of its delta (Tallīk or Taldīk), the land of the Қарақалпақ also became Russian. The area, then separated from Kḥiwa, was first administered as a separate circle (*otdyel*), later as part of the gouvernement of Sir Daryā; after the revolution it was constituted a separate territory (*oblast'*). The Қарақалпақ form about half the population there, according to the latest census over 110,000 souls. In addition there are about 20,000 Қарақалпақ in Kḥiwa and as many in Farḡhāna.

The dialect of the Қарақалпақ was first investigated in 1903 by S. Byelyayew; some of the texts then written down were later published (1917) in the *Protokol'i Zakaspiyskago Kruḡka lyubiteley Arkheologii* etc., parts 3 and 4. Information on the Қарақалпақ is given in all books on Turkestan

and its population; e.g. Fr. v. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, p. 17; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, St. Petersburg 1880, i. 329 sq.; Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 390 sq.; *Aziatskaya Rossiya*, St. Petersburg 1914, an official publication, i. 163 sq.; Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, p. 373 sq. No special monograph has so far been devoted to the study of the Қарақалпақ people.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ҚАРА КХАЛІЛ. [See ÇENDERELİ.]

ҚАРА КХИТАЙ (or ҚАРА КХИТАЙ), the usual name since the viii (xith) century in Muḥammadan sources for the Kitai people, mentioned by the Chinese from the eighth century A. D. onwards, who were probably Tunguz (according to another view Mongol). In the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions the Kitai are several times mentioned as enemies of the Turks in the extreme east of the area visited by the Turks in their campaigns; according to Chinese sources, they lived in the southern part of Manchuria. From the beginning of the tenth century the Kitai carried on a campaign of conquest, conquered the northern part of China and founded a dynasty which as a Chinese ruling house was called Liao (916). Even the founder of the dynasty, Apaoki, was able to subdue Northern Mongolia, which had been conquered by the Kirghiz about 840; Apaoki himself visited Qarakorum in 924 and is said to have received an Arab, i. e. Muḥammadan, embassy there (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, London 1910, i. 265), the first record of the appearance of Muslims in this region; it was probably only a trading caravan (Mongolia, of course, lay outside the usual range of Arabic geographical literature, for which the Kirghiz were the extreme north-eastern people). The house of Liao succeeded in holding its ground against the national Sung dynasty which had arisen in South China since 960; not till about 1125 were the Kitai driven from China and Eastern Asia by another Tunguz people, the Djurdjen.

Even before settling in China the Kitai had adopted Chinese civilization to a greater extent than other nomadic peoples; in contrast to the cult of the rising sun predominant among the other nomads of the East, they had borrowed from the Chinese the cult of the South; with this fact is no doubt connected the spread of this cult among the Mongols, and throughout the Mongol Empire in Central Asia generally (see W. Barthold's essay in the *Zapiski vost. otd. arkḥ., obshch.*, xxxv. 55 sq.). As the Djurdjen did later, the Kitai formed a system of writing of their own based on the Chinese hieroglyphic system (about 920 A. D. with some 1000 characters). A statement in the official "History of the Liao" (*Liao-shi*) where, according to de Groot's translation, there is mentioned an alphabet prepared for the Kitai ("small characters, few in number and all arranged in rows") by the foreign wise man, Tiet-ts'ik (according to F. W. K. Müller, perhaps *tarsā* = Christian), is explained by Marquart to mean that about this time (the statement refers to the reign of Apaoki) the sounds of the language were reproduced in an alphabet of western origin (perhaps modelled on the Uighur) (*Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad.*, 1912, p. 500 sq.); documents or inscriptions in this alphabet have so far not been found. On the other hand we have specimens of Kitai writing in the alphabet

modelled on the Chinese. Quite recently P. Pelliot (*Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. II, iv. 174) mentions a Chinese "maigre vocabulaire" of the language of the Kitai.

As early as the first quarter of the eleventh century (according to some 403 = 1012/3, according to others 408 = 1017/8) an attack was made by the Khitai or Kitai (not yet called Kara Khitai) against Muslim lands; they are said to have advanced within 8 days' journey of Balasaghun [q. v.] and were only driven back from there by the İlek Khans [q. v.]. In what connection this campaign stands with events in Eastern Asia is not known; Marquart's attempt (*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914, *Abh. der Kön. Ges. der Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, New Series, vol. xiii., No. 1, p. 194 sq.) to find with the help of de Groot some reference in the *Liao-shi* which might be connected with this campaign has not been successful. On the campaign itself see Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, ix. 209 sq.; Marquart, *Osttürk. Dialektst.*, p. 54; Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 294.

More important for the Muslim world was the western movement of the Kitai after the destruction of their empire in China by the Djurdjen (in Muslim sources later called Čurčit) about 1125. It was not the migration of a whole people; a part of the Kitai remained in China under the rule of the Djurdjen and at a later date, in the time of Čingiz Khān [q. v.], took the opportunity to rebel against the dynasty and to restore the kingdom of the Kitai as a Mongol vassal state. Kitai is, of course, still the usual name for China among Mongols and Russians; in Muhammadan sources the Kitai who remained in China as well as those who migrated westwards are called Kara Khitai. The Chinese historians continue to regard the Kitai dynasty expelled from China as a Chinese imperial dynasty under the name "Western Liao", with posthumous titles, reign periods, etc. — probably the only example of the members of a dynasty of foreign origin being regarded as Chinese emperors even after their expulsion from China. But the statements of the Chinese annals regarding the Western Liao are very inaccurate as regards chronology and in other respects also very meagre. The Chinese can only report one march of the Kitai through the modern Chinese Turkestan; from Muhammadan sources we know that it was not this migration that led to the formation of a Kitai kingdom in the West; on the contrary, these Kitai were completely defeated by Arslan Khān Ahmad b. Hasan, prince of Kāshghar, a few days' journey beyond this town. Ibn al-Athir (cf. the account in his *Chronicle*, xi. 55) places this battle in the year 522 (1128); perhaps it took place a few years later, as it is mentioned as a very recent event in the letter sent in name of Sulṭān Sandjar to the Caliph's vizier in Ramaḍān, 527 (July 6—Aug. 4, 1133) (Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 35 and 37). Presumably another branch of the migration of the Kitai by a more northern route met with more success; we get the fullest account of it from Djuwaini (*Ta'rikh-i Djahān-Kushāi*, ed. Mirza Muḥ. Kazwini, ii. 86 sq.; translation in d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 441 sq. and following him in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* etc., i. 225 sq.). According to this account, the Kara Khitai advanced through the land of the Kirghiz (on the Yenisei), then south-westwards to the region of the modern Cugačak, where they built the town

of İmil. From there as a base they occupied without opposition the town of Balasaghun [q. v.], whither the Muslim ruler of this region of the İlek Khān dynasty had summoned them against his enemies; it was only from here, i. e. from the North, that they conquered Kāshghar and Khotan and later Mā-warā'-al-Nahr and Khwārizm; the king of this land, Atsız (1128—1156), had to bind himself to pay a yearly tribute of 30,000 dinārs. On the fighting in Mā-warā'-al-Nahr and Khwārizm we are particularly well informed by Ibn al-Athir as well as by a few earlier sources like 'Imād al-Dīn (Houtsma, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seljoukides*, vol. ii.) and Rāwandī (*Rāhat al-Šudūr*, ed. Muḥ. İkbāl, esp. p. 172 sq.); the material is utilised in Barthold's *Turkestan* etc. and in Marquart's *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*. In Ramaḍān, 531 (May-June, 1137) the Khān of Samarkand, Maḥmūd, was defeated at Khodjand and on Šafar 5, 536 (Sept. 9, 1141) his powerful overlord, Sulṭān Sandjar, in the desert of Kaṭwān north of Samarkand. After this the kingdom of the Kara Khitai stretched from the land of the Kirghiz (on the Yenisei) in the north for a time as far as Balkh in the south, from Khwārizm in the west to the land of the Uighurs (see BISHBALIK) in the east, with its ruler's residence on the Cū [q. v.] at Balasaghun. The ruler bore the title *Gurkhān*, which is explained by Djuwaini (ii. 86 below) as "Khān of Khāns" (*Khān-i Khānān*); the word *Gur* is perhaps reproduced by the Chinese Ye-lu (family name of the Liao emperors). Unlike the other nomad empires no fiefs were granted either to the relatives of the *Gurkhān* or to other persons of high rank; the first *Gurkhān* is said to have allowed no one command of more than 100 men. On the other hand almost everywhere (Balasaghun perhaps formed the only exception) the native dynasties continued to exist as vassals of the *Gurkhān*; these vassal states probably formed the greater part of the empire. The level of taxation was, as in China, fixed by the number of houses; a dinār was levied on every house. The language of the government seems to have been Chinese. The son-in-law of the *Gurkhān* is called *fūmā* (Chinese "son-in-law") in Djuwaini (thus Defrémery in his note on Mirkhond, *Hist. des Sultans du Kharezm*, Paris 1882, p. 124; in the edition by Muḥ. Kazwini, ii. 17, 18 and 20, *farmā*); in the account of the Khitai in 'Awfi (*Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, ii. 385) we appear to find the well-known Chinese word *paiza* (so to be read for *bā nayza*), later also adopted by the Mongols. Even under the rule of the pagan Kara Khitai the Muslims appear, however, to have retained their leading positions; the wealthy merchant prince, Maḥmūd Bāi, is mentioned by Djuwaini (ii. 89) as vizier of the last *Gurkhān*. In Kāshghar about this time we find a Christian bishop (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III, part ii. 502); to the same period also belong the oldest Christian inscriptions on the Čū (*Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obšč.*, viii. 26; W. Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums* etc., Tübingen 1901, p. 58); but Islām also seems to have made progress during this period. In the story of the conquests of the Kara Khitai, the country of the princes of Balasaghun appears as the frontier land of the Muslim world; in the beginning of the xiiith century two Muhammadan principalities are mentioned north of the Ili [q. v.] (one in the northern part of the

modern Semiryeçye and one at Kuldja). After the destruction of the kingdom of the Qarā Khitai and of that of the Naiman prince Küclük, which succeeded it although over a much smaller area, the last Qarā Khitai, as is apparent from the account of the journey of the Chinese envoy Wu-ku-sun (1220—1221), had to adopt Muslim customs and Muslim garments (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* etc., i. 29). All this says little in favour of Marquart's (*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 209) idea of the civilization of the Qarā Khitai, which, according to him, stood "brilliantly out from its miserable surroundings".

The first *Gürkhan* died, according to Ibn al-Athir, xi. 57, in Radjab, 537 (Jan. 20—Febr. 18, 1142); he was followed by his widow "and his son Muḥammad". Marquart wants to read *ibnatu 'ammih* for *ibnuhu Muḥammad* (*Osttürk. Dialektst.*, p. 237); but it is nowhere stated that the wife of the *Gürkhan* was also his cousin; moreover, according to Chinese sources, she was only regent for her son who was still a minor. The latter, of course, cannot have been called Muḥammad; but how the text is to be emended must remain unsettled (the reading *wa-ibnuhu Muḥammad* is also found in the Bülāḡ edition, xi. 36). In the Muḥammadan sources we find no complete list of the *Gürkhan*s with particulars of their dates; the only references to these are scanty and contradictory. Djuwaini in his chapter on the Qarā Khitai (ii. 88 sq.) only mentions the widow and the brother of the first *Gürkhan*; in another passage (ii. 17) he also mentions, as do the Chinese annals, the rule of the daughter of the first *Gürkhan*; the same queen is mentioned by Rāwandī (*Rāhat al-Sudūr*, p. 174), but he makes her reign down to his time, i. e. to the beginning of the thirteenth century, which cannot be correct. A more accurate list of the *Gürkhan*s is given by the Chinese annals, but their tradition also is obviously inaccurate, especially in its chronological data. Marquart's endeavour (*loc. cit.*) to bring the Muḥammadan and Chinese sources into agreement and thus to date the reigns of the different rulers seems in general to be successful. According to him, the widow of the *Gürkhan* reigned till 1150, his son till 1163, his daughter till 1178 and his grandson till 1211. The latter is mentioned in the Chinese annals and, according to the usual pronunciation of the characters concerned, was called Či-lu-ku; Marquart (following De Groot) reads Tirgu.

Under this ruler took place the fall of the Khitai kingdom, brought about partly by the activities of the Muslim rulers in the west and partly by the Mongol inundation, then just breaking; cf. the accounts thereon in Barthold and Marquart and also the articles BURHĀN, BUKHĀRĀ, ČINGİZ KHĀN and MUḤAMMAD B. TAKĀSH. As happened elsewhere also, it was here not always the conflict of religions that was the deciding factor. The Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad, afterwards leader of the Muḥammadan movement, relied in the early years of his reign for assistance against his Muslim enemies on the pagan Qarā Khitai, as well as the spiritual rulers (*sudūr*) of Bukhārā. The rising of ʿOṭmān, prince of Samarḳand, against the Qarā Khitai is explained by Djuwaini (ii. 91) as due to the refusal of the *Gürkhan* to give his daughter in marriage to this prince. Later, under the influence of the estrangement between ʿOṭmān

and his Muḥammadan liberator and father-in-law Muḥammad, this matrimonial alliance nevertheless took place (*ibid.*, ii. 124); the rising of the Muḥammadan population of Mā-warā'-al-Nahr against their liberator had to be put down with ruthless vigour and bloodshed (609=1212). In contradiction to the view of these happenings given by Djuwaini, the *Gürkhan* was in reality deprived of his power a year earlier, in 1211, by Küclük, prince of the Naiman. The attitude of this originally Christian, later pagan (probably Buddhist) ruler to the Muslim population did not always remain uniform; he appears as an ally of the Muslim enemies of the *Gürkhan* and as an ally of the prince of Kāshghar (cf. the text of Djamāl al-Qurashī in Barthold's *Turkestan* etc., i. 133). He afterwards became a most bitter enemy of Islām. In his reign took place the first and only persecution of Islām in Central Asia; public Muslim worship was suppressed, the Muslims forced either to adopt Christianity or the religion of the pagans or at least to adopt the clothing of the Qarā Khitai. Those who resisted were, like the Protestants under Louis XIV, punished by having soldiers billeted on them. The only source on this point is Djuwaini (i. 49 sq.). By Čingiz Khān's victory over Küclük the religious persecution was ended; the former Muslim subjects of the Qarā Khitai, who had as early as 1211 been in negotiation with Čingiz Khān, received complete freedom of religion under Mongol rule. The Muslim dress was now adopted (cf. above) by the remaining Qarā Khitai, which was the very reverse of Küclük's law. Neither inscriptions nor buildings nor any other trace whatever of the rule of the Qarā Khitai have survived in Central Asia.

On the rule of a former "Amir" of the *Gürkhan* and his descendants in Kirmān see BURĀḠ, HĀDJIB and KIRMĀN. (W. BARTHOLD)

QARA KIRGIZ. [See KIRGIZ].

KARAKOL, KARAGHUL. [See QARAUL].

QARAQORUM (QARAKORAM), a chain of mountains in the centre of Asia lying north of and almost parallel to the Himalayas. The range extends westwards as far as 73° of Long.; it has not yet been definitely ascertained how far it runs eastwards. At one time the eastern limit was thought to be the pass of the Qaraqorum, but, according to the views of several famous geographers, the range runs much farther into Tibet and the Tang-la should, they think, be regarded as a part of the Qaraqorum. This idea was first put forward by Klaproth in 1836 and is now held by Burrard, Sven Hedin and others who further regard the Trans-Himalaya as belonging to the Qaraqorum system. If this is accurate, the whole system would be about 1250 miles long.

The highest elevations are found in the part west of the pass of Qaraqorum. There we find several peaks over 26,500 feet high and countless summits over 23,000 feet. The highest peak — probably the second highest in the world — is Mount Godwin Austen, indicated on the *Survey of India* maps as K 2, but which seems to have been long known as Chogo-ri among the natives. This giant attains a height of 28,265 feet.

This western part of the Qaraqorum possesses a wild and imposing natural beauty; it is covered with eternal snows over a considerable extent. The snow line runs from 15,500 feet north of the principal chain to 17,000 in the south.

If we exclude the polar regions the largest glaciers in the world are found in this part of the Karakorum. The Siachen glacier is 45 miles long and covers a surface of about 1,000 square miles. The Baltoro, Hispara and Biafo glaciers are only a little less than the Siachen. The plateau out of which rises the Karakorum has an average height of 10,000 feet. The whole region is excessively dry because the rain (snow, hail) falls almost exclusively on the high mountains. The vegetation in the valleys is very slight and is confined to the vicinity of torrents and streams. At the terminations of the glaciers we find — very often on a little plain — a very beautiful alpine flora.

The Karakorum is the most important watershed in Central Asia, dividing the rivers which running northwards empty their waters into the deserts of this part of the world, and running southwards into the Indian Ocean.

The principal pass is the *col* of Karakorum (18,550 feet), through which runs the important trade route between Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir. It is difficult and dangerous. In their long journey countless beasts of burden perish of exhaustion or in the avalanches. The mountains take their name from the pass. But, as Karakorum means "black debris", the name is not very appropriate. It is found for the first time in a map by Elphinstone published in 1815. On this map the range in question is indicated by the name Moor Taugh or Karrakoorrum Mountains.

The first traveller to write on the mountains now called Karakorum was Mirzā Haidar, a prince of Chinese Turkestan, à propos of his journey from Yarkand to Leh, capital of Ladak, in 1533. The exploration proper of the Karakorum only began in 1808 when Elphinstone visited these regions. The more systematic and detailed exploration of the high mountains proper was only begun in 1892 by Sir Martin Conway's expedition, which has been followed by several others.

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(PH. C. VISSER)

KARAKÖRUM, a town in Mongolia on the Orkhon, in the thirteenth century for a short time (about 1230—1260) the capital of the Mongol Emperors, now in ruins. The fullest accounts of the town are given among European travellers by Rubruk (Latin edition in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, 1839, iv. 345 sq.; transl. by W. W. Rockhill, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, especially p. 220 with the translator's notes) and among Muslim historians by Djuwaini [q. v.], *Ta'rikh-i Djihān Gushāi*, ed. Mirzā Muhammad Kazwini, especially i. 169 sq. and 192. The fullest account of the ruins (by the members of the Orkhon expedition of 1891) is in *Sbornik Trudov Orkhonskoy Ekspeditsii*, part i. (1892); in Radloff's *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei* is a plan of the ruins (Pl. xxxvi.) and a squeeze of a large (not completely preserved) Persian inscription (Pl. xlviii.); on the latter see E. Blochet in *T'oung Pao*, 1897, viii. 309 sqq. As Djuwaini rightly remarks, a little below Karakorum there were the ruins of the old (viiith—ixth century) Uighur capital Ordu-balīk ("court-town") which, from being in ruins, was then called Mo-balīk ("bad town") and is now known as Khara-Balgasun ("black town"). The city built by the Mongol Emperor Üdegei (1229—1241) was also at first officially known as Ordu-balīk; the name Karakorum was a popular one. On linguistic grounds Karakorum cannot, as Rockhill supposes, be a corruption of *Kara Kūren* ("black camp") but means "black debris" (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs* etc., s. v. *Korum*), a name still frequently found in mountainous regions. As Djuwaini expressly remarks, this was the original name of the mountain region round the sources of the Orkhon. The statement ascribed by Rockhill (following d'Ohsson) to Djuwaini that the town was half a farsakh long does not seem to be found in the printed text of the *Ta'rikh-i Djihān Gushāi* nor in manuscripts. Rubruk describes Karakorum as a small town not larger than the faubourg St. Denys in Paris; the monastery of St. Denys far surpassed in size the palace of the Mongol emperor. The ruins of the Mongol Karakorum indeed indicate a town of very moderate size; the Uighur Ordu-balīk was considerably larger. On the other hand there was much building in Karakorum during the city's brief period of splendour; Rubruk as well as Djuwaini give full descriptions of the imperial palaces built in the city and around it, some by Chinese and others by Muhammadan architects; according to Rubruk, Russian and Western European architects also shared in the building operations at a later date. Two farsakh east of Karakorum lay, according to Djuwaini, the palace of Targhū-balīk ("city of precious stuffs, brought as presents").

After the Mongol Emperors had removed their residence to China, Karakorum was only the seat of the governor of Mongolia; according to Marco Polo (transl. Yule-Cordier, London 1903, i. 226), who was not himself in Karakorum, the palace of the governor was in the citadel. After the Mongol dynasty was driven out of China (1368) the Emperors returned to Karakorum; after the dissolution of the dynasty in the xvth century the city lost all importance; at the present day the great Buddhist monastery of Erdeni-Tsu is there. (W. BARTHOLD)

KA-RA-KOYUN-LU (Turkish "those of the Black Sheep"), a Turkoman dynasty which reigned in Persia and Mesopotamia from 777 (1375) to 873 (1468). In the reign of the Djālirid Sultān Uwais, Bairām Khwādja, chief of the family of the Behārlu, had obtained an important position at the court of the Sultān through his valour; at the latter's death he seized al-Mawṣil, Sindjār and Ardjish. When he died in 782 = 1380, his son KA-RA MUĞAMMAD TÜRUSH, who was in the service of Sultān Aḥmad, son of Uwais, came back to succeed him and fell in a battle in Syria (792 = 1390). The son of this KA-RA MUĞAMMAD, KA-RA YUSUF, proclaimed himself independent and chose Tabriz as his capital. He made war on Timūr, took refuge with Bāyazīd Yildirim and took advantage of the conqueror's campaign in Asia Minor to seize Irāk 'Arabi, but he could not defend Baghdād against Mirzā Abū Bakr, sent against him by Timūr, and retired to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sultāns, who kept him prisoner for some time. On Timūr's death he was released, collected the thousand men who had accompanied him, took Diār Bakr after overcoming a thousand difficulties, defeated Mirzā Abū Bakr in the vicinity of Nakhcewān (809 = 1406), recaptured Tabriz and settled himself there. The following year he again defeated this prince, accompanied by his father Mirān Shāh, who fell on the field of battle. He took as colleague on the throne his son Pir Budaq, who had been adopted by Sultān Aḥmad. He took Diār Bakr from KA-RA OTHMĀN Bayandir, put Sultān Aḥmad to death after his defeat and capture not far from Tabriz, seized Irāk 'Arabi (813 = 1410) and made peace with KA-RA OTHMĀN after defeating him. He destroyed the army sent against him by Shāikh Ibrāhīm, king of Shirwān, and Kustendil, king of Georgia. In 822 (1419) he captured al-Sultāniya, Kazwin and Sāwa, towns of Irāk 'Adjami. Shāh Rukh, son and successor of Timūr, was leading a vast army against him when he fell ill and died in Dhu 'l-Hidjja of the same year (December) in the town of Udjan, at the age of 65, after reigning 14 years. His body was despoiled by the Turkomans and lay for two days without burial; then he was buried at Ardjish beside his grandfather Bairām Khwādja.

His eldest son Amir Iskandar, having reunited the scattered members of his tribe, took the field against Shāh Rukh and was defeated after a battle lasting two days (824 = 1421); but he seized the opportunity of his opponent's return to Khorāsān to regain Adharbaidjān. He defeated and slew Shams al-Dīn, Sultān of Akhlāt (828), Sultān Aḥmad, chief of the Kurds, and Izz al-Dīn Shīr (830 = 1426). He recaptured Shirwān and al-Sultāniya. He fought again with Shāh Rukh in 832 (1429) and, despite the bravery of his brother Djahān Shāh, he lost the battle and fled into Asia Minor; then, taking advantage of the fact that the Timūrid sovereign had placed on his throne his other brother Abū Sa'īd, he returned to the charge, captured his brother and put him to death. On the complaint of the people of Shirwān, who had been ruined by the plundering, Shāh Rukh sent a new army in 838 (1434) with which Djahān Shāh and Shāh 'Alī, his nephew, joined forces. Not being able to make a stand, Iskandar fled and came back again when Djahān Shāh had been installed by the Timūrid, but he was de-

feated and shut himself up in the castle of Alendjak, where he was murdered by his son Kobād at the instigation of one of his wives, who had fallen in love with the young man (841 = 1437). He had reigned for sixteen years.

Mirzā Djahān Shāh, appointed by Shāh Rukh (839 = 1435), engaged in the reorganisation of Adharbaidjān and added to it new provinces, Irāk 'Adjami (856 = 1452), Isfahān, in which the inhabitants were massacred, Fārs, Kirmān and Khorāsān (862 = 1458), where he established his capital in the town of Herāt. He was obliged to make peace with the Timūrid Sultān Abū Sa'īd, who took the field against him, by giving up the latter province to him because his son Hasan had escaped from his prison and had succeeded in taking Adharbaidjān. After an exceedingly swift march, on which he laid the country passed through waste and many beasts of burden perished, he captured his son and banished him from the country. Another of his sons, Pir Budaq, whom he had deprived of his office as governor of Fārs because of his evil conduct and relegated to Baghdād, rebelled in 869 (1465) and sustained a siege for a year. He then obtained by a ruse the submission of Pir Budaq, put him to death and replaced him by his other son Muhammad Mirzā. He reigned undisputed over the whole of Adharbaidjān, the two Irāks and Kirmān as well as over the coast of Omān. Winter prevented him from putting into operation his plans against Diār Bakr (871 = 1466). On his return, while out hunting, he was surprised by his enemy Ūzūn Ḥasan Bayandir and killed while trying to escape, at the age of 70 after a reign of 32 years (on the 12th of Rabi' II = Nov. 21).

Hasan 'Alī, his exiled son, whom Ūzūn Ḥasan had welcomed, and whose brain was affected by his 25 years in prison, gathered together a body of bad characters and marched on Tabriz where his brother Ḥusain 'Alī, the dervish, who had been crowned king in spite of himself, had just been murdered as a result of feminine intrigues. He ascended the throne, distributed his wealth to the mob and avenged his brother. Abandoned by the army leaders who went over to the camp of Ūzūn Ḥasan, he tried to raise the people of Hamadhān but was captured and put to death in 873 (1468). This was the end of the main branch of the family.

The branch which reigned at Baghdād consists of the following succession of princes: 1. Shāh Muḥammad, son of KA-RA YUSUF (died 837 = 1433), had been entrusted by his father with the administration of this province, but he was deprived of it after 23 years by 2. his brother Espān, who reigned 12 years and died in 848 (1444). 3. His son Fulād succeeded him; it was in his reign that Djahān Shāh took Baghdād and thus put an end to this line.

Bibliography: Mirkhwand, Rawdat al-Safā, the whole of Book vi. and particularly p. 133, 168, 188, 194, 210, 251, 260; Khwāndimīr, Ḥabīb al-Siyar, III, part iii., especially p. 101, 105, 115, 120, 124, 133; Munadjjim Bashi, iii. 149 sqq.; Cl. Huart, Histoire de Bagdad, p. 22—25. (CL. HUART)

KARAĞUM (Turkish "black sand"), a desert in Russian Turkestan, between the Amu Daryā, the Ust Urt and the ranges of hills on the Caspian, contrasted with Kizil-Kum ("red sand"),

the desert between the Sir Daryā and the Amū Daryā. The Karākum (area 148,000 sq. miles) is a still more dreary waste and possesses even fewer fertile areas than the Kizil-kum. The sandy stretches north of the Sir as far as Lake Balkar are called "little Karākum"; cf. Franz Mahatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, p. 15 sq., 285 and Index. The Karākum mentioned by Djawaini in the *Ta'rikh-i Džihān Gushāi* is, in the opinion of the editor, probably identical with the little Karākum (the readings of the MSS. are not certain; cf. edition by Mirzā Muḥ. Kazwini, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xvi., part i. 69 sq., ii. 101 sq.).

(W. BARTHOLO)

KARAKŪSH, BAḤĀ' AL-DIN IBN 'ABD ALLAH (i.e. son of an unknown father) AL-ASADĪ (mamlūk of Asad al-Din Shīrkūh) AL-RŪMĪ (born in Asia Minor) AL-MAIKĪ AL-NĀSIRĪ, officer of Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (i.e. Saladin), a eunuch, received his liberty from Shīrkūh and was appointed an Amīr. By the time of Shīrkūh's death (564 = 1169) he was already playing an influential part; it is said that it was due to him and the Qāḍī 'Isā al-Ḥakkārī that the Caliph al-Āḍid appointed Saladin vizier. After the suppression of the rebellion fomented after al-Āḍid's death by his Chamberlain, the eunuch Mu'taman al-Khillāṣ, Karākūsh was appointed Chamberlain. In this capacity he had the surveillance of the family of the late Caliph and is said to have administered his office with great strictness. To prevent the family of the Caliph increasing, he separated men and women. Saladin gave him the task of building the citadel of Cairo and extending the city walls to include Cairo and Fustāt; later he was asked to fortify and defend 'Akkā. When the town fell in 587 (1191) after eighteen months' fighting he was taken prisoner; Saladin ransomed him a few months later for the high sum of 20,000 dinārs. After the death of Saladin in 589 (1193) he entered the service of his son al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Uthmān and was trusted to represent the Sultān when the latter was out of Egypt. When the Sultān felt his end approaching (595 = 1199) he designated his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr his successor and Karākūsh his regent. In keeping with this wish, the young ruler appointed him Atābeg although Karākūsh was now very old. He only held his post for a very short time as most of the Amīrs and the head of the chancellery, Ibn Mammātī, declared him incapable of ruling, presumably on account of his great age. His supporters, who considered him the most worthy, consulted Saladin's adviser, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil [q. v.], but the latter, who had retired from political life, would not be drawn into the question. Finally the Amīrs asked al-Manṣūr's uncle, al-Malik al-Aḥḍal, to take over the regency. After this we find only one mention of Karākūsh, when Sultān al-Āḍil, who had seized the throne in 596 (1200), had two of his nephews taken to the house of Karākūsh as prisoners. He died a year later. Contemporary historians, like Imād al-Din al-Kātib al-Iṣḥānī, bestow the highest praise upon him, as do later writers, like al-Maḥrizī and Ibn Taghribirdī, and describe him as the ablest man of his day. They give him particular credit for his activity as a builder. Besides the buildings already mentioned, his house, his hippodrome and the bridge at Gizeh, which he built out of stones from the Pyramids at Memphis, are mentioned.

In the same period a "Karākūsh" became notorious as a type of stupidity. A series of ah and verdicts are related in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Faṣḥāh* [? *Al-Ḥikm al-Faṣḥāh*], "the book of the stupidity in the judgments of Karākūsh". According to Ḥajjājī Khalīfa, the above mentioned Ibn Mammātī was the author of this book. Casanova (see *Bibl.*) in his elaborate study on Karākūsh quotes three manuscripts: 1) a Cairo manuscript which contains a brief selection from the *Kitāb al-Faṣḥāh*; the author is there given as Ibn Mammātī; 2) a Paris manuscript the author of which is given as al-Sūyūṭī, certainly wrongly as in the introduction Ibn Taghribirdī is wrongly quoted and given a wrong praenomen, which one can hardly credit of al-Sūyūṭī; 3) a Cairo manuscript which is a later version, in which Karākūsh is called a Sultān and the number of his "verdicts" is increased, by 'Abd al-Salām al-Laḥnī of the year 1200 (1786). These "verdicts" have nothing to do with state-craft but are court verdicts; they are typical, well known anecdotes, current among other nations also. A special investigation has not yet been made of the problem. Casanova endeavours to show that the work is a pamphlet against Karākūsh, whom, he says, Ibn Mammātī hated as an exceedingly severe man. It is not known whether Ibn Mammātī collected and published these anecdotes in the life-time of Karākūsh. Ibn Khallikān rightly points out that it is impossible that a man such as is described in the anecdotes could have held high offices of state. Nor is anything known of a particular feud between Ibn Mammātī and Karākūsh except that Ibn Mammātī had protested in 595 (1199) against the appointment of this then very old man; Karākūsh is described by the Frankish chroniclers as advanced in years even in 585 (1189) at the siege of 'Akkā; he is said even to have known Godfrey de Bouillon. One thing is clear from Ibn Khallikān's observation: the anecdotes given by Ibn Mammātī were referred to our Karākūsh.

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KARAM (BANU 'I-), a dynasty of 'Adn, from 476—533 (1083—1138) conducted an Ismā'īlī condominium — at first as viceroys of the Sulāhidids of San'a — in two branches, the Banū Mas'ūd and the Banū 'Abbās Abi 'I-Zurā'i; from 533—569 (1138—1173) the latter alone — the Zurā'idis, also called Banu 'I-Dhī'b (sons of the wolf) — held the now independent sultanate, only recognising the Caliphate of the Fāṭimids.

The Banu 'I-Karam belonged to the Djuṣham clan of the tribe of Yām in the Hamḍān group and were closely related to the Sulāhidids [q. v.]. They were therefore the principal supporters of

the founder of this dynasty, the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimī *dā'i* 'Alī b. Muḥammad and of his son and successor al-Mukarram. When the Banū Ma'n, whom the *Dā'i* had allowed to remain as vassals after the conquest of 'Aden in 439 (1047), rebelled, al-Mukarram and his wife, the Sultāna Saiyida Ḥurra, to whom 'Aden belonged as her dowry, transferred the governorship to the two brothers Mas'ūd and 'Abbās, sons of al-Karam, in 476 (1083); the former received the castle of al-Khaḍrā' and the revenues of the coast-lands while the latter got the revenues of the landward part of the country and the castle of al-Ta'kir at the gateway to the interior (not to be confused with the stronghold of the same name above Djubla, not far from the road from Djanad to Yarim). Their joint annual tribute amounted to 100,000 dinārs. Mas'ūd and al-Zurāi', son and successor of 'Abbās, fell before the gates of Zabīd, performing their feudal duty under the command of the major-domo of the Saiyida, al-Mufaḍḍal Abi 'l-Barakāt. The division of the territory into two parts was for the time being maintained. Mas'ūd was followed in succession by his son b. 'Abu 'l-Gharāt and the latter's sons Muḥammad and 'Alī; al-Zurāi's heir was his son Abu Su'ūd and the latter's son Sabā. But the manner of division of the country afforded the latter line an advantage from the first in view of greater facilities for expansion into the interior and the easier defence of the strongholds won by the two families there. It was the mountains in the north of the al-Ma'āfir district that were specially concerned. It proved to be of importance that al-Zurāi' had taken possession of Dumluwa in 480 (1087), a fortress in the Djabal al-Šilw above the bend where the road from Djanad has to curve round the mountain and is at its farthest east point. Under the vigorous Sabā, if not earlier, not only had their lands there been considerably increased but even Dhubbān about 100 miles W. N. W. of 'Aden on the road to Mokhā and Zabīd had been occupied. Sabā's father, along with Abu 'l-Gharāt, had succeeded in getting the tribute reduced to half and then to a quarter by successfully refusing to pay more to the Saiyida. Sabā was able to stop it altogether when the difficulties of the widow increased. The changed conditions attracted attention in Cairo: the eleventh Fāṭimid, al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Madjid, soon after his accession received Sabā into the Ismā'īlī hierarchy as *dā'i* in 525 (1131). Dumluwa remained the royal residence. A two years' war in the Wādī Laḥdj brought about a decision between the families of the two brothers. 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Gharāt began by purchasing the support of numerous warriors. When he had shot his bolt, Sabā gained the upper hand by throwing his great wealth into the conflict and 300,000 borrowed dinārs in addition. He was finally victorious on the same day, it is said, as his ally in 'Aden, Bilāl b. Djarīr, stormed the castle of al-Khaḍrā'.

Henceforth the ZURAI'D'S ruled alone. But Sabā died six months after his entry into 'Aden in 533 (1138). He is buried there at the foot of al-Ta'kir. By the next year his son and successor 'Alī al-A'azz had died of consumption. He had designated as his successors his infant sons, who were in Dumluwa under the guardianship of their tutor Anīs and the minister Yahyā b. 'Alī. But Bilāl, whom he had dismissed and menaced, was

now in 'Aden and gave the crown to another son of his former patron Sabā, namely Muḥammad who had taken refuge from 'Alī al-A'azz on his father's death with Maṣṣūr, son of the above mentioned major-domo al-Mufaḍḍal. The reign of this Muḥammad b. Sabā from 534 to 548 or 550 (1139 to 1153 or 1155) marks the zenith of Zurāi'd power. He put to death the last prince of the line of Mas'ūd in 545 (1150/1), 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Gharāt, who had still held out after his defeat with some members of his family and a few faithful followers in a few mountain strongholds, for example in the Djabal Munif, north of Laḥdj. In 547 (1152/3) he purchased from his former protector Maṣṣūr, the heir of Saiyida, 28 towns and strongholds including al-Ta'kir with Djubla and Ibb in the north-east and Dhū Ashraḥ in the south-east. He had received the rank of *dā'i* immediately after his accession, for the Qādī sent from Cairo to invest 'Alī al-A'azz found Muḥammad already in actual power. It is to this ruler that we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the history of the Zurāi'ds. For, with some men not so fully interviewed, like Anīs and Bilāl already mentioned, he is the main authority for the section on the dynasty in the *Ta'rikh al-Yaman* of 'Umāra, who visited him personally and on 'Umāra are based e. g. al-Djanādī, al-Khazraḍjī and Ibn Khaldūn. 'Umāra praises Muḥammad very highly, notably as a Maecenas. But one cannot help thinking that he — himself an enthusiastic Ismā'īlī — was biased in favour of his royal co-religionists. Whether Muḥammad for the rest interpreted his duties as *dā'i* in a religious sense, we do not know nor can we tell whether the request of the founder of the Mahdī dynasty, 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, who had asked Muḥammad in the presence of 'Umāra in an audience shortly before his death for help against Zabīd, was rejected for purely political and military reasons or for religious reasons as well. In his son and successor 'Imrān the religious interest predominated. The real power passed into the hands of the vizier family of Bilāl. The latter himself, who had already had the share in the government in the reign of Muḥammad, which was due him for his help in securing the throne, had died not long before — or very shortly after — the change in the throne, leaving a vast estate. He was succeeded in office first by his son Muḍāfi' and after the latter's early death by his other son Yāsir who ruled quite independently. When 'Imrān died in 560 (1164/5) and in keeping with his wishes was buried in Mekka, Yāsir had his 3 sons, who were still minors, imprisoned in Dumluwa in charge of the eunuch Abu 'l-Durr Djawhar al-Mu'azzamī. But the Zurāi'ds were to be spared the fate of being definitely dethroned by their own people. The last blow came from without: in 569 (1173/4) Saladin's brother Tūrānshāh conquered 'Aden along with the rest of Yemen. In the following year Djawhar surrendered him Dumluwa by treaty and a year later Tūrānshāh had Yāsir, whose hiding-place was betrayed, beheaded.

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the Gibb Memorial Series, iii./i. (1906), p. 15, 18 sqq.; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894, p. 97.

(R. STROTHMANN)

KARĀMA is strictly the infinitive of *karuma* (to be *karīm* "generous" in the widest sense); but in usage it is a noun of similar meaning to *ikrām* and *takrīm*, to show one's self *karīm* to any one (*Lisān*, xv. 456, 3 sqq.). It does not occur in the *Qur'ān* although *karīm* is very frequently used of Allāh and his workings (al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt*, *sub voce*). It has come, therefore, in the devotional language of Islām, to mean the exhibition by Allāh of his generosity, favour, protection, help towards any one, e.g. al-Baidāwī on *Qur.* x. 63 (ed. Fleischer, i. 419, *ult.*), a *locus classicus* on the *walīs*; and *karāmāt* mean individual cases of this generosity. In a special sense, the *karāmāt* then come to mean the miraculous gifts and graces with which Allāh surrounds, protects and aids his Saints (*al-awliyā*). A *Qur'ānic* basis for these was sought in the story (*Qur.* iii. 32) of the food which came miraculously to Maryam in the locked *mīhrāb* and in the transporting in a moment from Yemen of the throne of Bilkīs by a unnamed companion of Solomon (*Qur.* xxvii. 40). As neither Maryam nor the unnamed companion was a prophet these could not be evidentiary miracles (*mu'djizāt*). See the whole discussion in al-Taftazānī on al-Nasafī's 'Aḳā'id, Cairo 1321, pp. 134 sqq. But the real basis lay in the innumerable narratives of *karāmāt* in the lives of the *walīs*, exaggerated and distorted reflections of indubitable facts in the ecstatic religious life. The fact of these all orthodox Islām admits, even so philosophical an historian as Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, i. 169, 199; transl. de Slane, i. 190, 227) and a peripatetic philosopher like Ibn Sīnā (*Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, pp. 209, 219, 221 sqq.). These were evidently driven by the pressure of facts to fall back on the hypothesis of still unsolved mysteries in nature; cf. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, p. 139, note 3. Only the Mu'tazilites, who were certain that nature held no mysteries for them and that they need only apply reason to their theological positions, protested and found, even in the *Qur'ān*, basis for their protest. See al-Zamakhsharī on *Qur.* lxxii. 26, 27 (*al-Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, ii. 1539) and on the whole development Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 sqq. The coincidence in sound, in derivation and in meaning between these *karāmāt* and the *χαρίσματα* of the early Christian Church (1 Cor. xii.) is most striking and can hardly be accidental. The religious phenomena behind both are the same; but the verbal link is not clear; the Syriac Church called the *χαρίσματα* simply "gifts", *mauḥabāt*, in Arabic, *mawāhib*, which indeed occurs in this sense; it is possible that the Greek word taken over into Syriac may have suggested to users of Arabic their own *karāmāt*. Technically, such a *karāma* is one of the *khawāriḳ al-āda*, "the breakers of usage"; for there is no Nature in orthodox Islām, only, and at best, a custom which Allāh has established (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 130). It differs from the *mu'djiza* or "evidentiary miracle" in that it is not worked by Allāh for a prophet in proof of his mission and is not accompanied by a *da'wā nubūwa* or a *taḥaddī*, a claim of prophetship or a challenge to the unbeliever. It differs from the

ma'ūna, "help", in that while the recipient of the *ma'ūna* is a Muslim he has had no special religious experience; and from the *irhās*, an anticipatory miracle worked for a prophet before his call. It differs from the *istidrāj* and *iḥāna* as these are wrought at the instance of unbelievers to lead them astray and bring them to shame (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i. 444 sqq.; al-Nasafī, 'Aḳā'id, *loc. cit.* with accomp. commentaries). A *walī* should conceal his wonders, while a prophet must display them; a *walī* may not know about them, while a prophet cannot help knowing. Yet the *karāma* of a *walī* may be regarded as a *mu'djiza* for the prophet whose follower he is. Finally, a *walī* should disregard them as much as possible and should look on them as tests rather than as privileges.

Bibliography: al-Ḳushairī, *al-Kisāla*, Būlāḳ 1290, with commentaries, iv. 146 sqq. (cf. Richard Hartmann, *Das Šūfītum nach al-Ḳushairī*; Goldziher, *Muhammed. Studien*, ii. 372 sqq.; al-Idrī, *Mawāḳif*, Būlāḳ 1266, with comm. of al-Djurdjānī, pp. 578 sqq., pp. 547 sqq.; Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥdūd*, transl. by R. A. Nicholson, by index; al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, passim; Yūsuf al-Nabahānī, *Djāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā*, Cairo 1329 (a great thesaurus of legend); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat al-Nuẓẓār*, passim; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Lectures 3—7, 9. (D. B. MACDONALD)

KARAMĀN is the name — derived from the Turkoman dynasty of the Karamān-Oghlu [q.v.] — 1) of a district in Asia Minor, 2) of a town in Turkey, capital of a *qaḍā* of the same name.

The boundaries of the district of Karamān (Karamān-ili, Caramania) have varied. All the lands which were permanently under the Karamānids are occasionally so called, that is Lycaonia, the Cilician Taurus and the whole southern Anatolian coast territory as far as Adalia. When the Karamānids were finally overthrown, their lands became one Ottoman province (*wilāyet*) with Konya as the residence of the Pasha. The sandjak of İč-ili [q.v.] was afterwards separated from the Pashalik; the northern larger portion was called Khāridj, probably in contrast to İč-ili (Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 615 sq.; cf. also Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhat-nāma*, Constantinople 1314—18, iii. 20), and comprised in the xviii century the sandjaks of Aḳsarāi, Aḳ-shehir, Konya, Kır-Shehir, Kaışariya, Nigde. After the administrative reforms of 1861, the name of the province was changed to Konya [q.v.]. The population of Caramania is overwhelmingly Turkish (picture of a Muslim of Caramania in d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1786—1820, ii., opposite p. 137); even the Greeks, or at least those inhabitants who belong to the orthodox Greek church, speak Turkish. They are known as Karamānlı and write Turkish in Greek letters; in Constantinople they have their newspaper *Nea Anatoli* printed in this way. During the nationalist fighting in 1919 and 1920, the Karamānlı under the protection of the nationalist government cast off the Oecumenian Patriarch and for a time chose a patriarch of their own. They are very probably not Greeks at all by origin but descendants of the ancient Lycaonians. In the mountains of Caramania live Yürüks and Turkomans. The name Caramania for the coastlands from Mersina to Adalia seems to have become

obsolete. In 1812 it was described by Fr. Beaufort in his book *Karamania* (second edition, London 1818).

2. The town of Karamān is the ancient Lāranda (Τὰ Λάρανδα; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz. d. class. Altertumswiss.* xii.¹ col. 793). It lies 35 miles S. E. of Konya in the plain at the foot of the Taurus, on one of the great roads which lead from the coast (Selefke) across the Taurus into the interior of Anatolia. It is not known when it fell into the hands of the Saldjūks for the first time; as was the case in the rest of Anatolia, the process of islamisation probably was rapidly completed here. Lāranda also belonged to the Dānishmandids from whom Kılıdġ Arslan retook it in 1165 (Michael Syrus in the *Rec. des Hist. des Crois., Doc. Arm.*, i. 360). In 1190 Frederick I Barbarossa entered Lāranda on his way to Cilicia and in 1210 it again fell into the hands of the Christians when Leon II, King of Armenia, conquered it for the Knights-Hospitaller. In 1216 it had, however, again to be surrendered to Sultān 'Izz al-Dīn Kaika'ūs (*Rec. etc., Doc. Arm.*, i. 644). Shortly afterwards (about 1230) Lāranda was among the towns which were abandoned to the invading Khwārizmis (Ibn Bibī in Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes rel. aux Seldjucides*, iv. 191). In connection with this event Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, father of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, migrated about this time from Khorāsān to Lāranda where Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī married in 623 (1226) and where Sultān Walad was born (*Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, transl. by Huart, i., Paris 1918, p. 19, 26, 268).

The town attained great importance through the dynasty of the Karamān-Oghlu [q. v.] who made it their capital in the beginning of the xivth century, when they did not yet feel secure in Konya. Several princes of this dynasty lived there even at a later period. They embellished the town with fine buildings and fortified the citadel. During this period the town was often under Egyptian suzerainty (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Paris, ii. 284; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Maṣālik al-Aṣṣār*, in the *N. E.*, xii. 342 sq.). In the wars with the Ottomans, Lāranda was repeatedly occupied by the latter and the Karamānid ruler was forced to take refuge in the mountains. Finally in 1467 it was captured under Mehmed II and totally incorporated in the Ottoman Empire in 1486 by Bāyazīd II. Henceforth Lāranda was known as Karamān, although the old name has always been retained in official language.

The modern Karamān is a town of about 5,000 inhabitants (according to Banse, p. 106; *Kāmūs al-A'lām* gives 7,500, 'Alī Djawād 10,000). It lies on a low hill on the southern edge of the Lycaonian plain about 4,000 feet above sea-level. The highest part of the hill (about 300 feet higher) has on it the citadel now falling to pieces; it consisted of round and square towers linked by walls; the outer wall is built from stones from older buildings with Arabic inscriptions. Among the most important buildings of the Karamānid period is the Emīr Mūsā Medresesi where several princes of the dynasty are buried. The dome has fallen in; pillars of it are still standing which once belonged to Roman buildings. There is also the Khātūniye Medresesi, one of the finest buildings of the Karamānid period (pictures in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 118 and 126, and

Woermann, *Gesch. d. Kunst*, ii. 446). According to the inscription (*Tārīkh-i 'Othmānī Endjūmeni Maḍmū'as*? [also entitled *Revue historique publ. par l'Institut d'histoire ottomane*], N^o. 11, p. 711), it was built in 783 (1381) by the daughter of Murād I, who married the Karamān-Oghlu 'Alā' al-Dīn (or 'Alī); there is now very little left of it. Mention may also be made of the *sāwiya* built by the same 'Alā' al-Dīn in 772 (1370), where Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī's mother is reputed to be buried (now called Agha Tekke; cf. van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 116), and of the *türbe* where the Karamānid Ibrāhīm Beg and two of his sons are buried. The inscriptions in it are now destroyed (*T.O.E.M.*, N^o. 13, p. 831). The *türbe* is situated near the Karamān-Oghlu mosque or 'Imāret Djamī'i which was founded by this same Ibrāhīm Beg in 836 (1432) (picture in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 127) and has a finely ornamented gateway and is richly adorned with tiles in the interior.

The houses of the town are built of clay (*toprak*); the inhabitants are reputed to be very dirty and the climate with its great variations in temperature here is said to be very unhealthy. There are a number of looms (*kelim*'s and *soḡdġāda*'s) in Karamān and tanneries. The town is on the Anatolian Railway between Konya and Ereğli; it has always been an important station on the trade route to Cilicia.

The Kaḍā of the same name, the capital of which is Karamān, belongs to the sandjak of Konya. It has about 30,000 inhabitants (according to Cuinet 21, 417) of whom the great majority are Muḥammadans. The Taurus in the south is here called Ālā Dagħ and in the north rises the Kāra Dagħ. As the chalk soil is as a rule well watered by the streams from the Taurus there are good crops. Most of the farmers in the plains are Muhādġirs (settlers from Rumelia). The mountain valleys are tilled by Turkomans who have settled there. The produce of the soil consists of different cereals, vegetables, fruit (raisins), cotton and opium. Salt is also produced. The wool for the carpet factories is yielded by the many sheep reared there.

Bibliography: Hādġdġi Khalifa, *Dihān-numā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 615 sq.; Sāmi, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3644 sq.; *N. E.*, xiii. 375 (where Quatremère in a note gives various MS. sources); E. Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, London 1879, p. 290 sq.; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, ii. 322 sq.; G. Rosen in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, ii. vol. 33, 29 sqq.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i., Paris 1892, p. 802, 810; E. Banse, *Die Türkei*³, Braunschweig 1919, p. 106; Max van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften in Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, p. 114—131; 'Alī Djawād, *Tārīkh wa-Djughrāfiya Lughati*, Constantinople 1313, p. 606; Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1849, ii. 131.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KARAMĀNĪ MEHMET PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Vizier and historian. He first saw the light, probably in Karamania, as son of a certain 'Arif Çelebi and was a descendant of the great mystic Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī [q. v.]. He seems to have come when quite young to Sтамbul where he made the acquaintance of the celebrated

Grand Vizier Mahmūd Pasha-i Weli [q.v., executed 1474] and through his influence was educated in a medrese founded by him (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ii. 123 sq.). At an early age — in 869 (1464), it is said — he became secretary of state to the signet (*nishāndji*) with the rank of vizier. But in 862 (1454—5) i. e. soon after the capture of Constantinople he must already have been in high office, as is shown by the epithets *al-Amir al-khaṭir wa'l-wazir al-kabir* in his Arabic grant of foundation (*waḳfiya*), dated Dhu'l-Ka'da 4, 862 (= Sept. 13, 1458), in the Pruss. Nat. Library in Berlin (cf. W. Ahlwardt, *Katalog der Ar. Hss.*, iv. 227, N^o. 4763, fol. 74 sqq.).

He attracted the attention of Mehmed II, the Conqueror, more and more, became his adviser in the organisation of the offices of state and in the making of new laws. The celebrated *Kanūn-nāme* (cf. *Mitt. zur osm. Gesch.*, i. 131 sqq., Vienna 1921) is probably for the most part his work. When in May, 1478 the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Gedik Pasha was dismissed, Mehmed II summoned the unwarlike but intellectually distinguished Mehmed Pasha to be Grand Vizier. As such he achieved fame by composing a dispatch to Uzun Ḥasan, praised alike for style and matter (cf. Feridūn Bey, *Munshi'āt al-Salāṭin*², Stambul 1274, ..). On Rabi' I 5, 886 = May 4, 1481, on the day after Mehmed's death he was most cruelly murdered by mutinous janissaries in Stambul in the Takht al-Qal'a (Um Ḳapan) quarter (cf. M. Guazzo, *Historie ove se contengono le guerre di Mahometto*, Venice 1545, p. 282; cf. also Andrea Navagero in Muratori, *Rerum italic. script.*, xxiii. 1167, Milan 1733). He is buried in Stambul near the Kum Kapu in the new Nishāndji mosque called after him (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadiqat al-Djāwāmi'*, Stambul 1281, i. 209; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, ix. 90, N^o. 449; do., *Constantinopolis*, Pest 1822, i. 430; (Sehri's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 23, 10, is incorrect). Mehmed Pasha also dabbled in poetry and published his verses under the *makhlas* Nishāni. He is more important as a historian. He wrote a treatise (*risāla*) in two parts (*ḥisn*) on the history of the Ottoman Empire; the first part covers the period from 'Othmān to Mehmed II (1451), the second from 1451 to 1480 (885) i. e. to shortly before the deaths of Mehmed II and himself. Specimens of the work, which is written in Arabic, were published in Turkish by Mukrimin Khalil in the *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv., Stambul 1924, part 2 and 3, from the MS. in the Aya Sofia, N^o. 3204 (*Defter*, p. 192). The historian Rūḥi Edrenevī [q.v.] follows him.

Ḳ. M. P. had two wives, through whom he became connected with famous and wealthy families viz.: Shāh Khatun, daughter of the celebrated author 'Alā' al-Din 'Alī al-Bistāmi (called Muṣannifek, cf. i. 734; he was also a politician, cf. Kritoboulos, ed. C. Müller, p. 146: Σάμιος 'Αλῆ and Chalkokondylas, ed. I. Bekker, p. 526, 17) and Sitti Sultān Khatun, daughter of the wellknown chief of 'Alā'iya, Luṭfi Beg, cf. Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, iii. 284 sqq. and L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, iii. 64—68, Paris 1861, and 'Ashikpashazāde, *Tārikh*, Stambul 1332, p. 174 and 192). By his first marriage he had a son, Zein al-'Ābidin 'Alī Ćelebi, from the second a daughter, Rukaiye Khatun. His marriage with the daughter of the Beg 'Alā'iya (q. v. in-

corporated in the Ottoman Empire in 1471) apparently brought him considerable wealth, which he used for splendid endowments in Constantinople and Adrianople. This explains the hitherto obscure spiteful passage in the history of 'Ashikpashazāde, *Tārikh*, p. 192, where all sorts of wicked things are said about the "*nishāndji pasha*", which must be due to personal quarrels (probably the withdrawal of *waḳf*-states in Elwān Ćelebi).

A grandson of Karamāni Muṣtafā Pashā, son of the above Zein al-'Ābidin 'Alī Ćelebi, was the Molla Muṣtafā (d. 966, 1558, cf. 'Aṭā'i, *Dhail* to the *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, Stambul 1288, p. 15 sq.); the statement that the family of Kara Ćelebi-zāde goes back to Ḳ. M. P. (*Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, ii. 111) is probably based on confusion with the vizier Rūmī Mehmed Pasha (cf. Ismā'il Beligh Brūsewi, *Güldeste-i Riyāḍ-i 'Irfān*, Brussa 1302, p. 314 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 129, N^o. 754; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadiqat al-Djāwāmi'*, ii. 195).

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

KARAMANLI, a family who ruled Tripolitania in almost complete independence from 1711 to 1835. The founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad Karamanli, seems to have been a Kulughli. In 1123 (1711) he took advantage of the absence of the Pasha Muḥammad Abū Ammis to have himself proclaimed by the people, conquered and killed at Zuwāgha Khalil Pasha who was sent to overthrow him, bribed Muḥammad Pasha who commanded a new expedition (1124 = 1712) and purchased from Sultān Aḥmad III a *firmān* confirming him in authority with the title of *beylerbey*. He put down insurrections at Tādjūrā and Maslāta and that of 'Alī al-Ṣanhādjī, gave the government of Barḳa and of Benghazi to his brother al-Ḥādjdi Shābān Bey, who was killed ten years later in a rebellion suppressed by the Pasha. He also rebuilt the fortifications of Tripoli, notably the Burdj al-Mandrik, and built near the gate of Manshiya the mosque which bears his name and the madrasa adjoining it. In his reign a French squadron bombarded Tripoli in 1728 (1141—1142) and a treaty was concluded which lasted till 1766 (1180—1181).

He was succeeded in 1158 (1745—46) by his son Muḥammad Pasha under whom piracy developed and who concluded a treaty with England. He died in 1167 (1753—1754) leaving the power to his son 'Alī Pasha. In his reign the reins of authority became more and more loose and thefts and murders made life in Tripoli miserable; the troops were no longer paid regularly, the people

thought of appealing to the Porte. Matters were made worse by divisions in the family of the Pasha. His third son, Yūsuf, had his eldest brother Ḥasan assassinated on his authority in the arms of his mother (1790 = 1205—1206), then, supported by the Shaikh Khalifa b. Maḥmūd, chief of the Djabal Nafūsa, he rallied under his flag the Arab and Berber population hostile to the Turks, openly raised the standard of revolt against his father and besieged Tripoli. On these events, an adventurer named 'Alī Pasha Burghūl, a former official of the Odjak of Algiers, succeeded in obtaining a *firmān* from the Porte and seized Tripoli. In face of a common enemy, the Karamanli were reconciled and asked help from the Bey of Tunis, Ḥamda Pasha, who was also threatened by the return offensive of the Turks against their former Barbary possessions. With a Tunisian army they retook Djerba commanded by an ally of the usurper, Kara Muḥammad al-Turkī, and Tripoli in which 'Alī Burghūl had made himself detested by both Arab and Jew (Djumādā II 25, 1209 = Jan. 16, 1795). The latter fled to the East and in 1803 he succeeded in getting himself appointed Pasha of Egypt but was assassinated by a Mamlūk as soon as he arrived.

'Alī Pasha's rule was transitory; his son Aḥmad II Bey was next proclaimed. But taking advantage of his absence in Tādjūrā, his brother Yūsuf Bey had himself proclaimed (1210 = 1795—1796) and received a *firmān* from Sulṭān Selīm confirming him in his dignity. Aḥmad resided at Derneh with the title of Bey.

Yūsuf was the most important ruler of the Karamanli dynasty. He completed the fortifications of Tripoli, built a navy with which he forced Sweden to pay tribute to him (1213 = 1798—1799) and in secret agreement with Napoleon resisted Portugal whose fleet commanded by the English captain Campbell bombarded Tripoli. This expedition was celebrated in a Latin poem (*Carmen heroicum de rebus a Lusitanis ad Tripolim gestis*, Lisbon 1800; 2nd edition with French transl., Paris 1846, *La guerre de Tripoli*). Yūsuf had to sustain a more serious fight with the United States (1217 = 1801—3). An expedition commanded by Commodore Morris and another under Commodore Barron forced Yūsuf to accept a treaty which abolished the enslaving of Christians (Rabī I 4, 1220 = June 4, 1805). The Americans had tried to use the help of the Bey of Derneh, Aḥmad, brother of the Pasha; they deported him to Egypt after the peace. In 1232 (1815) the cruiser Decatur confirmed the advantages previously obtained; on the relations of Tripolitania with the United States see E. Dupuy, *Américains et Barbaresques*, Paris 1910, p. 132—297; Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs*, London 1890, p. 274—291. A little later all the countries of Europe, even the weakest, supported by the strongest, finally succeeded in disposing of the last attempts at piracy (on the relations of Tripoli with France see E. de la Primaudaie, *Le littoral de la Tripolitaine*, Paris 1866, p. 182—195, and with England see the references given by Playfair, *The Bibliography of the Barbary States*, i. *Tripoli*, London non dated, p. 49—52).

In addition to these difficulties, Yūsuf had to suppress revolts in the interior of the country; those of Gharyān in 1218 (1803—1804), of Ghadāmes in 1221—1225 (1806—1810), of Maḥmūd Sharīf, governor of Fezzān, in 1227 (1812), of the

Djabal Nafūsain in 1231—1236 (1815—1821) and of his own eldest son Muḥammad in the east of the regency in 1237 (1821—1822) (cf. Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli alla frontiera occidentale dell'Egitto*, Geneva 1819, p. 19—23), without reckoning the intertribal wars such as that between the B. Bishr and the B. Saif al-Naṣr (cf. Muḥammad al-Tūnisi, *Voyage au Ouadāi*, French transl., Paris 1891, p. 564—565) or that of the Sort and the Abufela. Fezzān, to add to his troubles, made itself independent under 'Abd al-Djalil b. Ghāith of the Saif al-Naṣr, whom Yūsuf had sent to suppress a rising of the Bornu (1242—1246 = 1826—1830). Deprived of the resources supplied him by piracy, Yūsuf sought to procure supplies by imposing extraordinary super-taxes on the Jews whom he had at first protected, then by altering the value of the coins and finally by imposing a tax on gardens. The revolt became general; the insurgents meeting together at Manṣhiya proclaimed the dethronement of Yūsuf and replaced him by one of his grandsons, Muḥammad (according to others Aḥmad), and came to besiege Tripoli. An army led by the two sons of the Pasha was forced to retreat; not having succeeded in getting the help of the Bey of Tunis Yūsuf decided to abdicate. He did this in favour of his son 'Alī but this step only increased the troubles. If the European Consuls, 'Abd al-Djalil, master of Fezzān, Ghūma, chief of the Djabal Nafūsa, recognised 'Alī, the rest of the country remained faithful to Muḥammad. The Ottoman Porte took advantage of the occasion with the secret support of England; after having sent a *firmān* to 'Alī, Turkey sent out under the command of Naḍjib Pasha a fleet which took Tripoli without striking a blow (Muḥarram, 1251 = May, 1835) and reestablished the authority of the Porte in Tripolitania. Yūsuf remained till his death a prisoner in his own house, 'Alī was deported to Constantinople, Muḥammad committed suicide and his brother Aḥmad fled to Malta.

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and R. Basset, *Mission en Tunisie*, vol. i., *Epigraphie tunisienne*, Algiers 1882, p. 29—40; Cooper, *The Hill of the Graces*, London 1902, p. 44.

(RENÉ BASSET)

KARAMĀN-OGHLU, the most important of the various Turkoman dynasties, which arose in Asia Minor after the break up of the Saldjūk empire at the end of the viith (xiiith) century. They were for a time the most serious rivals of the Ottomans. The name goes back in the first place to the Turkoman chief Karamān, who attained a certain degree of independence during the Mongol troubles in the middle of the viith (xiiith) century and was granted by the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn a territory, from which he himself had come, in Cilicia. His native district was then known as Kāmar al-Dīn-Ili (now Iḷ-Ili) after the Amir Kāmar al-Dīn, who had been appointed commander of the conquered Armenian fortresses after the war between 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād I and Lesser Armenia (625 = 1223; Ibn Bibī in Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii. 329). Munadjdjim Bāshī (iii. 24) derives the name Karamān from Kāmar al-Dīn, following Ibn Bibī's statement. This explanation of the name is hardly more than a popular etymology. The derivation from a geographical or ethnic name is nevertheless very probable as similar derivations are found among other Asia Minor dynasties and elsewhere (cf. Izmir-Oghlu, Germiyan-Oghlu [q. v.]). It is most probable, that the Karamānids originated in the subdivision of the Turkoman tribe of Sālūr [q. v.] called Karamān. That the town of Lāranda and the surrounding country later became called Karamān [q. v.] and that even the whole southern coast territory of Anatolia is called Karamania, is however due to the name of the dynasty itself. Among the older Ottoman chroniclers the general name Karamān-Oghlu is used almost regularly for every reigning Beg of the dynasty and the European authors of the xvth century also speak of the "Grand Karaman". The Byzantine authors have never had a clear idea of the identity of the Karamān-Oghlu. They confuse them with the Geruiyān-Oghlu and sometimes call the princes of Kōnya Ἀλιδέρσιος Ἀλιζούριος etc. which goes back to the Germiyan-Oghlu 'Alī Shīr.

There are two kinds of sources for the earliest history of the Karamānids. The one is hostile to them; it belongs to the school of Saldjūk historians and is represented by Ibn Bibī and the later Ottoman chroniclers; the other group is only represented by Shikārī, whose *Karamān Tārikhi* is a Turkish prose translation of a Persian poem in the style of the *Shāhnāma*. Shikārī sings the praises of the Karamānids, but unfortunately gives no facts (on the MS. of Shikārī cf. Khalil Edhem in the *T. O. E. M.*, No. 11, p. 597; Munadjdjim Bāshī also used Shikārī). Al-Djannābī occupies a position midway between the two traditions. An extremely important addition to our knowledge is formed by the inscriptions of the Karamānids edited by Khalil Edhem.

The ancestral home and the later regular place of refuge of the Karamān-Oghlu is the almost inaccessible mountainous country in the north-western Taurus on the frontier between Cilicia and Lycaonia, where the town of Ermenek [q. v.], the ancient Germanicopolis, lies. Karamān, according to Ibn Bibī (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv. 321), was a Turkoman charcoal-burner, who used to sell his

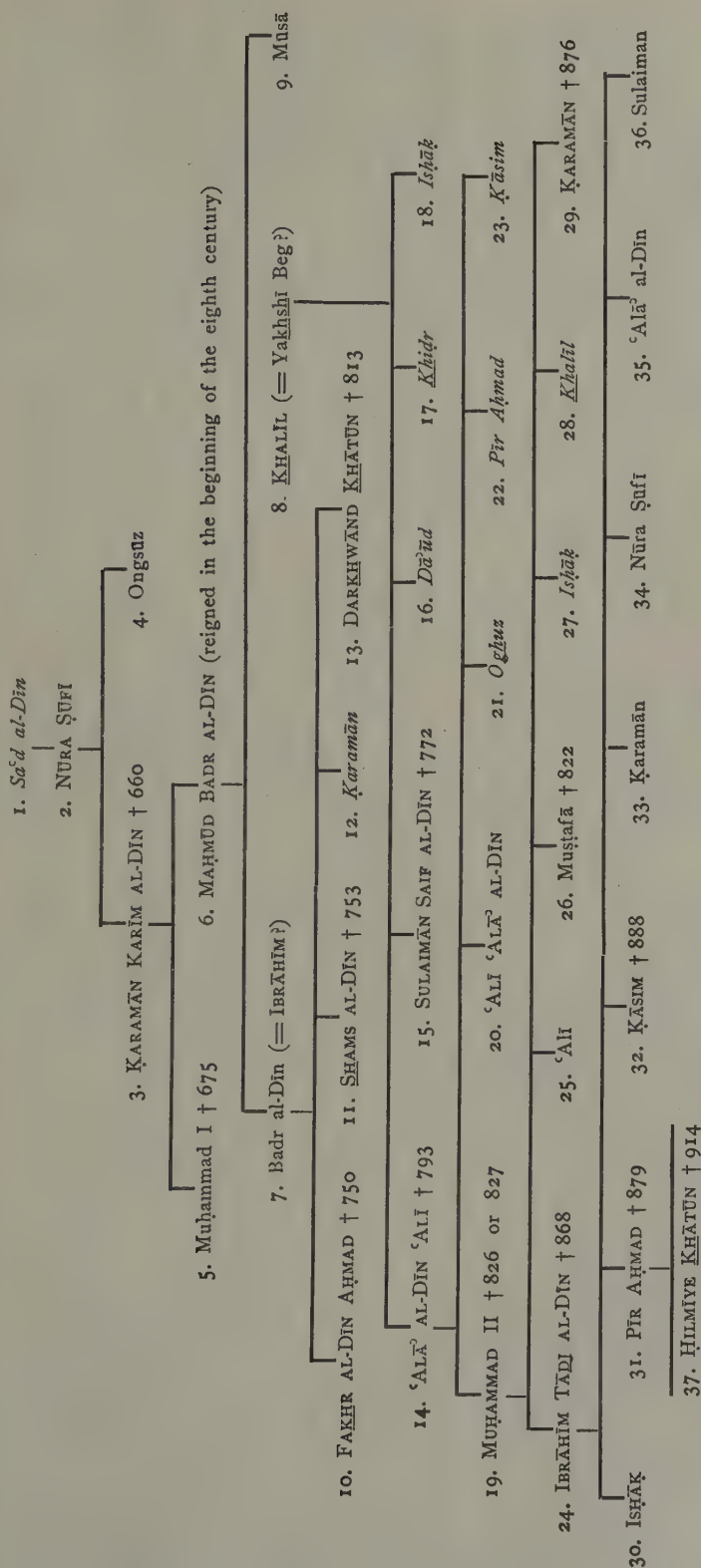
charcoal in Lāranda, but this statement is biased; in Djannābī (p. 213) and Shikārī, Karamān's father, is called Nūra Šūfī (son of Sa'd al-Dīn in Shikārī), who was a mystic *Shaikh* held in great esteem by the Sulṭān of Kōnya. Djannābī calls this Nūra Šūfī an Armenian but this statement is probably suggested by the name Ermenek. Besides it is improbable that Ermenek had anything at all to do with Armenia; it never belonged to Lesser Armenia (*Rec. Hist. des Crois. Doc. Arm.*, i. p. xxiii), and there is no obstacle to the derivation of the name from Germanicopolis. The name Nūra (نور) for

the father of Karamān is further guaranteed by an inscription given by Khalil [Edhem from the *türbe* of Karamān (Karīm al-Dīn Karamān b. Nūra) in Bālkāsūn in the sandjak of Ermenek; Nūra Šūfī's *türbe* is said to be at Deyirmenlik in the ḳadā of Mūt [one of the sons of Ibrāhīm Beg (see below) was also called Nūra Šūfī]. The Karamān-Oghlu thus have their beginnings in Šūfī circles, just as now seems to be probable for the Ottomans (Giese, *Ztschr. f. Semistik*, 1924, p. 246 sq.) and for the Šafawids (cf. Babinger, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, p. 132). Djannābī's statement that Nūra Šūfī was a follower of Bābā Ilyās needs only the correction that the latter was not the instigator of the Bābā'ī rising in Amasia (this was Bābā Iṣḥāk) but a Khorāsānī Šūfī who strongly influenced the whole religious development of Asia Minor (cf. Koprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Ilk Mütesawwifler*, p. 232, 233). It is in any case significant that Ibn Bibī calls the Karamānids *Khawāridj*, which name was also given to the Bābā'īs, cf. also Khair Allāh, *Tārikh*, Constantinople 1292, ii. 58, where it is said that Nūr al-Dīn Šūfī (sic) was *Khalifa* of Bābā Ilyās for Iḷ-Ili.

Nūra Šūfī is said (according to Djannābī) to have taken the fortress of Selekfe by treachery and his son Karīm al-Dīn Karamān was granted this fortress as a fief by the Sulṭān; according to other sources, he received the beglik of Ermenek (Munadjdjim Bāshī) and the Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn hoped therefore to regain the fealty of himself and his brother Ongsūz, who had been made *Mirāḥor* of the Sulṭān, after they had begun to stir up unrest in this region. After Karamān's death, which is placed in 660 (1261) (by Munadjdjim Bāshī; Shikārī makes him be poisoned by the Sulṭān), his sons and his brother were imprisoned in the fortress of Kāwala (كاولا; Ibn Bibī, *Recueil*, ix. 322; After the death of the Sulṭān (661 = 1267) they were released by the vizier Mu'in al-Dīn Parwāna.

Soon afterwards Karamān's son Muḥammad began his activity. He came to an arrangement with the rulers of Syria, who were then at war with the Saldjūks, and the vizier Parwāna found it impossible to bring him to obedience again, among his mountains. Then, when the Saldjūks and their overlords, the Mongols, were engaged in Mesopotamia with the wars against the Mamlūks, the Ermenek Turkomans began to covet the plain of Kōnya. Muḥammad Beg made use of Djāmri, the false claimant to the throne, who gave himself out to be a son of the Saldjūk 'Izz al-Dīn who escaped to the Crimea. In the name of this false Sulṭān, Muḥammad seized Kōnya which was poorly defended and Djāmri entered its citadel as Sulṭān (Thursday, June 7, 1275 = Dhu 'l-Hijda

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KARAMĀN-OGHLU



This genealogical list is reconstructed and somewhat different from that of Khalil Edhem Bey (*T.O.E.M.*, No. 14, p. 880). The table in v. Hammer, i. 682, is obsolete. The names written in capitals are found on coins and inscriptions, those in italics only in Shikārī. — 4. in Ibn Bibī, *Revue*, iv. 322, is called Būnsūz. — 7. The Badr al-Dīn of Shikārī and Ibn Baṭṭūta is here tentatively identified with the Ibrāhīm mentioned in the epitaphs of 10 and 11 as their father. — 8. This Khalīl would be the Yakḥshī Beg of Munadidjīm Bashī. According to Shikārī he reigned for 17 years. — 9. Inscription of the year 740 at Ermenek. — 13. Tomb inscription of the year 813 at Ermenek. — 14. is the Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalīl of the inscriptions (see the text), identified with Shikārī's 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Khalīl and with 'Alī, the husband of Nafise. — 15. is buried in the Khātūniya Medrese at Lāranda, according to the inscription of 772. — According to Shikārī, he was appointed by his brother (14) regent of Lāranda and poisoned at the instigation of Artēna-Oghlu. — 19 and 21 are, according to Shikārī, sons of the Ottoman princess. — 24. On a coin of Rukn al-Dīn; according to Shikārī, he was the son of a Saldjuk princess. — 26. Killed in the battle of Kaşariya (822) against the Mamluks. — 29. Epitaph at Adrianople 876. — 30. Coin of 880. — 32. Epitaph at Lāranda of 888 (according to Anonymus, ed Giese, p. 117, he died in Muḥarram, 887). — 31—36. are according to the Ottoman chroniclers, sons of the sister of Murād II who married Ibrāhīm. Shikārī in part has other names. — 37. Epitaph of 924 at Lāranda. (J. H. KRAMERS).

10, 674, if we read 674 instead of 676 in Ibn Bibi). Muḥammad Karamān-Oghlu administered the conquered territory for him as vizier and married the daughter of Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn. An important administrative enactment of his was that he replaced Persian by Turkish as the official language for the first time and introduced a kind of mixed book-keeping which also became a model for the Ottomans (cf. thereon v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 35). At first Muḥammad and Djamrī (who had taken the name Siyawush) successfully held their own against the Saldjūk troops and extended their territory. Finally the Mongol Khān Abāka [q. v.] sent his son Oghuz against Konya. On hearing of this Muḥammad and Djamrī hurried out of Konya, carrying with them the vast booty which they had taken at the capture of the city. After the withdrawal of the Mongol army, they again tried to reach the town but the inhabitants under the leadership of the Qāḍī Maḥmūd al-Urmawī refused them admittance and the Turkomans retired to their mountains, burning and plundering as they went. Soon afterwards Muḥammad and two of his brothers were killed in a fight with Mongol and Saldjūk troops. Djamrī escaped to the north-west; in an encounter between his troops and those of the Sulṭān in the neighbourhood of the Sakaria he was taken prisoner and afterwards executed. This last battle, according to Ibn Bibi, took place in Muḥarram, 676 (June, 1277). It is therefore probable that Muḥammad's death took place in 675 (1276), which is made the more probable by various epitaphs in Konya (*T. O. E. M.*, p. 702). Shikārī has a somewhat different account (cf. also von Hammer, *Gesch. d. Ilchane*, p. 297, who gives Muḥammad the *laḡab* Shams al-Dīn). No inscriptions are known of Muḥammad; he was, of course, not a reigning prince but acknowledged the Egyptian Sulṭān Baibars as his overlord.

Some years later the power of the Karamānids revived under Maḥmūd Beg, whose *laḡab*, according to Khair Allāh, was Badr al-Dīn. In his inscription of the year 802 (1399—1400) he is called the son of Karamān, which agrees with Shikārī, who says that Maḥmūd had previously taken part in many of his brother's enterprises; Munadjjim Bashī's statement that he was the son of Muḥammad may therefore be considered to be wrong. Maḥmūd's principal residence was probably Ermenek, where he founded a mosque (702=1302). According to Munadjjim Bashī, he recaptured Konya and in 708 (1308) became completely independent. Driven out of Konya in 719 (1319) by the Amir Čubān, general of the Mongol Sulṭān of Persia, he retired again to Ermenek. According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh (*Masālik al-Abṣār* in the *N. E.*, xiii. 342 sq.), however, the Karamānids were not entirely independent at the beginning of this period; they called themselves Amir and frequently placed themselves under the protection of the Egyptian Sulṭāns while they on the other hand endeavoured to live on good terms with the Mongols. They were at that time bitter enemies of the Armenians against whom they felt themselves powerful through the protection of the Egyptian Sulṭāns.

The statements of the historians regarding the succession of the princes after Maḥmūd and their names are contradictory and the inscriptions throw little light on the question. According to Shikārī, Maḥmūd had three sons: Badr al-Dīn, Khalil and ā, of whom Badr al-Dīn reigned first, being

followed on his abdication by Khalil, then came Badr al-Dīn for a second time. Fakhr al-Dīn, his son succeeded him after his death; he was killed through the intrigues of Artena, Beg of Kaişariya, and succeeded by Shams al-Dīn's second son, also called Shams al-Dīn, who was poisoned by his brother Karamān after reigning 14 months. The above mentioned Mūsā b. Maḥmūd then ascended the throne to be replaced four years later by Khalil's son 'Alā' al-Dīn, passing over the brief reign of Badr al-Dīn's third son Karamān. According to Shikārī, this 'Alā' al-Dīn was one of the greatest of the Karamānids and is called by him Abu 'l-Faṭḥ. In agreement with the statements of Shikārī is Ibn Battūta (ii. 281, 284), who visited a Sulṭān Badr al-Dīn in Lāranda in 733 (1332), to whose territory Konya also belonged. But his brother Mūsā had, it is said, already reigned in Lāranda before him but had ceded the town to the Mamlūks from whom it later had been reconquered by Badr al-Dīn; that Mūsā had very close relations with Egypt is confirmed by Ibn Faḍl Allāh also (*Masālik al-Abṣār*, in *N. E.*, xiii. 347). We must therefore assume that the brothers reigned in different parts of Karamānia at the same time. Two epitaphs in the Emīr Mūsā Medresesi in Lāranda prove that Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd died in 750 (1349/50) and Shams al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd in 753 (1352). They must certainly be the two sons of Badr al-Dīn (who, in that case, may perhaps have borne the name Ibrāhīm) mentioned by Shikārī.

It is more difficult to ascertain the identity of 'Alā' al-Dīn. An inscription of 772 (1370/1) on the gate of the *zāwiya* in Lāranda, where Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's mother is said to be buried, records that the *zāwiya* was built by Sulṭān Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalil b. Maḥmūd b. Karamān and that Saif al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Khalil (who, according to Shikārī, was a brother of 'Alā' al-Dīn) is buried there. Munadjjim Bashī (iii. 26) also knows an 'Alā' al-Dīn, son of Yakhshī Beg, son of Maḥmūd; as there is no documentary evidence for the existence of this Yakhshī Beg, he may perhaps be identified with Shikārī's Khalil (as Khalil Edhem Bey in the *T. O. E. M.* has already done; Yakhshī is probably not a proper name at all here; cf. Ibn Battūta, ii. 316). Shikārī makes his 'Alā' al-Dīn marry the daughter of the Ottoman Sulṭān Murād II, while according to Munadjjim Bashī it was 'Alā' al-Dīn's son 'Alī Beg who made this marriage. The contract of marriage between Murād II's daughter Nefise and Karamān-Oghlu 'Alī Beg is, indeed, still preserved in Feridūn's *Munshi'āt*, i. 105 sq.) (in the printed text, p. 107, the date is 788=1386, but Khalil Edhem Bey has shown that 783=1381/2 is more probably correct). There is an inscription of this Ottoman princess in the Khātūniye Medrese at Lāranda of the year 783, in which the reigning prince is called Amir 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalil b. Maḥmūd, i. e. the same name as in the above mentioned inscription of 772, but without the title of Sulṭān. The difficulty now is whether the 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalil of the inscriptions is identical with Shikārī's 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Khalil and with 'Alī, the husband of the princess Nefise. Very strongly in favour of this identity is a *wakf-nāme* of 'Alā' al-Dīn's grandson Ibrāhīm of the year 859=1454/5 (given by Khalil Edhem Bey in the *T. O. E. M.*, No. 13, p. 831), where this Ibrāhīm is called: b. Muḥammad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Khalil b. Maḥmūd b. Karamān

(cf. on the question van Berchem, *Inscripfen* etc., p. 118—125 in addition to Khalil Edhem Bey). Probably throughout the whole period different Ḳaramānians ruled in different places (like Lāranda, Ḳonya, Ermenek, Aḳshehir, Akserāi). [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 258, mentions a Yūsuf b. Ḳaramān as lord of 'Alā'iyā]. The extent of their territory varied considerably during this period. Lāranda was probably the principal royal residence Ḳonya, which had been conquered by "Yakhshī Beg" (Munadjjim Baṣhī), did not always belong to them. They had to fight with the Arteni-Oghlu at Ḳaīṣariya, who were vassals of the Mongols and, according to Shikāri, once took Ḳonya and Lāranda, with the Mamlūks of Syria, the Armenians, the Franks of Cyprus and with the other Turkoman rulers of Asia Minor, at whose expense they extended their territory considerably; they even advanced as far as Brūsa. Finally in 788 (1385) they came into conflict with Sulṭān Murād I (battle of Ḳonya) and in 793 (1390) the battle of Aḳ Çai in Kermiyan was fought against Bāyazid I Yıldırım, in which 'Alā' al-Dīn (or 'Alī) was captured and put to death by Timūr Tāsh Pasha, while his kingdom was annexed and his two sons taken to Brūsa as prisoners. (Most of the Ottoman writers mention these events; Shikāri's account differs considerably).

The crushing defeat of the Ottomans by Timūr gave the Ḳaramān-Oghlu again an opportunity to revive and a third period of struggle ending in final overthrow begins. 'Alā' al-Dīn's son Muḥammad was liberated from imprisonment in Brūsa by Timūr's grandson Mirzā Muḥammad (according to another story, he fled to Timūr) and was given a portion of his territory by Timūr again (about 805 = 1403). There are coins of his struck in Timūr's name. Ḳonya is said to have become his again in 816 (1413/14) (Munadjjim Baṣhī). He began to fight the Ottoman pretenders and occasionally supported Djunaid [q.v.], the Izmīr-Oghlu. With the Ottoman Sulṭān Mehmed I he had concluded a treaty before the latter's ultimate success, by which he is said to have ceded half of his lands to the Sulṭān (*Tādī al-Tawārikh*, etc., also Chalcocondylas), but in the same year we find Muḥammad attacking Brūsa on a pretext of avenging his father's death. After 34 days' siege of the citadel and the destruction of the town he withdrew. The lands of the Germiyan-Oghlu were under his rule for 2½ years at this time (inscription at Kutahiya; cf. *T. O. E. M.*, N^o. 2, p. 110 *sq.*). There were new campaigns against the Ottomans in 817 (1414) and 818 (1415). Muḥammad was on one occasion captured by Bāyazid Pasha but again released.

The Turkish chronicles tell us nothing of the years 818—824 (1415—1421). The Egyptian historians (al-'Aīnī, al-Maḳrīzī, Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn), however, fill the gap. After Muḥammad had sought help from the Egyptian Sulṭān for his war against the Ottomans and had even recognised him as his overlord (as is evidenced by his coins also) hostilities began, in which the Ramaḍān-Oghlu [q.v.] was also involved and during which Muḥammad's brother 'Alī fled to Egypt. This produced an Egyptian expedition against Muḥammad in 822 (1419). Ḳaīṣariya and Ḳonya were captured and 'Alī installed in his brother's place in Ḳonya. Muḥammad took refuge in the mountains at first but was later captured in an encounter near Ḳaīṣariya and sent to Cairo.

In 824 (1421) he received permission to return and again ascended the throne. He met his death at the siege of the Ottoman fortress of Adalia, which is fully described by the chroniclers (probably 826 or 827). His son 'Alī went over to the Ottomans, who gave him the sandjaḳ of Sofia, while his son and successor Ibrāhīm returned to his native mountains with his father's body. Of the second Muḥammad various inscriptions exist in Ḳonya. There are also inscriptions of his brother 'Alī in Nigde, where he held sway before and after the Egyptian period. After his brother's death he endeavoured to make himself independent again but when Murād V supported his nephew Ibrāhīm he did not succeed. In this period the power of the Ḳaramān-Oghlu was considerable; Sanudo estimates the size of his army at 30,000 men on a war footing and 60,000 on a peace footing (Murat, *Inscr. Ital.*, xxii. col. 962).

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Tādī al-Dīn reigned from about 827 (1425) to 868 (1463) (coins of the years 827 onwards) and is the last great member of the dynasty, which after the extinction of the Germiyan-Oghlu was now the only dangerous rival of the Ottomans. Ibrāhīm had married the sister of Murād II and was at peace and war alternately with the Ottomans. The fact that he was the Sulṭān's brother-in-law often saved him from destruction. He had also an alliance with the Emperor Sigismund; the early Ottoman chroniclers bitterly reproach him for his dealings with the unbelievers as well as for his repeatedly breaking faith after solemnly concluded treaties (Anon., ed. Giese, p. 63, 64, 68). Murād II had made up his mind to exterminate the Ḳaramānids and for this purpose he made an alliance with the Turkomans of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr dynasty. The latter about 840 (1436/7) took Ḳaīṣariya and the surrounding country from the Ḳaramānids; Ibrāhīm lost Aḳshehir and Beyshehri among other possessions to Murād II. An attempt to regain the lost territory after Murād's death (855 = 1451) failed. Mehmed II is said to have acted in this campaign as friend and protector of the Christians (Ducas, p. 233). Ibrāhīm was more successful in the south; in 1443 he took the fortress of Gorigos in Cilicia from the Cypriotes (*Rec. Hist. des Crois.*, *Doc. Arm.*, i. 638). Before his death Ibrāhīm wished to abdicate in favour of his son Ishāk. But Ishāk was the son of a slave and the other six sons whose mother was Murād's sister besieged Ibrāhīm and Ishāk in Ḳonya; both had to take to flight and Ibrāhīm died in the fortress of Kāwala (or Guwāle; 868 = 1463).

His successor was his son Pīr Aḥmad whose side Mehmed II had taken. Ishāk fled to Uzun Ḥasan, prince of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. The confusion that followed in the struggle for the throne finally brought about the end of the dynasty. With the help of the Ottomans Pīr Aḥmad defeated his brother in the battle of Ermenek (869 = 1465) and henceforth regarded himself as the vassal of Mehmed II (inscription of 870 = 1466 at Ḳaīṣariye). But he soon came into conflict with his overlord because he had come to an arrangement with the Venetians. In 872 (1467) the Ottomans permanently occupied Ḳonya where the Ottoman prince Muṣṭafā became wālī; a part of the Ḳaramānian population was transferred to Stambul. Pīr Aḥmad retired to Lāranda and Nigde, where he fought the Ottomans and his brothers alternately. He made

an alliance with his brother Kāsim for a time (inscription of the two at Nigde of the year 874 = 1469/70). But they could not stand against Gedik Aḥmad Paṣha and lost Lāranda. After Ermenek and Minan had also been taken by the Ottomans, where Pir Aḥmad's family and treasures fell into their hands, the latter threw himself from a cliff but did not kill himself. He was still able to go to Tarsus where he died about 879 (1474), according to the *Tādī al-Tawārikh*. Ishāk had withdrawn to Selefke, where his widow continued to hold out for some time after his death.

Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm then maintained himself till his death (Muḥarram, 887 = Febr.-March, 1482), according to Anonymus, ed. Giese, p. 117; his epitaph at Lāranda is dated 888). He also sought the assistance of Uzun Hasan but could not recapture Lāranda. Then in 887 (1482) he joined the pretender Sulṭān Djem [q. v.] who had at one time governed Konya in succession to his brother Muṣṭafā and on other occasions also had been served by Karamānian troops. Kāsim was afterwards pardoned by Bāyazid II but with his death the rule of the Karamānids ended. His other brothers had already gone over to the Ottomans.

After Kāsim's death his generals placed Torghut-Oghlu Muḥammad, who belonged to the Karamān nobility, on the throne, but he also came into conflict with the Ottomans and had to flee to Aleppo in 892 (1487).

It was to their geographical situation that the Karamānids owed the great power they held for a time. Their mountains formed a refuge which it was almost impossible to capture, from which they could make successful descents into the plains of Konya and Cilicia again and again. The possession of the various Cilician passes and other routes over the Taurus brought them a considerable revenue from the tolls which they levied on the Genoese and Cypriote merchants, who carried on a busy trade by these routes with Asia Minor, while their revenue from the customs in the coast towns ruled by them (Scandolor, Manavgat, Anemur, Selefke, Lamos) must have been considerable. Their wealth put them in a still stronger position; their buildings in Lāranda, Konya and Nigde are evidence of this wealth, especially the ruins of the Khātūniye Medrese in Lāranda or Karamān [q. v.]. Karamānian art is a continuation of Seldjūk art in contrast to Ottoman art which rather follows Byzantine models (Woermann, *Gesch. d. Kunst*, Leipzig and Vienna 1915, ii. 445). Of importance in the history of civilization is their encouraging the use of Turkish instead of Persian, as has been already mentioned. The contrast between the Karamānians and the Ottomans seems, however, to have been very marked (Ducas, p. 195, says: ἦσαν γὰρ ἕει ἐξῆρωδῶς διακείμενοι οἱ τοῦ Καραμάν μετὰ τοῦ Ὀθμάν).

Bibliography. The most important monograph on the Karamānid is Khalil Edhem Bey's work on the inscriptions of the Karamān-Oghlu, *Karamān-oghullary haḳkynda welhā'ik-i makkūke* in Nos. 11—14 (Dec., 1911 to Jan., 1912) of the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane* (*Tārikh-i 'Othmānī Endjūmeni Medj-mū'asī* = T.O.E.M.); he is the only author who has used Shikārī. Of the earlier historians there are Ibn Bibī (vol. iv. of Houtsma's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, Leiden 1902); Aṣhīk Paṣha Zāde, Constantinople 1332; F. Giese, *Die Alt-Osmanischen Chroniken*, Breslau

1922; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawārikh*, Constantinople 1279; Munadjjim Bashī, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Aḥbār*, Constantinople 1285; Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārikh*; al-Djannābī's *Tārikh*; the Egyptian historians mentioned in the text. See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat al-Nuẓẓār*, ed. DeFrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris 1853—1859, ii.; Feridūn Bey, *Münshē'atī Salāfin*, i., Constantinople 1274; the Byzantine Chalcocondylas (ed. Becker, Bonn 1843) and Ducas (ed. Becker, Bonn 1834). — We may also mention: Aḥmed Tewhīd, *Meskūkāt-i Kadime-i Islāmiye*; Ismā'il Ḥalīb, *Meskūkāt-i Islāmiye Taḳwīmī*, Istanbul 1328; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie de l'Asie Mineure* in *Revue Sémitique*, 1895, p. 346 sq., 355 sq., 371; Max van Berchem's edition of the Arabic inscriptions in the *Inscriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, collected by Max von Oppenheim, Leipzig 1909, p. 119—125; J. H. Löytved, *Konia; Inscriften der Seldjukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907, p. 79—84; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1827, i. and ii.; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, Paris 1869, i.; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Darmstadt 1842, i. 297.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KARĀMAT 'ALĪ, born (date uncertain, early in the sixteenth century?) at Djawnpūr [q. v.], of a Shaikh family, which had held the office of *khaṭīb* under Muhammadan rule; his father was *sarīshādūr* in the Djawnpūr Collectorate. He studied theology and other Muslim sciences under various celebrated teachers of the time, esp. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, *muhaddith* of Dihli, who was also the teacher and afterwards follower of Saiyid Aḥmad of Barēli. Between 1820 and 1824, Saiyid Aḥmad made a tour through Bengal and Northern India, collecting a band of disciples, and Karāmat 'Alī was one of the most devoted of the younger men who followed him, but he does not appear to have taken part in the *djihād*, which Saiyid Aḥmad waged against the Sikhs [q. v.], or to have ever been in the Afghān borderland, where Saiyid Aḥmad was slain in battle in 1831. The Saiyid's old master, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, now became his *khalifa*, and an active propaganda for the revival of Islām was organised in Bihār and Bengal. With this peaceful propaganda Karāmat 'Alī was identified, and he may be regarded as its most successful apostle, as he was certainly its most brilliant exponent. During the early decades of the 19th cent., there were several minor reform movements in Eastern Bengal, led by men with more zeal than learning, notably by Ḥādījī Sharf'at Allāh [v. FARĀ'ID], ii. 57), who in 1252 (= 1836-7) met Karāmat 'Alī in Calcutta. By 1855 the two schools had made some progress towards a rapprochement, and in the meeting then held at Barisal, Karāmat 'Alī was able to agree on several points with the representative of the other movement, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Djabbar, though on the question of the lawfulness of *Djum'a* and 'Id prayers in British India, he could not overcome the stubborn opposition of 'Abd al-Djabbar, and he had to appeal to the humour of 'Abd al-Djabbar's followers by pointing out that their leader mistook grasshoppers (which were unlawful food) for locusts (which were lawful [*Ḥudūdāt-i-kāfi'a*, p. 29-32]).

Karāmat 'Alī's life was a double struggle; first, he combated the Hindu customs and superstitions

which had crept into the practise of Islām in Eastern Bengal, against which he wrote a book, entitled *Radd al-Bid'a*, besides inveighing against them throughout his writings; and secondly, he tried to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools against which he waged a successful war; to this subject, also, he devoted a special book, *Ḥidāyat al-Rāfiḍīn*, besides constant references to "the ignorant" in his voluminous writings. He kept in touch with the Musalmāns of Bengal, and distributed to the needy all the presents that he received. He was a trained *ḳārī* and an expert calligraphist.

Garcin de Tassy (*op. cit.*, ii. 162) says that he competed for the prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Hindustani essay on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the Renaissance in Europe, but that his essay was not accepted for want of an English translation, which according to the rules should have accompanied the essay. He was thus interested, unlike the majority of contemporary Indian Mawlawīs, in the relation of Islām to the wider questions of the world at large. He died on the 3rd of Rabi' II, 1290 (= 30th May, 1873) and was buried in Rangpūr (*Tad̲j̲allī-i-Nūr*, ii. 136), in the province in which he had laboured for the regeneration of Islām all his life. He was succeeded in his work by his son, Mawlawī Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad (ob. 1898), and his nephew, Muḥammad Muḥsin. His following was so large that there was hardly a Bengal village without his disciples and he still exerts a living influence in certain districts of that province.

He wrote chiefly in Urdū. Raḥmān 'Alī (*op. cit.*, p. 171—2) gives a list of 46 of his works, without claiming that it is exhaustive. One of his works, *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*, has run through numerous editions and is accepted in India as a correct statement of Islamic principles. His writings may be divided into four classes: 1) general works, like *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*; 2) works on the reading and verbal interpretation of the Qur'ān, and formal prayers and ablutions; 3) works on the doctrine of spiritual preceptorship (*Pirī Murīdī*), the cornerstone of orthodox Islām in India; in accepting this doctrine, Karāmat 'Alī stands in sharp opposition to the Wahhābī sect and merges insensibly in the *Taṣawwuf* schools, which he brings into relation with the traditional religious orders; 4) polemics against *Shari'at* Allāh, Dūda Miyān, the Wahhābīs, etc.

The common conception that Karāmat 'Alī was a Wahhābī is refuted by the detailed exposition of his own views as set forth in his *Mukāshafat-i-Raḥmat*; he had not seen any Wahhābī books, but had made verbal enquiries and found that they were so fanatical (*ḳidḳī*) that they called all who did not agree with them *mushrik* (p. 38-9); he and his school carefully distinguished between *shirk*, which was the negation of Islām, and *bid'a*, which was only an error in doctrine (p. 39). In his *Ḥudūd-i-ḳāṭi'a* he draws a clear distinction between a *fāsiḳ* (sinner) and a *kāfir* (infidel) and inveighs against those who would deny funeral prayers to those who did not pray but repeated the *kalima* (p. 21); if non-Muslims conquer Muslim lands, the *Djūn'a* prayer and the two *'Id* [q. v.] prayers were not only lawful but obligatory (p. 13 *bis*). He laid great stress on authority, successively handed down by living teachers, and based his doctrine on the orthodox Sunni

books of the Hanafi school (*Mukāshafat-i-Raḥmat*, p. 37). He accepted the six orthodox books of tradition (*Ṣiḥāḥ sitta*), the commentaries (*tafāsīr*), the principles of ceremonial law as interpreted by the masters (*uṣūl-i-fikḥ*), and the doctrines of *taṣawwuf* and *pirī murīdī* (pp. 38, 35), even basing the mission of Saiyid Aḥmad on a ḥadīth from Abū Huraira (p. 32): in every century a teacher is born to revivify the faith: Saiyid Aḥmad was such a teacher for the xiii.th cent. and should be followed until another teacher arise for the xiv.th cent. (p. 34). All this was in direct antithesis to Wahhābī teaching and the "reform" amounted merely to the abolition of Hindū rites and ceremonies or those introduced through ignorance (p. 36), or to a revival of Islām according to the accepted orthodox schools (p. 50). The political effects of Saiyid Aḥmad's life brought his followers into conflict with the authorities, but the writings of the school show that there was no connection, political or doctrinal, with the sect founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in Arabia.

Bibliography: The European accounts of Karāmat 'Alī are unsatisfactory, being based on secondary information and failing to distinguish between this school of reform and Wahhābism, and in some places there is confusion between the subject of this article and Mawlawī Saiyid Karāmat 'Alī of D̲j̲awnpūr (1796—1876), who represented the British Government at the court of Dōst Muḥammad Khān at Kābul, 1832—1835, and was superintendent (*mutawallī*) of the Hughli Imāmbāra, 1837—1876 (v. *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1905, pp. 780—782; Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 114; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 229; Nūr al-Din Zaidī, *Tad̲j̲allī-i-Nūr*, ii. 139); *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi. part i. (Bengal, p. 174 (Calcutta, 1902); *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. lxiii., part iii., pp. 54-6 (Calcutta, 1894); Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, ii. 162 (Paris, 1870). (It is doubtful whether the *Mu'jizāt-i-rashk-i-Masīha*, Dihli, 1868, mentioned there, was a work by the subject of this article); Saiyid Nūr al-Din Zaidī, *Tad̲j̲allī-i-Nūr* (biographies of the famous men of D̲j̲awnpūr), pp. 135-6 (D̲j̲awnpūr, 1900).

A correct appreciation of Karāmat 'Alī's doctrines can only be gained by a study of his own writings, the most important of which are the following: *Miftāḥ al-Djannat* (Calcutta, 1243) (frequently reprinted); *Kawkab-i-durrī* (? Calcutta 1253) (translates passages from the Qur'ān for the benefit of those who know only a little Arabic); *Ba'at-i-Tarwa* (Calcutta, 1254) (defends the legality of repentance at the hands of a *pir*, and other practices of the religious orders); *Zināt al-ḳārī* (Calcutta, 1264), (on the correct principles for the reading aloud of the Qur'ān); *Faid-i-'annam* (Calcutta, 1282), (a tract on speculative theology, expounding the doctrines of Shaikh Aḥmad Sarhindi); *Ḥudūd-i-ḳāṭi'a* (Calcutta, 1282), (a polemical tract against the school of *Shari'at* Allāh and his son Dūda Miyān, whose name (commonly spelt Dūdha Myān) Karāmat 'Alī always writes in this way); *Nūr al-Hudā*, (Calcutta, 1286), on the doctrines of *taṣawwuf*, of the *muḳaddidiya* school, apparently the new school of Saiyid Aḥmad of

Barēli); *Mukāshafāt-i Rahmat* (? Calcutta, 1286), (gives an account of the life and work of Saiyid Aḥmad of Barēli, and discusses and disowns the Wahhābis); *Zinat al-Muṣallī* (Calcutta, 1259), (instructions for ablutions and prayers, etc.); *Zād al-Taḳwū* (Calcutta, 1287, reprint), (treats of the beliefs and practices of Islām, and *taṣawwuf*; accepts the Naḳṣhibandiya teaching). A list (not complete) of Karāmat 'Alī's works is given in Rahmān 'Alī's *Tadhkira-i 'Ulamā-i Hind*, p. 171 (Lucknow, 1894); 46 separate works are mentioned.

(A. YUSUF ALI)

KARA MUŞTAFĀ PASHA, the name of two Ottoman Grand Viziers.

I. Kara [Kemānkeṣh (i. e. archer)] Muṣṭafā Pasha, an Arnaut by origin, taken from the Janissaries became first *kyaya* and was then dismissed; in 1043 (began July 8, 1633) he was appointed *Segban bashi* (general of the Janissaries) and became successively Agha of the Janissaries in Shawwāl, 1044 (began March 9, 1635), Grand Admiral (*Kapudan-i Derya*) on Djumādā I 5, 1045 (= Oct. 17, 1635) and Grand Vizier in Sha'bān, 1047 (began Dec. 19, 1637). During his period of office which lasted till his execution by order of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm I on Muḥarram 1, 1053 = March 22, 1643 (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, v. 326 sqq.) he distinguished himself by economy and a talent for administration, which all the historians recognise with admiration. Husein Wadjihī, the author of a history of the Ottoman Empire covering the period between 1048 (1638) and 1070 (1659), was K. K. Muṣṭafā Pasha's keeper of seals. A number of buildings owe their origin or restoration to him; he founded mosques, built bridges and planned settlements (for example Ortuḳābād near Siwās). The best verdict on him is that of the contemporary Ism. Bullialdus in *Ducæ Historia Byzantina*, Paris 1649, p. 263 infra: *vir, quamvis ineruditissimus, ut qui nec legere, nec scribere sciebat, in rebus gerendis negotiisque expediendis solertissimus ac promptissimus*. Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha is buried in Stambul at Parmak Kapu on the Diwān Yolu in the madrasa built by him (Na'ima, *Ta'riḳh*, ii. 30 sq.).

Bibliography: Knolles-Rycaut, *The Turkish History*, London 1687, ii. p. 55; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1827—35, v. 329 sqq.; Mehmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, Constantinople 1313—1315, iv. 390; 'Othmānzāde Aḥmed Ta'ib, *Haaiḳat al-Wuzarā'*, Stambul 1281 sqq., p. 71; Na'ima, *Ta'riḳh*, Constantinople 1147, ii. 25, 30, 31; Husein Wadjihī, *Ta'riḳh*, Vienna MS. (Flügel), *Katalog*, ii. 271; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 206, N^o. 83, vol. 25; Ramiz Pashazāde Mehmed Efendi, *Khariṭa-i Kapudanan-i Derya*, Stambul 1285, p. 50 sq.

II. Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha, the besieger of Vienna. He belonged to Merzifün where he was born in 1044 (began July 27, 1634), according to other stories about 1620 (cf. Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni degli anbasciatori e baili veneti a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1879, ii. 207, according to whom he was 52 about 1677), the son of a *Sipahi* captain named Urudj (according to other sources Ḥasan Agha) who fell before Baghdād. His father was a friend of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha who had the boy educated. His first rank was Silihdār, next Talkhiṣdji (master of oratory), in Dhu 'l-Hiǧdja, 1068 (began Aug. 30, 1658) *Mirakhor* (chief marshall) and in Mu-

ḥarram, 1070 (began Sept. 18, 1659) he became Beylerbey of Silistria with the rank of vizier (cf. Barozzi-Berchet, ii. 134 sq. and *Voyages du Sieur A. de la Motraye*, the Hague 1727, i. 439); in Ramaḍān, 1070 (began May 11, 1660) he was appointed governor of Diyārbakr, in Radjab, 1072 (began April 20, 1662) Grand Admiral (*Kapudan-i Derya*), in Ramaḍān, 1073 (began March 9, 1663) *Rikiāb Kāmmaḳāmi* (deputy for the Grand Vizier *a latere*) and two years later dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral; in 1672 he was *Kā'im-maḳām* at Adrianople (d'Arvieux, *o. c.*, Knolles-Ricaud, *o. c.*, ii. 263, 277). In 1086 (began March 28, 1675) he was betrothed to the Sulṭān's daughter Küçük Sulṭāne. In Sha'bān, 1087 (began Oct. 9, 1676) he was appointed Grand Vizier. His policy as Grand Vizier was that of his great predecessors and may be summed up in the one word, war: — war, for the sake of domestic peace, war, to please the Sulṭān, war, for the glory of the Ottoman Empire, and more particularly for his own prestige. Ambition and avarice are said to have been the motives of his actions (cf. Barozzi, *op. cit.*, ii. 207; Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 89 sq.) and contemporary western chroniclers generally describe him as unjust, cruel and avaricious (cf. Barozzi, *op. cit.*, ii. 207: *venale, crudele ed ingiusto*). In his boundless ambition and avarice he allowed himself to be tempted in the late summer and autumn of 1683 to a campaign against Austria and the siege of Vienna, although he had no ability as a general. He had already conducted an unsuccessful war against Russia in the spring of 1677 and had been forced to consent to an armistice (at Radžin on Feb. 11, 1681) disadvantageous to the Porte and the campaign which he began in 1683 against the Emperor Leopold V brought about his ruin. After he had given Tököly, the chief rebel in Hungary, the Hungarian crown, he advanced into Austria laying the country waste as he went along. On July 14, he began the siege of Vienna with 200,000 men; the city was heroically defended by Count Starhemberg with 10,000 men. The city was near its fall when the German-Polish army of relief appeared and on Sept. 12, 1683, completely defeated the arrogant foe. Muṣṭafā Pasha escaped with the remnants of his force to Hungary. On Dec. 25, 1683, he was executed by the Sulṭān's orders. His body was buried in Belgrade in the mosque erected by him before setting out for Vienna and his skull brought to Adrianople to Sulṭān Mehmed IV and buried in the mosque of Saridja Pasha (epitaph in J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, vol. ix., p. xxxiv.). The statement, made by J. v. Hammer, *Gesch.*, vi. 519 and 740 and in *Wiens erste aufgehobene türkische Belagerung*, Vienna 1829, p. 119 sqq., supported with documents of Cardinal Leopold von Coliowiz (of Sept. 17, 1696) and adopted by V. v. Renner, *Wien im Jahre 1683*, Vienna 1883, p. 465, that the Turk's skull preserved in the armory of the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna, the former arsenal, is Kara Muṣṭafā's is wrong. The question of the talismanic shirt ('*abā*') also preserved there and of the skein of silk is more uncertain. Cf. A. Camesina in the *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Allertumsvereines zu Wien*, viii., Vienna 1865, Appendix, p. xlix. sqq. and also J. v. Karabaček in the *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien 1883*, Vienna 1883, N^o. 541. —

Kağā Muştafā Pasha was exceedingly rich and left a vast estate. According to Sieur A. de la Motraye (*op. cit.*, p. 349), he possessed over 1500 odalisques, the same number of slave-girls, 600—700 black eunuchs and fabulous treasures, all of which passed to the state. He is said to have left 12,000,000 ducats (cf. Franz Wagner, *Historia Leopoldi Magni*, Augsburg 1719, i. 631). Besides several madrasas (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch.*, ix. 158, No. 188, 189) he founded a number of mosques, — in Stambul, at Galata, at Adrianople, Belgrade, Djidda and in his native place. His palace (Tirnakdji Yalısı at Kuru Çeshme near Constantinople) was sumptuously furnished (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch.*, vii. 362); his splendid tomb in Stambul was destroyed by the mob (Barozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 334). His son was Kağnak Muştafā Pasha; on his descendants see *Sidjill-i Othmāni*, iv. 402, 5 sqq. from below. A sister was married to Kaplan Pasha (d. 1091 = 1680 at Smyrna; Magni, *Viaggi per la Turchia*, Parma 1679, p. 488). — Kağā Muştafā Pasha has been repeatedly made the hero of dramas and romances; cf., for example, *Cara Mustapha Grand Vésir*, *Histoire contenant son élévation, ses amours dans le sérail, ses divers emplois, le vrai sujet qui lui a fait entreprendre le siège de Vienne et les particularités de sa mort*, Paris 1684, 12°, and Pierre Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1906.

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Historique Ottomane, 1330, iii. 924 sqq.; G. Jacob in *Der Islam*, vii. 248 sqq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KAĞA OSMAN OĞLU. [See DEREBEYS].

KAĞAPAPAKH ("Black-caps", so called from their head-dress of black lamb-skin), a Turkish people formerly living on the river Borçala or Debeda in the eastern part of the gouvernement of Tiflis, who migrated about 1828 partly to Turkish territory (to the vicinity of Kars) and partly to Persian territory (district of Suldüz, south of Lake Urmia). In the district of Kars they form about 15% of the population; about 1883 they numbered 21,652 of whom 11,721 were Sunnīs and 9,931 Shī'īs (K. Sadovskiy, *Kratkaya zameetka o Karskoj oblasti in the Sbor. Mater. etc. Kavkaza*, iii. 315—350); about 1893, 28,366 (N. Aristow, *Zameetki ob etničeskom sostavie tyurkskikh plemen etc.*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 139 sq., quoting *Prav. Vestnik*, 1896, No. 74; according to the census of 1897, 29,879. In the "Caucasus Calendar" (*Kavkazskiy Kalendar*) for 1910, 99 villages of the territory of Kars are given as inhabited by the Kağapapakh, of which 63 are in the district of Kars, 29 in that of Ardahan (Russ. Ardagan) and 7 in that of Kağızman; the number of the Kağapapakh is given as 39,000 (*ibid.*, p. 546, article by A. Dirr).

A small village of Kağapapakh, inhabited by Tatars, is also mentioned in the gouvernement of Yelisawetpol, in the district of Kazakh (which bounds on the gouvernement of Tiflis). On the Kağapapakh in the district of Suldüz cf. C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 939, 1018 and 1032, following Fraser and Rawlinson (up to 1838), and more recently V. Minorsky (member of the Commission for the Rectification of the Turco-Persian frontier, 1911—1914) in *Materiali po izučeniyu Vostoka*, v. 2, Petrograd 1915 (see Index).

These Kağapapakh, who are all Shī'īs, were at one time in Russian service and still preserve the certificates given to their ancestors by Russian generals in recognition of their services. After their transfer (it is said there were only 800 families under the leadership of Mahdī Khān affected) to Persian service the district of Suldüz was allotted to them as *tiyūl* (fief) by 'Abbās Mirzā [q. v., i. 13] in return for which they were to furnish 400 horsemen. As landowners the chiefs (Khān, Aghā) of the Kağapapakh attained considerable prosperity under Persian rule. After the occupation of the district by the Turks (1905) their situation became much less pleasant, because the Turkish authorities favoured the peasants at the expense of the landowners. In a petition sent on Rādjāb 15, 1329 (July 12, 1911) to the Russian and English delegates of the commission, the Kağapapakh expressed the wish that Persian rule should be restored to their land or that they should be given the opportunity of migrating to the interior of Persia. Suldüz was thereupon adjudicated to Persia (protocol of Nov. 4/17, 1913). The Turkish troops had already been withdrawn during the Balkan war (1912). How the situation has developed since the world-war I do not know.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KAĞASĪ, 1) the name of the founder of a Turkoman dynasty in Asia Minor in the viith century A. H. (thirteenth A. D.), the dynasty which was the first to succumb to the Ottomans; 2) the name of the territory ruled by this dynasty, now a sandjak of Turkey.

1. Karasî is said to be a contraction of *Kara Tsā* or *Kara Ese*, the name of a Turkoman chief, a vassal of the Saldjūk Sulṭān Ghīyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd, who conquered the province of Mysia for him from the Byzantines in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (Ducas, p. 13). The name of the father of Karasî is also given by the Byzantine historians (Nicephoros Gregoras, i. 214) as *Karānuç*, which Mordtmann identifies with the *Λαρίων* or *Λαριών* of Pachymeres (ii. 316, 389), which name perhaps conceals 'Ālamshāh or Kalamshāh (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 281).

Although Karasî did not conquer the whole of Mysia at once (Edremid and Assos remained Greek down to the xvth century) he must have had considerable power not least on account of the fleet which he created and with which he conducted raids on Rumelia. His territory became a refuge for the inhabitants of Eastern Anatolia, fleeing before the Mongols, as well as for the Turks when they were driven back after conquering the Dobruča under Şāry Sālyṭḡ Ghāzī [q. v.]. How long Karasî reigned is not known. About 1330 we find two other rulers in the land, namely Yakhshī Khān in Bergama and Demir Khān in Balıkesri. They are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 316, 317) and in the *Masālik al-Absār* (*Notes et Extraits*, xiii. 339, 366; the

مرحان mentioned on p. 339 is probably a corruption for Demir Khān), with which authorities the Byzantine writers agree, except that they (Kantacuzenos, i. 339) make Γαζή the father of Ταμπαχάνης, while the *Masālik al-Absār* makes the two brothers and sons of Karasî.

The account given by the Ottoman historians, who all follow 'Ashīkpāshāzāde (p. 43—45 of the Sтамbul edition of 1332), is different. They only deal with the dynasty in connection with the annexation of its land by Orkhān. According to them, Ili 'Adjlān Beg ruled in Karasî and maintained friendly relations with Orkhān; he even sent his youngest son Tursun to be educated at Orkhān's court. After 'Adjlān's death his eldest son (whose name the chroniclers do not give) succeeded him. He made himself so hated by his subjects that his vizier Hādjdji Ilbeki went to Orkhān to seek help against the tyrant. The younger brother Tursun thereupon promised Orkhān the towns of Bergama, Balıkesri and Edremid, if he would in return leave him in possession of Kızıldja Tuzla and Maḥram (Assos). In keeping with this agreement Orkhān conquered from the Greeks Ulubād (Lopadion) and several other fortresses which still lay as Greek enclaves between the Ottoman lands and Karasî. He then advanced on Balıkesri whence 'Adjlān's son fled to Bergama. At Orkhān's instigation, negotiations for peace were opened between the two brothers; Tursun, however, was killed by his brother on the walls of Bergama during the discussion of terms. The latter was then completely overthrown by Orkhān. He had also to leave Bergama and died two years later in Brusa of the plague. Hādjdji Ilbeki was given the administration of Karasî Ili and the Timariots were left in their fiefs. These events are put by the Ottoman historians to 735 or 737 (1434 or 1436).

If we compare this with the statements first given, we could equate the elder son of 'Adjlān with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Demir Khān (as Aḥmad Tawhīd does); for the latter traveller gives a very

unfavourable account of Demir Khān. Yakhshī Khān would then be the same as 'Adjlān; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself says that Yakhshī Khān only means the "good Khān" (ii. 316) so that his real name might have been 'Adjlān. It is more important that, as Mordtmann makes probable, the Karasî dynasty existed somewhat longer than the Ottomans say. The Byzantines as late as 1343 still mention a Sulaimān, a descendant of Karasî (Nik. Greg., p. 741; Kantacuzenos, ii. 476, 507), who was married to a daughter of Ventatzes. This is in keeping with the fact that in Orkhān's letter of Muḥarram 1, 741 (June 27, 1340) in which he tells the prince of Djanik of the conquest of Ulubād nothing is said about the land of Karasî (Feridiūn, *Münsha'āt*, i. 76). Mordtmann therefore supposes that the country did not finally pass to the Ottomans till a few years later (about 1345) and that the chroniclers have mixed up two events. In any case the Karasî-oghlu dynasty did not arise again later under Timūr, as was the case with most other Turkoman dynasties.

There are neither inscriptions nor coins of the Karasî princes; a small mosque at Balıkesri is presumably of the pre-Ottoman period.

With the conquest of Karasî Ili a number of able statesmen and soldiers passed into the Ottoman service, such as Ādja Khalil, who had led the Muhādjdīs out of the Dobruča, Hādjdji Ilbeki already mentioned, Faḍil Beg and the celebrated Ghāzī Ewrenos Beg [q. v.].

The lands ruled by the Karasî Oghlu are given in detail by Müneddjim Bashi, iii. 36.

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2. The sandjak of Karasî belongs to the wilāyet of Khudāwendigyar; towards the end of last century it formed for a short time a separate wilāyet along with the sandjak of Bighā [q. v.].

Karasî coincides with the ancient Mysia. The rivers Simaw and Şu Sighirli divide the land into a western and eastern half. The eastern half is very inaccessible owing to the irregular form of its thickly wooded mountains and it has no towns of any size; the mountainous centre of the west, also thickly wooded, gives place to flat country as it approaches the coast. The most populous and easily accessible parts are in the region along the railway from Banderma to Smyrna; the capital Balıkesri [q. v.] is here. In the south-west is

Bergama [q. v.] the most important town; in this region besides the citadel-crowned rock of Pergamon we have several isolated hills (the Ḳazaḳ Daḡh in the north and the Ḳara Daḡh in the west). The Pergamene plain is very fertile and thickly populated; besides the Turks there are many immigrant Greeks and Muḥādġir settlers and Yürüks. The Greek element greatly preponderates in the little towns on the coast, especially in Edremid. The Muslim element increases as we go eastwards, but the Greeks in the interior speak Turkish. According to Sāmī, the total number of inhabitants of the sandġaḵ is 340,000, of whom half are Turks.

Ḳarasī comprises the following qaḍā's: Balakesrī, Aiwalıḵ, Kemer Edremid, Edremid Erdek, Banderma, Kūnān, Bighadıḥ and Sandirġhī. The exports of the sandġaḵ are considerable owing to the fertility of its soil, its wealth in minerals and its cattle-rearing; according to Sāmī, the exports are six times the value of the imports.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3231; E. Banse, *Die Türkei*, Braunschweig 1919, p. 126—131; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894; Ḥādġdġi Ḳhalifa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1135, p. 661.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-ḲARASTŪN (ḲARISTŪN), means the steel-yard or Roman balance, while the common balance is usually called *al-mizān* (for other names in place of ḲarastŪn see below). The general observations that follow here apply to both kinds of balances.

In the systematisation of the sciences a science of weights, balances, etc. is included, for example by al-Fārābī in his *Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm* and by Ibn Sīnā in the *Risāla fī Aḡṣām al-'Ulūm al-aḳliya*. Ḥādġdġi Ḳhalifa says (i. 493) that there are works, both short and long, on this subject but unfortunately he gives no titles. The references in the *Iḳhwān al-Safā'* should be compared (Bombay ed., i/ii. 118; Dieterici, *Logik*, p. 55). In the *Iḳhwān al-Safā'* it is said that every science and art has a "balance" with which to measure; astronomy the astrolabe, geometry the straight line, circle and angle. At the same time a magnitude with which one measures is called a "balance", for example in mensuration the ell, rope, etc. In the science of the weighing-machine that of centres of gravity (*Marāḳib al-thiqāl*) has also to be considered, as al-Aḳfānī specially mentions (*Beitr.*, iv. 105).

The balances used in ancient and mediaeval times were all steel-yards and consist of a beam (*'amūd*, in al-Djawbari also *ḳaṣaba*) turning on a horizontal fulcrum (*miḡwar*), a lever the centre of gravity of which is below the fulcrum. On the one arm of the beam is hung the article to be weighed and on the other the weights which are to weigh it, usually in scales. The arms may or may not be of equal length; we have equal armed and unequal armed balances accordingly. In standards with arms of equal length, in which to ensure accuracy in weighing a movable running weight (*rummāna*) is used, we have a combination of the two forms. The points, to which the running weight is moved and which are often marked with numerals, are called *arḳām*, *markaz*, *niḳra*, *sha'ira*.

When the beam is horizontal, the balance is known to be in equilibrium. This may be seen approximately with the unaided eye. Sometimes

an equilateral triangle is placed below in the centre of the beam, the altitude *h* of which is marked; from the centre of the beam hangs a pointer (*shāḳūl*); if the pointer coincides with the line *h*, the beam is horizontal. Sometimes, as in our balances, a scissors-shaped fork (*fayārān*) is used above the balance and one watches when the tongue (*lisān*) standing up in the middle of the beam lies between the arms of the fork; or sometimes a pointer is attached to the fork above pointing downwards and one watches when the end of this pointer is exactly opposite the tongue below. Finally the tongue may be placed below and the fork hung downwards, turning on the fulcrum of the balance. If there is not equilibrium the tongue falls outside the fork which is always perpendicular. Of technical expressions we might further mention *al-wazn*, the weight as measure of heaviness (*al-thiqāl*) and lightness (*al-khaffa*), the scale (*al-kaffa*), the threads to which the scales are attached (*al-khaṭṭ*), the hook on which the scales or the weights are hung (*al-aḳrab*), the arrangement for suspension (*al-'ilāḳa*).

Almost the only weights used in scientific works are the *dirham* and the *mithḳāl* (7 *mithḳāl* = 10 *dirham* and one *mithḳāl* = 4—4.5 grammes). The absolute value is usually of no importance in the cases we are concerned with, as it is only a question of relations of the weights. Further, 1 *mithḳāl* = 6 *dūnaḳ* = 24 *tassūdġi* = 96 *arḑā*. The normal weight, the standard, with which the other weights are to be compared, is called *sandġi* or *sandġa*. Weights etc. have been discussed and studied by H. Sauvaire (see the *Bibl.*).

In the theoretical discussion of the balance the first point to be considered is the definition of heavy and light body, the establishment of the centre of gravity, that of stable and unstable equilibrium, which is given by the relative positions of centre of gravity and centre of balance, the investigation of the question if it matters whether the weights are attached directly to the beam or to rods attached to it which are perpendicular or inclining to it.

By a fortunate chance there has been preserved to us the very important work "The Balance of Wisdom", *Mizān al-Ḥikma*, by Abū Maṣṣūr Abū 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳhāzini (c. 1100 A.D.). That he was really the author is certain from a passage in al-Baiḥaqī (see *Beitr.*, xx. 73). All the above questions as well as the theory of the definition of specific gravities and some special applications of the balance for measuring time and for levelling are fully discussed by him.

In the general part he carefully considers the achievements of earlier workers in this field, for example the classical writers like Archimedes, Aristotle, Euclid, Menelaus and Pappus. He used the pseudepigraphic work of Aristotle — without, however, mentioning his name —, the *μηχανικὰ προβλήματα* (cf. Th. Ibel, *op. cit.*, p. 123). M. Steinschneider's statement that there is a translation of the work in the British Museum is wrong, as Mr. E. Edwards informs me. The work is, however, mentioned among those of Aristotle by Ibn al-Ḳiṣṭī, p. 43, 19. Among Muslim writers Thābit b. Ḳurra, Ibn al-Haiṭḥam and Abū Sahl al-Ḳuḥī were specially used by al-Ḳhāzini. He also deals with a series of balances which have been made by different students (see below). For specific gravities he relied mainly on al-Birūnī's work *Maḳāla fī*

'*l-Nisab allatī baina al-filazzūt wa 'l-Djawāhir fi 'l-Haḍīm*, on the relation between metals and jewels as regards volume.

A popular discussion of the theoretical considerations involved would take us too far and would have only subordinate interest for Orientalists (cf. the works by Th. Ibel and E. Wiedemann, mentioned below).

The steelyard or Roman balance (*al-ḡarastūn*) is a lever with two arms of unequal length, the centre of gravity of which lies below the centrum of balance. The object to be weighed G_1 , is placed on the shorter arm at a distance l_1 from the fulcrum, the travelling poise G_2 (*al-rummāna*) is movable along the longer arm. If equilibrium exists at a distance l_2 , $G_1 l_1 = G_2 l_2$ or $G_1 : G_2 = l_2 : l_1$, i. e. the weights G_1 and G_2 are at equilibrium in inverse proportion to the distance $l_1 : l_2$ (see further below). This principle of the lever is used by different writers as an example of inverse proportion (*takāfu'*). The principle seems to be first laid down by Archimedes (*Opera omnia*, ed. Heiberg, ii. 152); Arabic references are to be found in Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Abū Dja'far al-Miṣrī's work (about 850; Suter, N^o. 78) on proportion and relationship (*Fi 'l-Nisba wa 'l-Tanāsūb*), in an anonymous work in Gotha, N^o. 1158, 12, in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (E. Wiedemann in the *Beitr.*, lviii.), al-Khāzinī (do. in the *Beiträge*, xlviii.). But the *ḡarastūn* is also used as an example for direct proportion in which the greater the weight the greater the distance of the running poise from the fulcrum; so, for example, in al-Miṣrī.

The steelyard is usually called *al-ḡarastūn*. A form frequently occurring, due to a slip in writing, is *al-farastūn* (on *ḡarastūn* cf., for the rest, Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 327). The origin of the word has been much discussed. According to P. Duhem, who is followed by H. Diels, with better grounds, *ḡarastūn* is the Greek *χαρστίων* which name Simplicius gives to the *σταθμιστικὸν ὄργανον* of Archimedes and which means the beam of the balance, and received this name from its inventor Chariston. Cf. H. Buchner, *op. cit.*, and E. Wiedemann, in the *Beitr.*, lxiv. 218 at the end.

Instead of *al-ḡarastūn* the word *ḡabbān* or *ḡaffān* is frequently used and at the most different periods. The word comes from the Persian *ḡappān* and perhaps from the Latin *campāna* (steelyard). In Egypt a man who has to do with the steelyard is called *ḡabbānī*; there was *al-Diḡwān al-ḡabbānī* at which contracts to purchase were concluded. The usual pound was called *al-raṭl al-ḡabbānī*. In his *Fihḡ al-Luḡḡā* (Bairut 1885, p. 318) al-Tha'ālabi gives the word among those taken over from the Greek and equates *al-ḡarastūn* to *al-ḡabbān* and *al-ḡustās = al-mizān*. (On the etymology of various words for scales and weights cf. S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Lehnworte im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 198). According to Prüfer (information by letter) our modern steelyards are now called *al-mizān al-maskūbī* ("the Russian balance") in Egypt.


Al-Djāhīz mentions the *ḡarastūn* among the things which the Muslims had received from the Greeks (*Kitāb al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1323, i. 41); he further talks of the *ḡarastūn* as a means to keep 300 *raṭl* in equilibrium with 30 *raṭl* (*Kitāb al-Tarbī' wa 'l-Tadwīr*), "work on the quadrilateral and round figure", ed. van Vloten, p. 114.

As the two arms of the beam were of different lengths the superior weight of the longer had to be balanced either by a suitable form of the beam or by a special weight attached to the shorter arm. Thābit b. Ḳurra's work on the *ḡarastūn*, which is preserved in Arabic and in Latin translations (cf. Buchner, *op. cit.*), is devoted to this problem.

To increase the steelyard's capacity for weighing, several large running-weights are used (see fig. 1); but attachments can also be fixed to the shorter arm of the lever at two distances from the fulcrum, but in this case compensatory weights must be used. If the spaces are in the relation of 1:2, the weights of the articles on it are as 2:1, when the position of the running poise is the same; two divisions are marked on the longer arm. It is the same when different running-weights are used; a corresponding number of these divisions is called *bāb*.

In order to be able to weigh the *dirham* and the *mithḡāl* with the same divisions, 'Omar al-Khāyāmī puts the scale for the *dirham* (silver) at a greater distance from the fulcrum than for the *mithḡāl* (gold). If the lever is in equilibrium for the *dirham*, a compensatory weight (*mīyār al-ta'dīl*) must be added to the shorter arm for the *mithḡāl*.

The beam of the balance may also have divisions marked on the upper and on the lower side and be so arranged that either side may be turned upwards, so that one can weigh with two quite different systems of weights.

In many steelyards, for example those in use in Egypt at the present day, the scale hangs on to the *luḡma* (the "bit"), a piece of metal shaped like . The running poise is a cylinder of brass the interior (*ḡalb*) of which is filled with lead. Attached to it is the hook; the pointed part that moves along the divisions is called *mirāya* (index). The whole apparatus, about five feet long, rests on a wooden support, *shālīsh*; the rod itself is called *badan*.

In the work by Eliyā (mentioned below) methods are given for ascertaining and correcting errors. These may arise from the balance and its attachments having false weights, from the poise being wrong, the beam bent or crooked or the divisions being wrongly marked.

Al-Khāzinī gives two pictures of older standards, one of the generally known (*mashḡūr*) *ḡabbān* (fig. 2) and another (fig. 1) of the *ḡustās al-mustakīm* of the great mathematician 'Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khāyāmī, author of the celebrated quatrains. The illustration shows the different divisions, the running poises, the different places for the attachments and the marginal notes of the text.

A place in Fez was called *al-ḡarastūn*, probably because a *ḡarastūn* was placed there (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, s. v.).

The following are Arabic works on weights and balances besides those of al-Khāzinī:

Treatises of Euclid on the balance (*mizān*), ed. Wöpcke in the *J. A.*, Ser. iv., vol. xviii (1851), p. 27. According to Wöpcke, it comes from the Banū Mūsā, according to M. Curtze and L. Heiberg from Euclid (cf. Th. Ibel, p. 35). The work ascribed to Euclid on "Light and Heavy" is preserved in Arabic and often mentioned.

Works with the title "On the *ḡarastūn*" were written by the Banū Mūsā (about 950), Thābit b. Ḳurra (826—901), Ḳustā b. Lūḡā (864—923) and Ibn al-Haitham (965—1036).

Important information on balances, especially the *karastūn*, is also contained in the work on masses and weights by Eliyā bar Shin-nāyā (975 to a year later than 1049), Archbishop of Nisibis, which is perhaps based on a work by Kuṣṭā b. Luḳā, *Kitāb fi 'l-Awzān wa 'l-Makāyil*. Part of it was dealt with by H. Sauvaire in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1877, vol. ix. 291, and 1880, vol. xii. 110; much information is also contained in the work by Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Djabartī (1698—1774) entitled: *al-'Ikd al-thamīn fīmā yata'allaku bi 'l-Mawāzīn*, or as it is also called: *al-Durr (al-'Ikd) al-thamīn fi 'līm al-Mawāzīn*.

According to his son 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Djabartī, weighing machines in Egypt etc. had fallen into great confusion about 1758, which was

completely cleared up by his father, who may therefore be regarded as the reformer of Egypt in this respect. In the composition of this work he was assisted by the Shaikh al-Qabbān, 'Alī b. Khalīl.

Other authors and their works are:

Abu 'l-'Abbās Nadjm al-Dīn al-Khazardjī (1247—1310), *al-'Iqd wa 'l-Tihyān fi Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl wa 'l-Mizān*, "science of mass and weights"; Ibn Abi 'l-Faṭḥ al-Sūfī al-Misrī (about 1494): Two treatises on the steelyard (*Risālat al-Qabbān*). A number of MSS. on the subject in the Viceroyal (now Egyptian) library in Cairo is given by H. Suter in his translation of the math.-astron. part of the catalogue in the *Zeitschr. für Mathematik und Physik*, hist.-litter. Abteil., year xxxviii.

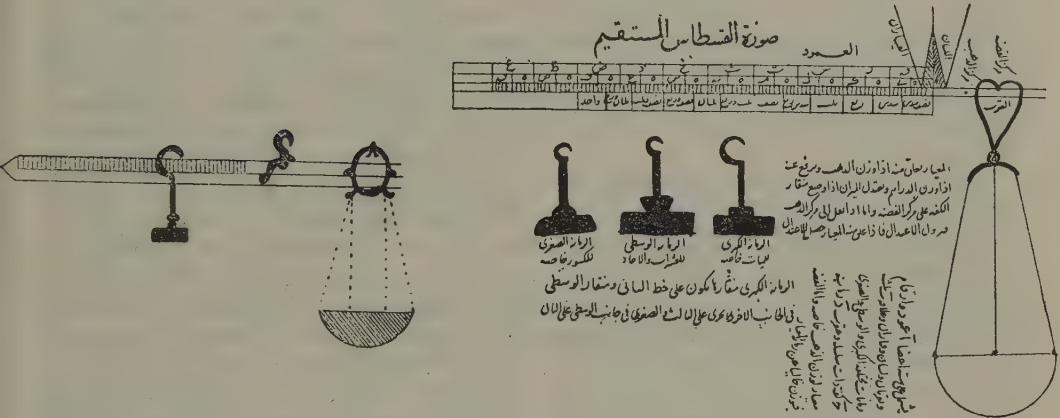


Fig. 1.

Above the beam of the balance is written *al-'Amūd*, to the right of it *al-fayārān*, markaz (mark) for gold, for silver. Below are the hook (*al-'akrab*). Below the weights is written: the large, middle and small *rummāna* (running poises) for the hundreds, tens and units, for the fractions. Partly below again is information relating in part to the separate running poises. Above on the left of the scale instructions are given for putting on the running poises. Above this the six parts of the balance are given: 1) the beam with the indicator etc.; 2—4) the three *rummāna*'s etc; 5) the scale etc.; 6) the compensatory weight. The illustration is taken from "The Balance of Wisdom".

(1893): Ya'īsh b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Yatmāk al-Amawī al-Andalusī etc.

Bibliography: As the steelyard (*al-karastūn*) and the common balance (*al-mizān*) are very often treated together in the same works, I give the whole literature here together. Very full references are also given in the works of Buchner, Ibel, Bauerreiss and Wiedemann: N. v. Khanikoff, *Analysis and extracts of the Book of the Balance of Wisdom written by al-Khāzinī* in the *J. A. O. S.*, vi. (1859), 1—123; H. Sauvaire, *On a Treatise on Weights and Measures by Eliā, Archbishop of Nisibis* in the *J. R. A. S.*, x. (1878), p. 253—284 and xii. (1880), p. 110—125. Besides the imperfect manuscript in Paris used by Sauvaire there is a complete one in Gotha, N^o. 1331; P. Duhem, *Les origines de la statique*, part i., Paris 1900; Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Dissertation, Erlangen 1906); E. Wiedemann, *Die Schrift über den Karastūn* in the *Bibl. Math.*, third series, vol. xii. (1912), p. 21—39;

H. Bauerreiss, *Zur Geschichte der spezifischen Gewichte im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Dissertation, Erlangen 1914); E. Buchner, *Die Schrift über den Karastūn von Thābit b. Qurra*, in the *Sitzungsber. der med.-phys. Sozietät Erlangen*, part lii. sq. (1920/21), p. 141—188; Carra de Vaux, *Notes de l'histoire des sciences* in the *J. A.*, 1917, series II, vol. x. 453.

In the following, the works of E. Wiedemann are collected from the *Beiträgen (B.) zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in den Sitzungsberichte der med.-phys. Sozietät (S.B.) zu Erlangen*. When the whole part deals with the subject only its number is given. 1) *Wagen bei den Arabern (gefälschte)*: B., iv., S. B., xxvii. 388—392; 2) *Über die Lehre von Schwerpunkten*: B., v., S. B., xxxvii. 405 and 427; 3) *Zur Mechanik bei den Arabern*: B., vi., S. B., xxviii. 7—10; 4) *Auszüge aus der Schrift des Archimedes über die schwimmenden Körper*, B., vii., S. B., xxviii. 152—162; *Über al-Fārābī's Aufzählung der Wissenschaften*: B., xi., S. B., xxxix.

96; 6) *Lehre vom Schwimmen, Hebelgesetze, Konstruktion des Karastūn*: B., xvi., S.B., xl. 133—159; 7) *Über Verfälschung von Drogen usw. nach Ibn Bassām und al-Nabārāwī* (only section iii. need be consulted: references in al-Nabārāwī and Ibn Bassām on balances, weights and measures), B., xl., S.B., 201—206; 8) *Über die Wege des Wechsels von al-Khāzinī und über die Lehre von den Proportionen von al-Birūnī*: B., xlviii., S.B., xlviii. 1—15.

Among the metrological works are: H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie des musulmans* . . . part 2: *Poids*, in the *J. A.*, series 8, vol. iii. 368—445; iv. 270—321; v. 498—506; part 8: *Mesures de la capacité*, *ib.*, vol. vii. 124—177, 394—468; viii. 272—297. Part 4: *Mesures de longueur et de superficie*: viii. 479—536; *Mesures de capacité et de poids dans les ouvrages de médecine arabe*, vi. 80; J. A. Decourdemanche, *Étude métrologique et numismatique sur les misgals et les dirhams arabes*, Paris 1906, and *Traité pratique des poids et mesures des peuples anciens et des Arabes*, Paris 1909.

The following works deal particularly with specific gravities etc.: Clément Mullet, *Essais sur la minéralogie arabe. Tableau des densités des pierres précieuses* in the *J. A.*, series 6, vol. xi. (1888), p. 250—253; E. Wiedemann, 1) *Zu al-Birūnī's Schrift: Ueber das Verhältnis, das zwischen den Metallen und den Edelsteinen im Volumen besteht*, B., viii., S.B., xxxviii. 163—166; 2) *Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte*, B., viii., S.B., xxxvi. 166—180; a) *Abū Maṣṣūr al-Nairīzī* (not the commentator on Euclid): *Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung gemischter Körper*; b) Notes by 'Omar al-Khayyāmī: *Bestimmung des Gehaltes von Legierungen zweier Metalle an diesen*; c) An essay on specific gravities ascribed to Plato; 3) *Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen nach al-Khāzinī* (contains a collection of the passages publ. down to 1908 from al-Khāzinī's work, B., xv., S.B., lx. 105—159; 4) *Verbreitung der Bestimmungen der spezifischen Gewichte nach al-Birūnī*, B., xxxvi., S.B., xlv. 33—34; 5) *Ueber die Gewichte der Kubikelle u. s. w. verschiedener Substanzen nach arabischen Schriftstellern*, B., xxxiv., S.B., xlv. 168—173; 6) *Ueber das al-Birūnische Gefäß zur spez. Gewichtsbestimmung* in the *Verhandl. der deutschen Physik. Gesellschaft*, x. 339—343.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲARASU. [See AL-FURĀT].

ḲARASU-BĀZĀR, a small town in the Crimea, east of Simferopol, in 45° 10' N. Lat. and 34° 36' E. Long. of Greenwich. In 1736 after the destruction of Bāghċe Sarāy [q. v.] by the Russians, Ḳarasu-Bāzār was for a short time the residence of the Khān; but this town was also taken by the Russians under General Douglas in 1737. The town has preserved its oriental aspect down to the present day: there are many *khān*'s there with warehouses and coffeehouses. The large Tāsh Khān, said to have been built as a fortress in the seventeenth century, now serves the same purpose. The town was several times pillaged by the Don Cossacks in the seventeenth century. Cf. Veliāminof Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, Index.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲARATEGIN, a district on the Wakhsh or Surkhāb (Turk. Kizil Sū), one of the rivers which form the Āmū Daryā, called Rāsh̄t by the Arab geographers [cf. i. 339]. The principal place (or "the fortress", *al-Ḳal'a*, *al-Iṣṭakhri*, p. 340) of Rāsh̄t corresponded as regards its situation perfectly with the modern Garm, the only town in Ḳarategin. Rāsh̄t then formed one of the frontier lands of Islām and was defended on the east against the inroads of the Turks by a wall built by Faql b. Barmak [on him cf. i. 665, ii. 37]. In ancient times there ran through this region the road from Western to Eastern Asia described by Ptolemy. Ḳarategin is frequently connected with the "highlands of the Komeds" Κομῆδων ὄρεσιν (e. g. as recently as Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 164, on the authority of Sewertzow in the *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, part iii. for 1890, p. 420—431); but in the middle ages the name (Arabic Kumidh or Kumādh, Chinese Kiu-mi-t'o) was borne by the country below Rāsh̄t. In the middle ages and later the valley of the Wakhsh seems to have had no great importance for trade; as far as has been so far ascertained, only the embassy sent by Shāh Rukh to China (1419—22) used on its return journey the road between Farghāna and Balkh described by Ptolemy.

Like all the highlands on the upper course of the Āmū Daryā Ḳarategin also was under its own rulers down to quite modern times; in the pre-Mongol period only one Amīr of Rāsh̄t, Dja'far b. Shamānikū (Gardīzi in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 9, under date 337 = 948/949) is mentioned. Under Timūr and later the name of the country Ḳayir Tegin (or Tigīn) is found, in the printed edition of the *Zafar-nāma*, i. 189, erroneously Tir Tegin; when and how the present form arose is unknown. In the manuscripts of the *Bābur-nāma* (ed. Beveridge, f. 33^b and f. 63^b Ḳarātigin, f. 69^b and f. 81 Ḳayirtigin) and of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (transl. Ross, especially p. 241) both forms are found. Ḳarategin is popularly explained as a Turkish word for "blackthorn" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 135, Ottoman *Ḳara dikān*) or as the name of the two first Kirghiz tillers of the soil (I. Minayew, *Swyedeniya o stranakh po verkhoviyam Amu Daryi*, p. 241, following Arendarenko). As is narrated in the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (India Office MS., *Éthé, Cat.*, No. 575, f. 277^a, in Radjab, 1045 (Dec., 1635—Jan., 1636) 12,000 families of Kirghiz, then still pagans, went through Ḳarategin to Hīṣār. At the present day the Kirghīz (Ḳara Kirghiz) form a part of the population of Ḳarategin along with the Tādjik (and a small number of Özbegs).

In the nineteenth century the princes of Ḳarategin, like the princes of Badakhshān [cf. i. 552 sqq.], claimed descent from Alexander the Great. Ḳarategin was then under the suzerainty of the Khāns of Khōkand; their subjection is said to have taken place under Muḥammad 'Alī Khān (1822—42) in 1250 (1834) (Nalivkin, *Kratkaya istoria Kok. Khanstva*, p. 134 sq.); but already under 'Alim Khān (beginning of the nineteenth century) we find men from Ḳarategin forming a considerable part of the standing army founded by this Khān (*Tārīkh-i Shāhrukhi*, ed. Pantusov, p. 42 sq.). A campaign from Khōkand against Ḳarategin in 1275 (1858) under Malla Khān (1858—62) is also mentioned (Nalivkin, *op. cit.*, p. 190); the ruler of Ḳarategin was at this time Muẓaffar Khān

(later also called Muẓaffar Shāh). When in the year 1869 Hīṣār had to submit to the Amīr of Bukhārā, Qarategin also was occupied by the troops of the Amīr and Muẓaffar Khān taken as prisoner to Bukhārā; the conflict thus engendered between Bukhārā and Khōkand was only settled by the verdict of the Russian governor-general (K. v. Kaufmann) and Muẓaffar Khān again restored to his principality; but after his death Qarategin was definitely incorporated in Bukhārā. Qarategin also became involved in the last fighting in Farḡhāna before the final subjection of this country by the Russians (1874—1876); the Beg Muḥammad Raḥīm Shāh advanced to resist the insurgents with force, although they had been favoured by his brother Muẓaffar Shāh (apparently not identical with the prince already mentioned). The frontier between Farḡhāna and Qarategin (on the heights east of the valley of Kiçik Karamuk Su) was defined by a treaty concluded between Skobelew and another brother of the Beg, Ṣūfi Khān on August 28 (Sept. 9), 1876.

It was not till 1878 that Qarategin was for the first time visited by a European (W. Oshanin). In the following decade the governor Khudāi Naẓār Atālik and his successor Almās Beg had a mountain road, one of the best in Central Asia, built through Qarategin on the right bank of the Wakḥsh, which made Qarategin much more accessible, but in winter Qarategin is completely cut off from neighbouring lands. Oshanin and later travellers describe Qarategin as a fertile country with numerous villages and orchards, and as one of the most prosperous provinces in the kingdom of the Amīr of Bukhārā. It is said (Logofet, p. 322 sq.) that in Qarategin all the inhabitants without exception make a living by agriculture (including gardening), and that there is no landless proletariat there; anyone who neglects his piece of land for three years loses any right to it. On the other hand Rickmers (p. 340) says that many peasants go from Qarategin to Farḡhāna, work there as day-labourers and servants and bring their savings home, so that Russian money is taken more readily there than Bukharian. The only town is Garm; as regards the number of inhabitants, estimates, as usual in the east, are very contradictory: according to Oshanin 2,300 houses, to Masalskiy 4,000 people, to Logofet 15,000. Information regarding administration, taxes, etc. is given in particular by A. Semenow (Journey of 1898). The question: "When will the White Czar (*pādīshāh-i safīd*) take us to himself?" was frequently asked Semenow by the people embittered by the arbitrary conduct of the tax-collectors.

Bibliography: Down to 1878 the best authority is Abramow in the *Izv. Russkago Geograf. Obšč.*, vi. 108 sq. and Arendarenko in the *Vojennij Sbornik*, May 1878, p. 116 sq.; after him Minayev in the *Soyedeniya stranach* etc., p. 196 sq., 233 sq.; notes from Oshanin's journal in the *Izv. R. Geogr. Obšč.*, 1880—81; Kostenko, *Turkestanikij Kray*, ii. 197 sq.; also *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1880, p. 575, quoted by W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 22. Later travellers: A. Semenow, *Etnograf. očerki Zarafshanskikh gor, Karategina i Darvaza*, Moscow 1903; D. Logofet, *V gorakh i na ravninakh Bucharʼi*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 322 sq.; W. R. Rickmers, *The Duab of Turkestan*, Cam-

bridge 1913, p. 325 sq. (journey of 1906); cf. W. Masalskiy, *Turk. Kray*, p. 735 sq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

QARAUL (QARAVUL, QARAGHUL), an Eastern Turkī word meaning guardian, watcher, guard, sentinel (borrowed by the Russian in the last sense); a hunter who watches game from a distance; the chief of a body of these hunters is called *qaraul-begi*. In Ottoman Turkish *qaraḳoi* means a police-station. The word is connected with the root *qara-*, *qarala-*, to observe, watch or guard. — At the present day in Bukhārā, the rank of *qaraul-begi* corresponds to that of lieutenant (P. Kouznetsov, *Lutte des civilisations et des langues*, Paris 1912, p. 83).

In Persia the name *qaraul-khāna* is given to the watch towers erected on the mountain tops, commanding the surrounding country (Chodzko, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, Or. Transl. Fund, p. 228, note).

Bibliography: Radloff, *Opyt*, ii. col. 146 and 165; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-oriental*, p. 398; Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Dīghatāi*, p. 216; R. Youssouf, *Dict. turc-français*, s. v.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. turc-français*, s. v.; Mme Carla Serena, *Hommes et choses en Perse*, Paris 1883, p. 56.

(CL. HUART)

QARA YAZIDJI, leader of a serious rebellion in Asia Minor from 1599 to 1602. His proper name was 'Abd al-Ḥalīm and he was chief of the corporation of Segbāns (*Segbān bölük bashi*). His followers consisted of Kurds, Turkomans and a large body of soldiers who had fled from the army in Hungary, chiefly on account of the Grand Vizier Cighāla's harsh and cruel treatment of them. They are therefore called *Firāris*; another name is *Djalālīs*; their rebellion is known as the *Khurūdj-i djalālīyān*. Qara Yazidji's first act was the occupation of Ruhā or Urfa (= Edessa) in 1008 A.H. The former Beglerbeg of Abyssinia, Ḥusein Pasha, who had been sent as an inspector to Anatolia in the previous year and had also rebelled against the Sulṭān, took refuge with Yazidji on hearing that Sinān Pasha Zāde Mehmed Pasha had arrived at Konya in order to bring him to book. They sustained together a siege in Ruhā in which they were finally compelled to cast bullets from silver coins, but in the end Qara Yazidji made terms with the government troops by handing over Ḥusein Pasha to them. The latter was sent to Constantinople and put cruelly to death. Qara Yazidji was then appointed governor of Amasia. In this town he again began a reign of terror; as Ewliya Çelebi tells (ed. Constantinople 1314, ii. 184), the inhabitants hid themselves and their possessions in the mountain caves. Mehmed Pasha again succeeded in driving him into the mountains round Siwās and, after passing the winter in Diyār Bakr, marched a second time against him. But Mahmūd Pasha, Beglerbeg of Siwās, and other notables went to Constantinople and convinced the authorities that Qara Yazidji had abandoned his evil ways. Accordingly the latter was given the sandjak of Çorum, on condition that he would swear fealty. But, with his brother Deli Hasan (in Na'ima, i. 128 the name is once written Ḥusein) he continued his propaganda, so that Ibrahim Pasha, former governor of Damascus, and Ḥasan Pasha, former governor of Baghdād,

were sent against them; these two Pashas were utterly defeated at Kaīsarīye on the 11th of Shawwāl, 1008 (April 25, 1600) by 20,000 rebels. After this victory Kara YazidjĪ regarded himself as an independent sovereign over the regions which he had taken from the Ottoman power. Finally he was defeated on the 12th of Shawwāl, 1010 (April 5, 1602) by the vizier Ḥasan Sokolli, at Sepealī. The rebels fled to the mountains of Djanik; here Kara YazidjĪ died in Ramaqān of the same year (according to *Sajjill-i 'Uthmānī*, Constantinople 1311, iii. 301 sqq., his death took place already in 1009). He was succeeded by his brother Deli Ḥasan and three chieftains called Shāhwerdī, Yular Kapdī and Tawil; his body was cut by them into several pieces which were buried in different spots in order that the 'Othmānī's might not have it in their power to burn the corpse. The new chiefs afterwards waged war successfully against the already mentioned Ḥasan Pasha, who was killed by them in Tokāt.

The inner history of this rebellion, which continued until its bloody suppression by Murād Pasha in 1605, has not yet been sufficiently studied. It does not seem unreasonable to seek religious pro-Shī'a motives behind it (cf. Babinger in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi. 143), as a name like Shāhwerdī suggests. On the other hand the moment was very favourable for a rebellion, the bulk of the 'Othmānī power being then occupied in Hungary at the siege of Kaniža. On the name Djalālī cf. Babinger, *Isl.*, xi. 14, note 3.

Bibliography: Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1147, i. 88 sqq., 120 sqq., 128, 152, who cites chiefly the chronicle of Ḥasan Bey Zāde; von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 271, 303 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KĀRĪP. [See KĪRĀ'A, KŌR'ĀN].

KĀRĪB, the name of a modern metre used by the Turks and Persians and called *al-munsarid* by the Arabs. Its measure is in each hemistich: *mafā'ilun, mafā'ilun, fa'ilātun*.

The principal variations are: *mafā'ilun* by *habd* [q. v.], *mafā'ilu* by *kaff* [q. v.], *fa'ilātun* by *khabn* [q. v.], *fa'ilāt* = *fa'ilān* by *kaṣr* [q. v.] and lastly *fa'ilā* (= *fa'ilun*) by *haddf* [q. v.].

In Persian, it should be added, *mafā'ilun* may become *fa'ilun* (= *mafā'lun*) by *kharm* [q. v.].

Bibliography: See the article 'ARŪP.

(MOH. BEN CHENER)

KARIBĪYA. [See KURĀIBĪYA].

KARĪM, of persons: generous, benignant, liberal, honourable, noble, high-born; of things: bounteous, plentiful, honourable, noble, splendid. *Al-Karīm* is one of the ninety-nine attributes or "excellent names" (Sūra vii. 179) of God, but in the twenty-seven passages in which the word occurs in the Qur'ān it is only twice applied to Him. It is applied to Muḥammad, to an angel, and, ironically, to misbelievers, but it more frequently qualifies things, e. g. the recompense and provision awaiting the faithful, the Qur'ān, the letter sent to Bilkis, queen of Saba' [q. v.], the entry of the faithful into paradise, plants, cornfields, dwellings, the mode of addressing parents, etc. In Ḥadīth the term is often applied to Yūsuf, who is called *al-Karīm ibn al-Karīm* (al-Bukhārī, Manāqib, bāb 13; *Tafsir*, Sūra 12, bāb 1). *Al-Karīmātān* denotes the eyes (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 283).

Bibliography: The lexica, s. v.

(T. W. HAIG)

KARĪM KHĀN ZEND (MUḤAMMAD), a member of a family of no special distinction belonging to a tribe of the Lūr, was in reality king of Persia at the end of the xviiith century without having the title, as he always retained the surname of *Wakil* (plenipotentiary), under which his name has remained popular. He was at first one of the lieutenants of the Bakhtiārī general 'Alī Mardān Khān who, taking advantage of the anarchy that followed the assassination of Nādir Shāh Afshār, seized Isfahān and placed on the throne the last scion of the Ṣafawī dynasty, Shāh Ismā'il III, aged eight (1164 = 1757). The murder of 'Alī Mardān, the defeat of the governor of Ādharbaidjān and of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, lord of Māzandarān, gave him possession of the whole of western Irān. Attacked in Shirāz by Muḥammad Ḥasan, son of Fath 'Alī Khān Kādjar, who had just seized Isfahān, he saw the army of his adversary melt away; a year later, the Kādjar prince was killed in a battle against Karīm Khān's lieutenants. Khorāsān, however, eluded Karīm Khān; this province remained in the hands of the blind Shāh Rūkh, a descendant of Nādir Shāh. Karīm's two generals were his two brothers Šādīk and Zakī of whom the latter afterwards made himself notorious for his cruelties. The former directed a campaign against the Ottomans: the town of Bašra, besieged for 13 months (1189 = 1775), surrendered to the Persians and remained in their hands till the death of the Wakil. He busied himself in restoring peace to the country and in developing agriculture and commerce; although not in any degree educated, he attracted scholars to his court and proclaimed himself their protector. His usual residence was Shirāz which he adorned with a number of buildings still standing to-day (mosque, caravanserai and baths); the tomb of the poet Sa'dī was restored by his orders; the tomb of the poet Ḥāfiz in beautiful Tabriz marble on which were inscribed two odes by the celebrated poet; the *Heftten* (seven bodies) was consecrated to the memory of the pious dervishes who inhabited it; it is a pleasure house the interior of which is adorned with paintings of Biblical scenes or imaginary portraits of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiz; not far from it is the garden of the Wakil, better known as the *Djahānnumā* (mirror of the world), the name given it by Fath 'Alī Shāh; the garden called Bāgh-i Dilgošā (garden which rejoices the heart), now occupied by kitchen-gardens.

He died at the age of 74 on the 23rd of Šafar, 1193 (March 13, 1779) — the date corrected according to Olivier. After his death, Persia fell back into a state of anarchy from which it was only raised by the coming of the Kādjar dynasty.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm 'Alī Ridā Shirāzi, *Tārīkh-i Zandiya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, p. 3—6; Malcolm, *Hist. de la Perse*, French transl., iii. 166—220; Charmey, *Chéref-nameh*, i. 53; L. Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 34, 366; P. Horn, in the *Grundr. der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 592 sqq.; Mme Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, p. 412, 415—458; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire ottoman*, iii. 284—341; Cl. Huart, *Hist. de Bagdad*, p. 156—157; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 92 sqq.; W. Francklin, *Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia*, in 1786—87, Calcutta 1788; Robert Binning, *Journal of two years' travel*, i. 216—251, 268, 276 sqq.; W. Ouseley, *Travels*, ii. 1 sqq., 192 sqq.; R. S. Poole, *Coins of the Shāhs of Persia*, London 1887, pp. liv—lvi., 105—116. (CL. HUART)

ḲARĪN means a companion of any kind (*muṣāḥib* in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and the *Lisān*, xvii. 214 sq.; *khidn* in al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳurʾān, xli. 24); thus Abū Bakr and Ṭālḥa and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are called "the two *Ḳarīn*'s." It is plain, too, that for Muḥammad and pre-Muslim Arabia the word also suggested a spirit-companion. That is the overwhelming usage of the Ḳurʾān. In theology, every human being has, as a *ḳarīn*, a *ṣḥaiṭān* and also an angel appointed to accompany him and, respectively, to tempt him to evil or to incite him to good (*Lisān*, loc. cit.). The *ṣḥaiṭān* is sometimes called a *djinnī* and will be cast into the Fire at the Judgment along with his human comrade whom he has led astray. These two *ḳarīn*'s are therefore different from the recording angels which accompany each human being (Ḳurʾān, lxxxii. 10—12). The basis of this is both Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth. The word occurs in the Ḳurʾān eight times; in Ḳurʾān, xxxvii. 49, a human companion is evidently meant (*djalīs fi 'l-dunyā*, al-Baiḍāwī); in Ḳurʾān, iv. 42 (bis), the *ṣḥaiṭān* is a *ḳarīn*; in Ḳurʾān, xli. 24, the plural *ḳuranā* is used, but the context and especially the word *ḳayyada* (see al-Baiḍāwī on this) shows that tempting spirits are meant; closely parallel is Ḳurʾān, xliii. 35, 37, where a *ṣḥaiṭān* is "ordained" (*ḳayyada*) by Allāh as a *ḳarīr*; on Ḳurʾān, l. 22 al-Baiḍāwī is in doubt whether by *ḳarīn* a *ṣḥaiṭān* or an angel is meant, but on v. 26 he is certain that it is a *ṣḥaiṭān*. In this he follows the oldest exegetical tradition on the whole subject given in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, xxvi. 93 sq. Even the prophets have such a *ṣḥaiṭān*, but that of Muḥammad was converted by him to Islām; a great many traditions bearing on this are given in the *Ākān al-marājīn* of Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Shiblī, bāb x., p. 26 sq. (ed. 1326). A very suggestive and full ethical-theological treatment of the whole subject is in the *Ilhāṣ* of al-Ḡhazālī, *Kitāb ʿadḳāʾib al-ḳalb*, ed. with comm. *Ilhāṣ al-sāda*, vii. 264 sq., where the traditions are given in detail; cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 274 sq. At the other extreme is the folkloristic development in popular Islām; for it see S. M. Zwemer, *Influence of Animism on Islam*, chap. vi. Much of this, too, may easily have been in the mind of Muḥammad and his world.

Another use of *ḳarīn* in old Arabia was for the *djinnī* who accompanied a poet and brought to him his verses. This use has been transferred in Islām to the angel who consorted with the Prophet and brought him his revelations (*Lisān*, loc. cit.; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i. 5 sq.; D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 19 sq.).

Bibliography has been given above; add traditions in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 385, 397 sq., 401, 460; cf. ii. 323; al-Dārimī, *Musnad*, *Riḳāʿ*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ṣiḥāṭ al-Munāḥḳīn*, Trad. 69 (ed. with al-Nawawī's commentary, Cairo 1283, v. 362; Constantinople 1334, viii. 138). (D. B. MACDONALD)

KARKARALI, a Cossack village and the capital of a district in the territory of Semipalatinsk, 49° 2' N. lat., 76° 7' E. Long. (Greenw.); it has about 3000 inhabitants of whom two-thirds are Muḥammadans. (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-KARKH, the name of an important quarter of old Baghdād. The word Karkh, which comes from the Aramaic (*Karkā*), is found in Greek and Roman writers as Carcha, Charcha and Charase (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. d.*

klass. Altertumswiss., Suppl. i. 275, 283) and means town; cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 252, 18; Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 92, 186; G. Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 63). There was still in the Muslim period a whole series of places or parts of towns called al-Karkh within the area of influence of Aramaic culture, in the ʿIrāk, *Khūzistān* and al-Djazīra; they were distinguished from one another by the addition of a geographical name (like Maisān, Sāmarrā). Yāḳūt, iv. 252—257, gives 9 such places; see also al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), Indices, p. 762. Our Karkh is often more exactly defined as Karkh Baghdād.

As the Aramaic name shows, the al-Karkh quarter was already in existence before the foundation of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr (145 = 762), as a small independent township said to have been founded by the Sāsānian Ṣhāpūr II (309—379 A.D.), which, like the other earlier settlements on the site of the future capital of the Caliphs, was no doubt mainly inhabited by Aramaic Christians (cf. above, i. 564). This pre-Muslim Karkh was selected by the Caliph al-Manṣūr to be the mercantile centre and it soon became the busiest quarter of Baghdād owing to its commercial character. Al-Karkh was at first quite separate, south-east of the so-called round city of al-Manṣūr and a fair distance from it; but as new roads and squares grew up all around it, it soon became merged in the sea of houses of the great capital.

Al-Karkh was watered by the Nahr ʿIsā, the most northerly large canal of the Euphrates in the ʿIrāk, as well as by its branches, the Nahr Sarāt and the Nahr Karkhāyā. The latter is the "Karkhian Canal" (Karkhāyā = כַּרְכִּיָּא; see Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdw. im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. xx) which left the Nahr ʿIsā below the small town of al-Muḥawwal near the village of al-Barāthā (see above, i. 655) and supplied the southern part of the western half of Baghdād, i. e. the mercantile quarter and its neighbourhood, with its branch channels, which in places ran underground. Numerous bridges carried the busy traffic over it. On the Nahr Karkhāyā and its canal system see Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 24, 17—26; p. 286—8, 292—3; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, ed. Salmon (see the *Bibl.*), p. 66—68, 154—5; Yāḳūt, iv. 252; Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 85—90; G. Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 52—56, 63—80; Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld (see the *Bibl.*), ii. 110.

In the civic history of Baghdād, especially during the Būyid period (xth—xith century), al-Karkh, which was regarded as a *Shiʿa* stronghold, is frequently mentioned (cf. above, i. 567). Under the Būyids who had ʿAlid sympathies the already frequent encounters and frictions between the Sunnis and *Shiʿis* of the capital became more and more serious. Sanguinary street fighting between the two hostile sects often accompanied by pillaging and incendiarism was the order of the day. Al-Karkh was usually in the very centre of this civil strife; its inhabitants were always at daggers drawn with the Sunnis of the adjoining quarters (Bāb al-Baṣra etc.). Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dawla (416—435 = 1024—1044) under whom the situation had become unusually serious was even on one occasion, in 422 (1031), reduced to take refuge with his *Shiʿi* co-religionists in al-Karkh. In 445 (1053) a considerable part of al-Karkh was laid in ashes as a result of these feuds. A great fire had previously devastated al-Karkh under the Caliph al-

Waṭṭik (227—232 = 842—7); but the destruction was very soon made good.

In course of time numerous mosques and tombs arose in the area of al-Karkh in the wider sense, by which the whole southern half of Baghdād west of the Tigris was often meant. The most celebrated is the tomb-mosque of the local saint Ma'rūf b. al-Faizurān al-Karkhī (d. 200 = 816) and the alleged tomb of Zubaida, the wife of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd, barely 300 yards south of it. Both mausoleums (see also I, 569) still exist and are important starting points for studying the topography of old Baghdād. In their present form they were renovated by the Caliph al-Nāṣir (575—622 = 1180—1225); but they have been frequently restored since then. On the tomb of al-Karkhī, which as early as the ixth century was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Baghdād and which lies in the middle of an impressive cemetery as in the 'Abbāsīd period, cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 159; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 98—100, 350; Massignon, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.*), p. 49, 108; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 172—3. For the so-called grave of Zubaida see G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 161 sq., 350 sq.; Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 108 sq.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 173. On other mosques and tombs in the west side of Baghdād see Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 64 sq. or 94 sq.

Al-Karkh was not only the largest but also the most long-lived quarter of the western half of Baghdād. When the quarters around it had gradually fallen into ruins, it stood quite isolated — as early as Yāqūt's day for example (beginning of the xiiith cent.) — like a separate town, as it had been in the earliest period after the foundation of Baghdād. It was a mile distant from the then still inhabited quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra (in the south-east of the old round city of al-Manṣūr). In the later middle ages (cf., for example, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the xivth century) the name of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter was not infrequently extended to all the quarters of western Baghdād still standing i.e. even to include al-Karkh; cf. G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 114 sq. We may here point out that the topography of al-Karkh and its vicinity in Yāqūt is not quite in agreement with the other sources. It appears that the local knowledge of the author of the *Geographical Dictionary* at the time of writing was no longer quite reliable. Cf. G. Le Strange, p. 84, 159.

Al-Karkh is also known as a rare mint; there are coins of the reigns of the Caliphs al-Muqtadir, al-Qāhir and al-Rāḍī, dated in the years 308, 315, 318, 321, 325; cf. *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna 1893, vol. xxxiv. 321; Lavoix, *Cat. des Monn. Mus. de la Bibl. Nat.*, i. 285; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, p. 272; 1919, p. 197. The wine of al-Karkh was highly esteemed; in poems of the older 'Abbāsīd period (e.g. in Abū Nuwās, Ibn Mu'tazz) it is often mentioned; cf. G. Jacob in *Oriental. Studien*, Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet, Giessen 1906, p. 1065.

At the present day the part of Baghdād on the right bank of the Tigris, which barely makes up a third of the area of the city, is called Qarshiaka, properly (Turkish) Qarshy Yākā = the other side (lying opposite the city proper on the east bank), a reproduction of the popular Arabic *Hādak al-Djānīb*. This name has therefore no connection with al-Karkh (the contrary view is held by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 66). Qarshiaka was for long

merely an insignificant suburb; but in recent years it has increased somewhat in importance and will certainly continue to do as the railway station of Baghdād is there. Since the second half of the xviiith century Arabs of the tribe of 'Ukail ('Ogēl, 'Agēl) have settled here, who with other caravan people form at the present day a considerable part of the inhabitants of this western town. Cf. thereon Černik's expedition in *Petermanns Geograph. Mitteil.*, supplement. part 44, Gotha 1875, p. 28, 30; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 74, 238; Cl. Huart, *Hist. de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, Paris 1901, p. xi. sq., 188 sq.; Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

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(M. STRECK)

KARKHA. [See KERKHA].

AL-KARKHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (or AL-ḤUSAIN), was one of the most important mathematicians of the Arabs; he also calls himself AL-ḤASIB (the arithmetician). He lived in Baghdād in the time of Abū Ḥalīb Muḥammad b. Khalaf Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.] and his son Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjā'. The date of his death is not known but it may lie between 410 and 420 (1019—1029). The two of his mathematical works that still exist are entitled *al-Kāfi fi 'l-Hisāb* (the requisite for arithmetic) and *al-Fakhrī* (i.e. the book dedicated to the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk). The first exists in a unique manuscript in Gotha, the second in Paris, Oxford and Cairo. The Arabic text of neither of these works has yet been published but there is a German translation of the former by A. Hochheim, *Kāfi fil Hisāb des Abu Bekr Muh. b. Alhussin Alkarkhi*, in 3 parts, Halle a/S. 1878—80, and a synopsis of the second in French by F. Woepcke, *Extrait du Fakhrī*, Paris 1853. The second work is the most important next to the *Algebra* of al-Khāyāmī that has come down to us on this branch of mathematics. In it al-Karkhī closely follows the Greek mathematician Diophantus of Alexandria; for the first time among the Arabs indeterminate equations appear in this work and they are solved after the fashion of the Greek mathematicians;

whether al-Karkhī deliberately took no notice of the Indian methods or was not acquainted with them cannot be decided. In his book on arithmetic, like almost all Eastern Arab mathematicians (except 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī, about 980—1040), he does not use Indian numerals but writes out all the figures in words.

Bibliography: There is not a separate article on al-Karkhī in any of the Arab biographical works so far published; he is only occasionally mentioned in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, ii. 65; transl. by de Slane, iii. 279. Cf. also M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Mathem.*², i. 718—729; H. Suter in the *Abhandl. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 84. (H. SUTER)

KARKĪSIYĀ (also KARKĪSIYĀ), a town in al-Djazīra on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence of the Khābūr, a little above 35° N. Lat. Karkīsiyā is simply an Arabic reproduction of the Graeco-Roman name (τὸ Κιρκήσιον, (τὸ) Κιρκήσιον κάστρον or Κιρκήσιον (Κιρκήσια in the *Notit. episcop.*, ed. Parthey, p. 87), Circesium, Syriac Kerkusion, Latin = castrum Circense, "the castle with the circus"; cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 3. Ḥamza al-Isfahānī in Yāqūt, iv. 65, 21 sq., still knew the etymology of the place-name (Karkīsiyā, arabicised from Kirkīsiyā, from *kirkis* = arab. *ḥalba*, Hippodrome). The name Circesium for the place at the mouth of the Khābūr in any case first appeared, when a Roman military station was built there. This perhaps may have been even before Diocletian. It was, however, this Emperor who first made the place of great importance by making it a powerful fortress on the extreme frontier of the Roman Empire in Southern Mesopotamia. From this it seems quite impossible that Circesium could have been a latinisation of the Aramaic *Karkā* = town (see the article AL-KARKH), as Moritz, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 37, supposed; see Streck's arguments in the *Z. A.*, xxvii. 259.

A situation so favoured by nature as the mouth of the Khābūr must certainly have been already inhabited in remote antiquity. But the names of the settlements there have — as frequently happens in the East — changed several times in the course of centuries.

The old native name of the place was perhaps the Nabagath mentioned by Isidor of Charace (cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 174). Another name is perhaps preserved in Chabora i. e. the town on the Khābūr; see Streck in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.*). In the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings of the ninth century (Tukulti-Ninurta II, Assurnasirpal) we find mention of a place named Sirku (Sirki) which, according to the itinerary of Tukulti-Ninurta, was the last western stage along the Euphrates on the road to the mouth of the Khābūr. Following Maspero (*De Carchemis oppidi situ*, Paris 1872, p. 13), this Sirku has been connected with Circesium and the latter name actually derived from the Assyrian one; see for example Sayce in the *Proceed. of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xviii. 174; S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 20 and 22, and Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i., Heidelberg 1920, p. 344; it is queried by Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip*, ii., Paris 1909, p. 48. This identification is untenable; see against it Streck in the *Z. A.*, xxvii. 289 sq. and Horn in the *Z. A.*, xxxiv. 150 sq. The site of Sirku is besides to be sought on

the right bank of the Euphrates; on the probable situation cf. Forrer, *Die Provinzial-einteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 15. According to the above mentioned itinerary of Tukulti-Ninurta, Rummunina (on the reading see Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 151) must probably be located in the region of the junction of the Khābūr with the Euphrates.

Simply on account of the similarity of names, Circesium used to be identified with Carchemish, the great Hittite city, for example in the older Biblical commentaries, by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, also by Ritter, *op. cit.*, x. 15 and by Chesney, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.*), p. 250. The lack of foundation for this identification was shown notably by Maspero in the above mentioned work and by Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 sq. Besides, the site of Carchemish has been identified for several decades beyond all doubt in the ruins of Djirbās or Djarābis on the right bank of the middle Euphrates, a few hours' journey below Bīredjik.

In the fourth century A. D. Circesium passed into the hands of the Persians by the shameful treaty made by the Emperor Jovian (363). The Arabs next captured it in the conquest of al-Djazīra. The occupation by the Muslims, which took place, apparently without fighting, under the commander Ḥabīb b. Maslama who was sent by 'Iyād b. Ḡhannm, probably happened in the year 19 (640), not 16 (637), as many sources say. Cf. thereon al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (ed. de Goeje), p. 176, 2 (and cf. p. 111, 175, 178, 179); al-Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 2478; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ii. 409 sq.; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 65 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, II/iii. 402, III/ii. 732, 755 sq., 799. Karkīsiyā became the capital of the district of Khābūr in the province of Diyār Bakr. On account of its very characteristic situation, Karkīsiyā is mentioned by all the Arab geographers in their descriptions of the river-courses and roads, but no detailed account of it is given. The place probably did not attain any great size in the Islāmic period either. The high percentage of Jews (500 families) found by Benjamin of Tudela in the second half of the xiith century there is remarkable; see the Hebrew text of his travels edited and translated by Grünhut and Adler (Jerusalem 1903, Frankfurt a/M. 1904), i. 49, 21 sq. and ii. 47.

In the history of the wars of mediaeval Islām we find Karkīsiyā often mentioned. When 'Abd al-Malik was engaged in his campaign against Muṣ'ab, governor of the 'Irāk and brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair, he had to devote his attention to Karkīsiyā in 71 (690), where the Kaisi Zufar b. al-Ḥārith was ruling independently and had successfully resisted the governor of Ḥimṣ, who had been sent against him. After a siege of some length, Zufar had to submit to the Caliph's army; cf. the account in Ibn al-Aṭṭir (ed. Tornberg), iv. 275 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 431; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 115—116, 119—120, 126. In the wars fought in the ivth (xth) century on Mesopotamian soil in the Ḥamdānīd epoch, we find Karkīsiyā playing a part along with al-Raḥba, a day's journey down the Euphrates from it; cf. Freytag in the *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 451—2. The rulers of Egypt repeatedly extended their power as far as Karkīsiyā, for example the Ṭulūnid Aḥmad, from

whom, however, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid's vigorous brother al-Muwaffaq was able to retake it in 268 (881); see Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, Abh. G. G. W., (1876), vol. xxi., part iii. 20. Several centuries later the Egyptian Sultān Baibars again advanced his frontier up to the Khābūr, when he took Karkīsiyā from the Mongols in 663 (1264); cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv. 96.

At the present day the site of Karkīsiyā is marked by a miserable village of 30–40 houses and hovels of clay and an extensive ruined site adjoining it. It is now called Busaira (Besēra; wrongly written Busaira by the Turks); older travellers give the form Abū Serai etc. Busaira is probably a corruption of Abū Serai (as, along with other authors, Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 37, thinks); it has been with less probability taken as a derivative from Basir, the older name — recorded by Abu 'l-Fidā' for 732 (1331) — of the present Dēr ez-Zōr (see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*). According to Herzfeld, the old name Karkīsiyā still survives locally in the form Karkīsa.

Busaira lies on an irregularly shaped tongue of land formed by the Khābūr at its junction with the Euphrates and is about half an hour's journey distant from its mouth. Communication with the hinterland is broken by a ditch so that we have a well-marked peninsula. The plan of the old fortress can still be easily recognised; it forms a rectangle, the longer side of which runs along the Khābūr, while the shorter faces the Euphrates from which it is now about 1000 yards distant. Four more or less well preserved towers and a fort-like building (praetorium, serai) can still be seen, from which Moritz (*op. cit.*) suggests that the modern name Abū Serai (Busaira) may be derived. The fairly extensive town lay to the north-east of the fortress and is still marked by numerous walls of earth. Descriptions of the modern ruins are given by Sachau, Moritz and Herzfeld; plans of them are in Sachau and Herzfeld (see *Bibl.*).

The important part once played by Karkīsiyā as a trading centre as a result of the important roads which meet here — from Syria to Babylonia, Mōsul to Syria — has in modern times been to a great extent regained by the town of Dēr ez-Zōr on the Euphrates (see above, i. 936) above mentioned, a few hours' journey above the mouth of the Khābūr.

Bibliography: B.G.A., passim (see the Indices); Ibn Serapion (ed. G. Le Strange), *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 10, 9, 51; al-Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), Indices, p. 754; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 528, 739; Idrisi, *Nuḥat al-mushtāk*, transl. by Jaubert, Paris 1836 sq., ii. 138, 142, 145, 150; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 65, 21 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xiii. 782 (Index); al-Dimishqī, *Nuḥbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 191, 9; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales* (ed. Reiske-Adler), i. 235, iv. 51, 509, v. 17; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 273, 281 (and transl., ii. 49, 57); Ritter, *Erkunde*, x. 15, 139, 236, 1129, xi. 266–274, 695; Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, London 1853, p. 283 sq.; Chesney, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, p. 250; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. G. G. W.*, 1876, i. 1 sq.; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, p. 286–288; Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der*

Palmyrene = Abh. Pr. Akad., 1889, p. 37–39; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 105; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, p. 294–297; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i., Berlin 1911, p. 172–174; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 505 sq. (and cf. also i. 1793, 2627; iii. 2017 and Suppl., i. 280, s.v. Chabora). (M. STRECK)

KARLOWITZ. [See CARLOWICZ].

KARLUK (KARLUGH), in early Arabic sources KHARLUKH, in Persian KHALLUKH, in Chinese KO-LO-LU, name of a Turkish people, who are mentioned in the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions and in the Chinese *T'ang Shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, Index. The Karluk attained some political importance after 766, when, after the decline of the empire of the Western Turkish Khāḡāns, they occupied the valley of the Ču [q.v.]. Their princes did not assume the title of Khāḡān (Kaghan) but only that of Yabghu (Arabic Djabghūya) al-Tabarī mentions a Djabghūya of the Karluks in Tōkhāristān on the upper Āmū Daryā as early as the year 119/737. With the Djabghūya al-Kharluḡhī (*op. cit.*, ii. 1612, 16) corresponds the Djabghūya al-Tukhārī (ii. 1604, 3 and 1612, 9). At the present day an affluent of the Surkhan is still called Qalluk or Karluk; cf. W. Barthold, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen*, St. Petersburg 1899, with reference to W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, second series, p. 27, note 1. According to al-Yā'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 479, the Djabghūya of the Karluks adopted Islām in the year 162 (778/779); cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 25; it should however be observed that the same fact at the same date is narrated concerning many other rulers, which makes it suspicious. al-Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Turkestan w. epokhu mongolskago nashestwiya*, ii., St. Petersburg 1900, p. 207) mentions an invasion of the Djabghūya in Farghāna in the year 792/3. In the reports of the Arab geographers of the 10th/11th century the Karluks are still infidels. According to Ibn Ḥawkal (*B.G.A.*, i. 11, 17 sq.) their territory extended 30 days' journey from the frontier of Farghāna. According to the Persian sources, however, their territory was not so extensive (cf. especially the still unpublished *Hudūa al-'Ālam*; al-Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otket w. poadke w. Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, text, p. 81 sq., transl. p. 104 sq. and 'Awfi in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 99 sq.; Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien in der Abh. G. W. Göttingen*, new series, xiii./i., p. 40 sq.). In so far as they were the nearest neighbours of the Muḥammadan territory, the Karluks, more than the other Turks, were influenced by Persian civilization. They even differed in their features from the usual Turkish type. Maḥmūd al-Kashgharī, *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1915–1917, comprises the Karluks and the Ghuzz under the common name of Turkomans.

It cannot be ascertained with certainty what was the relation between the dynasty of the Illek Khāḡāns [q.v.] and the Karluks. At any rate the Karluks are often mentioned in the history of this empire, especially in Samarkand, as unruly Praetorians just like the Ghuzz in the Saldjūq empire. In al-Djuwainī's report (*Ta'rikh-i Djahān Gushā*, ed. Mirzā Muḥ.

al-*Kazwīnī*, Gibb Memorial Series, 1912—16, ii. 87) concerning the conquest of Central Asia by the *Kara Khitāi* [q. v.], the latter appear as the allies of the *Khān* of *Balāsaghun* [q. v.] against the *Qarluqs*; the *Kara Khitāi* of *Samarkand*, on the other hand, are the allies of the *Qarluqs* against *Sultān Sandjar* (cf. especially al-*Rāwandī*, ed. Muḥ. Ikbāl, Gibb Memorial Series, new series, ii., p. 172). Later the *Kara Khitāi* induced the *Qarluqs* in *Samarkand* to abandon their warlike life and to take to agriculture. According to Ibn al-*Athīr*, this took place in 559 (1163/64) (*Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 205), but this date seems to late; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 358. In the second half of the xiith century the *Qarluqs* are mentioned for the last time (by al-*Kātib al-Samarkandī*; cf. the text as edited by Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 71 sq.) as enemies of the *Khān* of *Samarkand*; in the history of the xiiith century they no longer appear. A *Qarluq* state N. of the *Ili* with the capital *Qayālīgh* is however still mentioned; cf. especially *Ta'rikh-i Djahān Gushā*, i. 56 sq.; other reports in Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 433 sq., 477. The son of the *Qarluq* prince Arslān *Khān*, who had submitted to the *Mongols* and taken part in the expedition against the *Khwarizmshāh* *Muhammad*, was given in fief *Ūzgand* in *Farghāna* by the Great *Khān* *Mangu* (1251—1259; cf. *Ta'rikh-i Djahān Gushā*, i. 58); there is no later mention of this dynasty. To the same division of the *Qarluqs* perhaps belonged the dynasty of the princes of *Almalīgh* (cf. the art. *KULĎJA*). The name *Qarluq* seems later to denote an *Özbeq* family only.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ҚАРМАТИАНС (ҚАРМАТИ, plur. ҚАРМАТИА: Carmathians). In the strict application of the word, the name was given to the rebel federations of Arabs and "Nabataeans", which were organised in Lower Mesopotamia after the servile war of the *Zandj* [q. v.] from 264 (877) and based on a system of communism into which initiation was necessary; active propaganda extended this secret society among the masses, peasants and artisans; — in al-*Aḥsā*, where they founded a state independent of the Caliph of *Baghdād*; — in *Khurāsān*, in *Syria* and in *Yemen*, where they formed lasting hotbeds of discontent.

In the broader sense, the name *Qarmāṭian* means the great movement for social reform and justice based on equality, which swept through the Muslim world from the ninth to the twelfth centuries of our era; this movement, captured and controlled by an ambitious family, the *Ismā'īlī* dynasty (cf. *ISMĀ'ILĬYA*, *SABĬYA*), who founded the *Fāṭimid* anti-caliphate in 297/910, became abortive and finally succumbed with this dynasty before the counterstroke of the *Crusades*.

The movement was characterised, from the point of view of knowledge, by the adaptation of the Arabic language to certain technical achievements of foreign origin, especially *Hellenistic* (Neo-Platonic, pseudo-Hermetic and "Sabaeen" writings); from the political point of view, by the exploitation of the 'Alid legitimist tradition on behalf of a conspiracy, carried on in a strict secrecy, in which the name of the supreme leader was never pronounced; from the point of view of worship, by the use of an allegorical and methodical catechism, *Qor'ānic* in origin, adapted to all creeds, to all races and all castes. The movement was based on reason,

tolerance and equality, with a system of graduated initiation and the ritual of a gild which — encouraging the rise of the trade gild movement (see the art. *ŞİNF*) and universities — seems to have reached the West and to have influenced the formation of European gilds and freemasonry.

I. Etymology and early history.

The etymology of the word *qarmāṭ* (not *kirmūt*) is disputed. It appears as a descriptive adjective in the name of the first leader of the insurrection, *Ḥamdān Qarmāṭ* (cf. 'Alī b. *Qarmāṭ*, a heretic quoted by the *Nuṣairī* author *Maimūn Ṭabarānī*). *Vollers* has connected it with the Greek γράμματα, but it is more probable that we should see in it a borrowing from the local Aramaic dialect of *Wāṣīt*, where *qurmatā* to this day means *mudallīs* (Arabo-Aramaic dialect of the *Midān*, cf. *Anastase*, in *Machriq*, x. 18, p. 857). From the year 255 (868) we find mentioned in the same region, along with the *Furātīya*, a corps of *Qurmāṭiya* among the rebellious troops of the *Zandj* (al-*Ṭabarī*, iii. 1757; cf. iii. 1749: *Rāshid Qurmāṭī*).

The name *Qarmāṭ* in palaeography means a particular kind of *naskhī*; in addition there is a special secret *Qarmāṭian* alphabet used in the *Yemenī* texts recently studied by *Griffini*.

The *Qarmāṭian* insurrection was begun by *Ḥamdān* in the neighbourhood of *Wāṣīt*; in 277/890 he founded a *dār al-hidjra* (an entrenched place of retreat) east of *Kūfa* for his partisans, whose various voluntary contributions supported the common chest: these contributions were alms at breaking the fast (*ṣakāt al-fiṭr*), for the right to use the place of refuge, a fifth of all income (*khums*), right of all participation in the agapes (*bulgha*; cf. the art. *NUṢAIRĬ*); community of all objects of general utility (*ulfa*) was prescribed. These details, which we know from *Sunnī* sources, are perhaps accurate; at the agapes they ate "bread of Paradise"; this detail which we find in the contemporary trial of al-*Hallādī* is perhaps simply a transference of the consecrated bread (*pehta*) used among the *Mandaeans* of *Wāṣīt* (*mughtasila* = *nāṣṣrāyā*; cf. al-*Ṭabarī*, year 278 (891), on the *Qarmāṭian* *Faradj* b. 'Oḥmān of *Naṣrāna*; or to be pointed *Naṣrāyā*).

We find along with *Ḥamdān* his brother-in-law 'Abdān (d. 286/899), author of a manual of initiation for the seven degrees (*balāghāt ṣab'a*). Both seem to have been dependent on leaders whose identity remained a secret, living outside of *Sawād*, the *Ṣāhib al-Zuhūr*, who is said to have invested *Ḥamdān*, and the *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa*, who had dismissed 'Abdān and put in his place *Dhikrawaih al-Dindānī*. *Dhikrawaih* in 288/900 gave the signal in the desert of *Syria* among the *Banū 'Ulaīs* for the general *Qarmāṭian* rising — so long prepared (expected in *Khurāsān* for the year 290/902) — and proclaimed as leader the *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa*, under the *Ismā'īlī* regnal name *Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad*, with the dynastic name of 'Fāṭimid'. He was killed in 289 (901) at the siege of *Damascus* and his place was taken by his brother the "Ṣāhib al-Khāl", who as ruler took the name *Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad*, and who was captured and executed at *Baghdād* in 291 (903). The *Qarmāṭian* movement in Lower Mesopotamia, drowned in blood, ceased to be an active factor in politics in 294 (906) with the death of *Dhikrawaih*.

In time the movement regained strength in

al-Aḥsā, where the *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa* had sent as his representative Abū Saʿīd Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī in 281 (894); with the support of the Rabīʿī tribe of the ʿAbd al-Kāis, al-Djannābī seized the whole of al-Aḥsā (286 = 899) and made it an independent state, the bulwark of Ḳarmaṭian power and the terror of the Caliphate of Baghdad. His son and successor Abū Ṭāhir Sulaimān (301—332 = 914—943) began to lay waste Lower Mesopotamia, cut the pilgrim routes and finally seized (Mekka on the 8th of Dhu 'l-Hijja, 317 = Jan. 12, 930), from which he carried off the Black Stone six days later to take it to al-Aḥsā. Abū Ṭāhir, like his father, was only the emissary of a secret organisation, its "commissary for foreign affairs" for al-Aḥsā; while waiting the opportunity to enthroned the expected Imām there, he appointed a representative council over it, the *Sāda* (i.e. the elders of the tribe) for the political administration of home affairs. This organisation was still in existence in 422 (1030) after the decline of the military power of the Ḳarmaṭians; it seems to have maintained local autonomy down to the xviiith century, when the revival of propaganda took the form of a new Ismāʿīlī dynasty (Makramis). The capital was al-Muʿminiya (new name given to Ḥaḍjar; on the site of the present Hufuf).

In Yemen, Ḳarmaṭian propaganda, directed from 266 (879) by Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (title of Ibn Ḥawshab) with the *dar al-hidjra* near ʿAdanāʿa, failed against the resistance of the local Zaidī chiefs and could only found some little principalities, the Sulaiḥis of Ṣanʿā and the Makramis of Naḍīrān (texts studied by Griffini).

In Ḳhurāsān the movement began in 260 (873) at Raiy with Khalaf; then it spread to Marw al-Rūdh and Ṭalākān in Džūzdžān, where the Amīr became a Ḳarmaṭian adept. Dailam which was to become a bulwark of the Ismāʿīlī dynasty (see the art. ALAMŪT, ASSASSINS), was next taken for the cause, finally Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Baraḍhāʿī (d. 331 = 942) undertook the conversion of the Sāmānid rulers. His execution destroyed the political hopes of the party: the small Ḳarmaṭian centres of eastern Ḳhorāsān — if we except the works of Naṣīr-i Ḳhusraw — only produced a moderate literary activity (texts studied by Iwanow).

In Syria the centre seems to have been Salamiya; but, except for some biased Sunni records, we do not know what happened there after the insurrection of 288 (901), nor the part played in it by the future ʿUbaid Allāh, the first Fāṭimid Caliph. Syrian Ḳarmaṭianism is still dormant, without showing any signs of activity nor of contact with the Druzes, who are its distant brethren.

The small local bodies, among which Ḳarmaṭian manuscripts have survived down to our days (for a list of them see the art. ISMĀʿILĪYA, ii, 549 sqq.), have not been the scene of any serious doctrinal activity apart from the writings of the Syrian Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān (xivth cent.), the *Dābistān* of the Indian Maḥmūd Fānī (Mobed *Shāh*) (xviith cent.) and the Turkish and Persian texts of the Ḥurūfis (xvth—xviith cent.).

II. The position of the Ḳarmaṭians relative to the Fāṭimids.

The general tendency of Ḳarmaṭian doctrine was to consider ʿAlid legitimism as a means rather than an end. The Imāmate, the supreme authority, is not a hereditary monopoly transmitted in a dynasty; it is an intellectual characteristic, a divine

investiture, an imperative mandate (*ṣūrat al-amr*) conferred (*tafwīd*) on the new holder of the title from among the initiates by a sudden illumination of his intellect, which makes him "substituted" or "spiritual son" of his predecessor. Such is the justification, given in the formula of initiation in the Druze books, for these alleged "usurpations" of genealogy, which are the rule in the annals of the Ḳarmaṭians from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn down to Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām. And this is the meaning of the definitions of the imāmate given by adepts like Ibn Masarra, Ruʿīnī, Ibn Hānī and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʿ*. Indeed, when the *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa* in 288 (900), and ʿUbaid Allāh in 297 (909) had assumed a Fāṭimid dynastic title, neither the one nor the other plainly indicated their genealogical connection with the ʿAlid Ismāʿīlī line (cf. al-Makrizī, *Ittīʿāz*, ed. Bunz., p. 7—11). And if this claim was of importance with respect to the public, in the opinion of their enemies, it seems that it hardly interested those initiated into the true doctrine, who expected above all else a chief, possessing a special divine appointment, of the "intellectual order", whether he was ʿAlid or not.

The official version of the ancestry of the family of ʿUbaid Allāh compiled by his Ḳāḍī, the Māliki al-Nuʿmān b. Abī Ḥanīfa al-Tamīmī (born 259, d. 363 aged 104), is a laudatory and lying composition specially written in reply to a Buwaihid attack. The versions of two Sunni anti-Ḳarmaṭian pamphlets by Muḥammad b. Rizām al-Ṭāʿī, president of the "Maẓālim" in Baghdad in 329 A. H., and by Muḥammad Aḥḥ Muḥassin Ibn al-ʿAbid, an ʿAlid of Damascus, who died about 375 A. H., are hardly of any more value. S. de Sacy, Guyard and de Goeje thought they could rely on them as Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Nuwairi and al-Makrizi had done. But a result of a comparison with the statements contained in the biographical collections (*ṭabaqāt*) of orthodox Imāmi *muḥaddithūn*, in which the early Ḳarmaṭian propagandists have a prominent place, shows that there are serious errors in the exposé by these two opponents. Maimūn Qaddāh (d. about 180 A. H. at latest) was not a "Bardesanian"; he was a client of the Maḥzūmī clan (Ḳuraish), a native of Mekka, a well-known theologian, the official *rāwī* of the fifth and sixth Imāms, Baḳīr and Sādiq. His son ʿAbd Allāh, who was official *rāwī* of Sādiq (which provoked the irony of the poet Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarri), did not die in 250 A. H. but in 210 at latest, "in prison in Kūfa under al-Maʿmūn"; Dīndān (and not Zaidān) is the soubriquet of a known Imāmi author, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Ahwāzī, who died about 250—270 A. H., etc. In these circumstances the statements made in the two Sunni sources mentioned regarding the assassination of ʿAbdān, the illegitimacy of ʿUbaid Allāh and the usurpation of the soi-disant "son" of Dhikrawaih in 288—291 A. H. have to be received with caution.

After the proclamation of the Fāṭimid Caliphate in the Maghrib the general attitude of the Ḳarmaṭians in al-Aḥsā as in Yemen and in Ḳhurāsān was one of expectancy, which the assassination of the *Ṣāhib al-baḍīr* (267 = 909) by ʿUbaid Allāh amply justified. Let us take al-Aḥsā for example: Abū Saʿīd had from the first paid the fifth to the *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa*; after various evasions, which the intrigues of the court of Baghdad do not quite explain, Abū Ṭāhir sent it to al-Kāʿim; but with so little conviction of his legitimacy, that he welcomed and enthroned in 319 (931) as the

expected Imām a madman, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Zakari al-Ṭammānī (a kind of Heliogabalus, soon put to death). The Black Stone was restored to the Meccans in 340 (951) by order of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr; but in 360 (970) the Ḳarmaṭian chief Ḥasan b. Aḥmad thought it no breach of his oath of initiation to give his Buwaihīd allies a document, which was solemnly read at Damascus, testifying to usurpation of civil authority by the first Fāṭimid Caliph. In 422 (1030) the Druze writer Muḫtana^c in vain urged the Ḳarmaṭian *Sāda* of al-Aḥsā to rally to the cult of Fāṭimid Ḥakim.

On the other hand there are abundant proofs of the adoption of Ḳarmaṭian doctrine by the Fāṭimid dynasty. It was at the *dār al-ḥijra* of the Maghrib, Iḳīdjīn (or Guedjal) founded by the Ḳarmaṭian *Ṣāḥib al-baḍr*, that 'Ubaid Allāh took refuge before his proclamation as Caliph. The oraisons of Mu'izz (publ. by Guyard) are pure Ḳarmaṭian in style as well as the ritual of the lodge of initiation (*maḥwil*; the present masonic term is *maḥfil*) which he founded in Cairo. The Druze religion is simply a Ḳarmaṭian heresy. The introduction by 'Ubaid Allāh of the *Ṣalāt 'ala 'l-Nabī* at the end of the *adhān* (Ibn Ḥammād, in the *J. A.* of 1855, p. 542) is to be traced to the part of *nāṭīk*, recognised in the Prophet by the Ḳarmaṭians.

III. The Ḳarmaṭian Doctrine.

It is no longer possible to rely, as used to be done, on the accounts of Ḳarmaṭian doctrine given by the Sunnī anti-Ḳarmaṭian writers on heresies; al-Mas'ūdī has judiciously said of the latter that they contradict one another and that the Ḳarmaṭians themselves recognise nothing of their doctrines in them. Except for a few lines that are accurate in the *Tanbīh* of al-Malaṭī (d. 377 = 987) we have to come down to the xiith century of our era to find a conscientious author, al-Shahrastānī, able to give us authentic Ḳarmaṭian fragments, some quite old (of Maimūn Ḳaddāḥ and Aḥmad Kaiyāl) from original sources, which he does not mention, but which Fakhr Rāzī (*Masā'il 'aṣḥr*) has identified with the *Fuṣūl arba'a* of Ḥasan Sabbāḥ (on Sabaeism: ii. 47—155 of the Cairo edition of 1317) and the *Sunwān al-Ḥikma* of Abū Dja'far Sidjī b. Būya († 370/980) (on Hellenism: ii. 155—193, of the Cairo edition of 1317).

To deal with the problem more minutely one must search the polemical literature of the Imāmis and particularly the apologetic treatises in which the various extremist sects endeavour to convert one another, starting from their common technical terms. Lastly the encyclopaedic collection of the *Iḫwān al-Ṣafā*, which has not yet been thoroughly studied since Dieterici, is invaluable for the synthetic understanding of Ḳarmaṭian thought.

According to them, the world is a sum total of phenomena which repeat themselves in cycles, playing and replaying the same drama to us time after time: — this spectacle, presented to intelligences (invariable in number) so that they may be illuminated, is the gradual disappearance of the material veil, perceptible by our senses, a multi-form and transitory mirage; then the intelligences are born (*ḫalq ṭhānī*) by gaining consciousness of a pure intellectual evidence of a unique and impersonal thought, which is divinity itself.

The divine essence, in fact, outside of which nothing exists, is only the evidence of a single idea, an authentication of indifferentiated intelligibility and devoid of all content; the *via remotionis*

(*tanẓīh*) of the Ḳarmaṭians, still more rigorous than the *taṭīl* of the Dījahmiya, denies all divine attributes and postulates an absolute monism of fundamental intellectualism.

True worship consists in knowing how to recognise — as the result of a graduated initiation — what have been the stages of the creative evolution of the universe outside of God; what exactly leads the initiated by a process of inverse gnostic involution to forget these stages and to become absorbed in God.

a) Creative evolution: — the divine essence or supreme light (*nūr 'ulwī*), alone in the beginning and in the end, gives forth first of all the *nūr shā-shā'ānī*, "glistening" and "victorious (*kāḥir*) light" which then engenders the universal intelligence (*'aql kullī*) and the soul of the world (*nafs*); the latter under various modes produce human intelligences (those of the prophets, imāms and elect; the others are only phantoms of nothingness). The *nūr shā-shā'ānī* in the second degree gives forth the *nūr ḡulāmī* "tenebrous light"; that is matter, passive, "vincible" (*maḥḥūr*), destined to disappear; it appears in various modes as stars at the skies (*aflāk*), as perishable bodies on earth.

b) Gnostic involution: — the intelligences of the prophets, imāms and their adepts are sparks of "sparkling light" suddenly illuminated in the midst of the tenebrous light, blind and unreal matter like reflections in mirrors, following the cyclic intermittances of the initiatory illumination; these sparks shine, on becoming conscious of their divine identity, in a liberating intuition, in which, losing all individuation, they find themselves "delivered from the five tyrants": — the sky, which makes day alternate with night, nature, which gives desires and regrets, law, which commands and forbids, the state, which controls and punishes, necessity, which forces one to daily labour."

c) The immaterial succession of initiatory investitures (*nukla, tafwid*). Initiatory illumination makes the separated intelligences cohere, divine sparks individualised for a moment, following two convergent hierarchic series; decreasing, of the initiators (*nāṭīk, ṣāmit, bāb*); and increasing, of the initiated (*dā'ir, ḥudjja, imām*). Historically the list of their titulars was classed in cycles of limited number; the intelligences, in invariable number, "transmigrate" from cycle to cycle (without "finding" again "their" personality, since they have only the appearance of individuality).

d) Planetary denominations of the cycles of transmigration (*akwār, adwār, ḳirānāt*). The cycles just mentioned are named from their material veils, i.e. from the planetary revolutions, periods and conjunctions. This is a very fine point which must be appreciated. The Ḳarmaṭians are nominalists; they do not believe that the name determines the thing and they unanimously assert that the planetary bodies have no directing influence on the intelligences; but the divine volition (*kun*) which regulates the intermittances of the initiatory illumination makes them coincide inevitably with the astral periods which form the tracing, the shadow cast by these cycles of illumination, and provides the horoscope of intelligences which form part of it (change of cults, *milal*, every 960 years, of empires every 240 years, of sovereigns every 20 years, of epidemics every year, of genethliac subjects every

month and every day). When the moment comes for the final cassation of every action (*bikār* = *daidjūr* of the Hadīth, *ṣaiḥūr*) cycles and periods will cease together.

e) The degrees of individual initiation. Initiatory illumination is transmitted to the adept by degrees as in the ancient initiations (Greek, Manichaean) and in modern freemasonries. It emanates from the divine volition following a method of irrefutable and infallible authority (*ta'lim*, whence the name *ta'limiyya* given by al-Ghazālī to the Karmaṭians). The adept submits himself for it (in the fourth degree) by a declaration — a solemn contract with a clause (*ṭalāk mu'allak*) of triple repudiation of his favourite wife if he should reveal the secrets (*ifshā' al-sirr*, which constitutes Karmaṭian adultery, *zinā*). Its formula has been studied by Goldziher (cf. the art. SURAIḌIYYA). We find it first used during the revolt of the Zandj (al-Tabarī, iii. 1750) and Usāma alludes to it in his *Memoirs*. The Sunnī heresiographers record 3, 5, 7 ('Abdān and Ibn Hamdān) or 9 degrees; but the names which 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī gives them are doubtful: *tafarrus*, diagnostic of the future adept, described as "fertile" or "sterile" earth, *ta'nīs* (taming), *tashkik* (apprenticeship to methodic doubt), *ta'lik* (taking of the oath), *raḥṭ*, *tadlis*, *ta'sīs*, *khaṭ'* and *salkh*. The programme for the five high grades (secret) is little known. The "letter of 'Ubaid Allāh to Abū Ṭāhir", an apocryphal curiosity (recalling certain modern anti-masonic productions), analysed by al-Baghdādī, puts in various maxims of cynical impiety, among others the mediaeval parable *De Tribus Impostoribus* (the earliest reference to it; cf. *R.H.R.*, 1920). Al-Makrizī's reference to the *maḥwīl* of Cairo (transl. by de Sacy and Casanova) shows that initiation simply amounted to showing that the exterior rites (*ṣāḥir*) of all the revealed cults conceal under equivalent and inadequate allegories the same hidden meaning (*bāṭin* whence the name *Bāṭiniyya* of the Karmaṭians), purely negative and without mystery; initiation being reduced to teaching of the use of wholly speculative philosophical reasoning, which propounds without practical differentiation the antithesis, opposite conceptions like "law" and "breach of law", "*tawḥīd*" and *talḥīd*"; cf. DRUZES). But this is only, as we have seen, one aspect of the fundamental intellectual monism of the Karmaṭians.

IV. Its Imāmī technical vocabulary; its criticism of the other extremist Shī'ī sects (*Ghulāt*).

Terrified by the wide and rapid spread of Karmaṭian doctrines in the most cultivated centres of the Muslim world the Sunnī heresiographers strove to discover and denounce an anti-Muslim offensive in it, originating in a foreign religion — Mazdeism, Mazdakism (*Khurramiyya*), Manichaeism —, in racial hatred, setting Iranian against Arab, the tribe of Rabī'a against that of Muḍar (*Shu'ubīya*). They quoted parallelisms which are not very convincing.

The hypothesis of the Sabaeen origin of the Karmaṭians, which is also found among them, is more attractive. It seems to have been put forward by the Karmaṭians themselves with a view to gaining citizenship in the Sunnī Muslim state, presenting their syncretism as the heritage of Abraham (*ḥabliyya*) from these mysterious "Sabaeans" mentioned by the Qur'ān. Such is probably the leading idea in the Sabaeen tale developed

among others by al-Shahraṣṭānī in some pages borrowed without acknowledgment from the Karmaṭian Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. The documents hardly permit us to connect effectively the Karmaṭians with the pseudo-"Sabaeans" of Ḥarrān or Wāsiṭ.

In reality an examination of the Karmaṭian technical terms shows that this doctrine was formed before the end of the second century A.H. in the Imāmī circles of Kūfa. The Karmaṭians retained, embedded in their system, various series of Imāmī special terms, which we find again among other extremist sects, Ishāḳiyya, Sharīfiyya, Namīriyya (Nuṣairiyya), Khasakiyya, Hallāḍiyya; e.g.: *nūrānī*, *nafsānī*, *ruhānī*, *djismānī*, *sha'sha'ānī*, *wahādānī*, *nāmūs*, *lahūt*, *nāsūt*, *djabrūt*; *faiḍ*, *ḥulūl*, *zuḥūr*, *djawiṭān*; *talḥwīn*, *talḥwīḥ*, *ta'yīd*; the mystic sense of the 28 letters according to the *djāfr*. The last orthodox Imāmī Muḥaddithūn received into the Karmaṭian *isnād*'s are Mufaddal b. 'Omar and Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Zāhirī (also admitted by the Nuṣairis).

The first clearly Karmaṭian author is Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab al-Asādī al-Kāhilī (d. 167 = 783 at Kūfa); he substituted in place of the "personifying" Korānic exegesis of the early Shī'is an abstract allegorical exegesis; in cosmogony he replaced the use of letters (cf. Mughīra) by their corresponding numerical values (mystic meanings of *djāfr*); it was he also who seems to have invented the pledge guaranteeing the secret of initiation: for the Khaṭṭābiyya, his adepts, are the only Imāmī sect whom al-Shāfi'ī (*Kitāb al-Shahādāt*) will not allow to take the oath on the ground that they make of the *taḳiyya* (negative practice of secrecy) a positive precept justifying false testimony (to keep a secret).

After him, Abū Shākir Maimūn al-Qaddāh al-Makḥzūmī (d. towards 180 = 796) gave definite dogmatic form to the Karmaṭian doctrine of emanation; he substituted the abstract first principles for the five *aitām* (deified historical personages), demiurges of the first *Ghulāt*. He denies that the divine essence has any attributes and defines the "eternal Qur'ān" as a pure divine illumination in intelligences.

If one compares Karmaṭian dogma with the preceding Imāmī systems, their naively "materialising" (*tadjiīm*) and "personifying" (*tashakḥḥuṣ*) notions and their idolatry of 'Alī and his descendants, we see at once after the connection a transposition: here they are intellectualised, objectified in abstractions. Finally the Karmaṭians, considering only rank and the external role played, restore to Muḥammad priority over 'Alī. Not that they in turn deify Muḥammad — it is simply his predestined role of pre-eternally foreseen messenger or herald (*nāṭīk*) that they look at. They are (to use the exact term) not *Muḥammadiyya* but *Mīmīyya* (the letter *mīm* means in *djāfr* the name, *ism*: that is to say the mission of onomaturge, *nāṭīk*, devolved on the prophet), in opposition to the *'Ainiyya* (the letter *'ain* in *djāfr* means the original sense, *ma'nā*, whence: the hidden meaning, the "silent" (*ṣāmit*) role of "tacitly designated" chief, devolved on 'Alī), like Dūsī and Nakḥa'ī.

During the polemics that went on in Kūfa between Imāmī writers down to the third century A.H. the Karmaṭian authors, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Faiyād and Nahikī, were "Mīmīyya"; they place Muḥammad (*nāṭīk* = *'aḳl* = *ḳā'im* = *naḥī*) above 'Alī (*ṣāmit* = *nafs* = *walī* = *waṣī*). The Nuṣairī Kha-

sibi, modifying the doctrine of the 'Ainiya to suit the exigencies of controversy, maintains 'Alī (*mānā* = *imām*) above Muḥammad (*ḥidjāb* = *ḥudjja*) and Salmān (*ism* = *bāb*). To the Nuṣairi arguments that Muḥammad is the "veil" uncovering the divine appearance called 'Alī, the Druzes reply with good Karmaṭian logic that a "veil" only covers and that Muḥammad has given more perfect evidence of God by his words than 'Alī by his silence. Internal sanctity is set aside in favour of the gift of prophecy and sinlessness neglected for infallibility.

It is the same polemical attitude which dictates to Maimūn Qaddāh the order in which he associates his two first principles (followed in that by Kaiyāl, Baradhaṭ, the Druzes and Ḥasan Šabbāḥ); first the intellect ('*akl* = *nafs nūṭika* = *awwal* = *sābiḳ*) and secondly the soul (*nafs* = *nafs ḥaiwānī* = *thānī* = *tālī* = *lāḥiḳ*). Then comes the "fiat" (*kun, djad*), the central sign of divine intervention, before the second pair of principles, simply reduplication of the first among the Druzes ('*akl* and *nafs*) and in Ḥasan Šabbāḥ (*fath* and *khayāl*). The identification of the five Karmaṭian first principles with those of the Hellenistic philosophers, like the physician Rāzī (intellect, soul, matter, space and time) does not seem to be primitive and represents a later effort at syncretic conciliation.

In psychology the Karmaṭians deprive each human individuality of all definitive reality; his body being removed *a priori* like an unreal veil, there only remains a momentary principle of individuation to which they refuse any name implying internal finality, like *rūḥ, nūr, ma'nā* (employed by the early Imāmīs); they substitute for it the term '*akl* "intelligence", indicating a simple causation on the part of God, "ab extra", a role of an observer who takes no actual part in what he sees.

They criticise the gross materialism of the first Ghulat (and of the Nuṣairis) who believe that souls are fallen stellar bodies, fallen from the higher heaven (of which the sun or the moon is the threshold) and destined to return there by that same predestined attraction which caused them to adore the divine apparitions imperfectly seen in the course of the cycles of bodily transmigration (*tanāsukh*). For the Karmaṭians there is no corporeal transmigration even for the damned (they have only been phantoms) in the bodies of animals and we cannot even speak of true spiritual "transmigration" for the elect, since the immortality of the intelligence is only impersonal whether it assumes modes as "sparks" or not.

Contrary to the Nuṣairis, who refuse initiation (and immortality) to women, the Karmaṭians admit them (*risālat al-nisā'* in the Druze canon).

The Karmaṭians profess an integral nominalism; the letters of the alphabet are only intellectual symbols; the name is the mask of the thing, not its manifestation (Nuṣairi view); each symbol ought to be destroyed to permit access (*taḥṣīl*) to the pure Idea. The obligatory duties of religion etc. are only supererogatory counsels leaving free play to all human faculties (*ibāḥa*).

V. Its connections with Hellenistic philosophy.

Karmaṭianism preserved from its place of origin an old stock of primitive Islāmic terms, Ḳorānic and others, in which it retained the archaic special meanings they had before the third century A. H.

(e.g. *amr, ṭūl, 'ard, kun, sam', shāhid, balāgh, ghāya, yaḳīn, istiḳāma, ikhlāṣ, riḍā, taslīm*). From the same period it retained an ignorance of certain problems, which were only put forward later, among the Imāmīs after Ibn al-Ḥakam, among the Sunnis after Naẓẓām, such as the perception of sensation, the conceptual process, the modality of a harmony between the movements of the limbs and the intentions of the heart which accompany them. The Karmaṭians on these three points profess a kind of fatalism, a blind occasionalism, something like that of Djahm.

They, however, like the Mu'tazilis in another field, marked the very first awakening of Muslim philosophic reflection at its contact with Hellenistic science: by the systematic employment of the word '*akl*, intelligence, to designate the principle of individuation which constitutes man. This brought them not only to the abstract allegorical exegesis analysed above, in which dialectic gives place to logic, but also to the direct acceptance of scientific bases, of natural constants — viz. consideration of arithmetical properties (numbers 3, 5, 7, 9, etc.) permitting the calculation of the astronomical calendar (new-moon festivals: against the Sunnis) —, of the four elements and the "humours" (*ṭabā'ī'*), specific remedies (*ʿaḳāḳīr*), the foundation of medicine.

Without going further or assimilating the whole corpus of Hellenistic philosophy, as the *Ikhwān al-Šafā'* attempted to do, Karmaṭianism prepared many minds to understand it; it presented to them as divine prophets the ancient philosophers of Greece: Pythagoras, Empedocles and Plato, the masters of hermetism (Agathodaemon, etc.), stimulating in consequence its adepts to read works coming from these foreigners as freely as the Ḳur'ān.

The same licence was to a less degree allowed for certain Persian sources (books of Djāmāsp; the "amshapands", being regarded as prophets) and much later for Hindu sources also.

VI. The role of Karmaṭianism in the evolution of the Islām.

The influence of Karmaṭian authors, especially of the encyclopaedia of the "Faithful Friends" (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Šafā'*), on diverse Muslim thinkers belonging to the Sunna or to orthodox Imāmism has been considerable.

In philosophy, it inspired the political theory of idealistic imāmism (*istiḍād lil-nubuwwa*) of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā (Rāzī had polemics on this subject with Kaiyāl), the emanation theory of the ten '*uḳūl* (Ibn Sīnā). The famous parable of the self-taught (Ḥaiy b. Yaḳẓān) would also be of Karmaṭian origin (cf. the art. DRUZES).

There were in the same way various infiltrations into dogmatic theology: abstract allegorical exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, *tanāsukh* of Ibn Ḥaṭīṭ and Ibn Yanūsh, and the *nūr Muḥammadi*.

In mysticism, it is still clearer from Sahl al-Tustarī [q.v.] to Suhrawardī of Aleppo (*nūr kāhir*). The mystics who attack Karmaṭianism use its vocabulary (al-Ḥallājī, al-Tawḥīdī, al-Ghazālī; [q.v.]). Ibn Taimiyya rightly pointed out the adoption of Karmaṭian theses in works of the Andalusian school of Sunni mystics, Ibn Barradjān, Ibn Ḳasīr, down to their pupil, the great mystic Ibn al-ʿArabi [q.v.]. When he defined the five periods of creative evolution and of gnostic involution (same number in al-Farghānī; three times in 'Abd al-Ḳarīm Djili) and when he identified the spirit (*rūḥ*) with in-

telligence (*ʿaql*) in his monist descriptions of the fundamental unity of being (*waḥdat al-wuḍūd*) in reference to the Korānic themes of the covenant (*mīthāq*) and the Nocturnal Ascension (*kāb kaw-sain*), — Ibn al-ʿArabī only took up Karmaṭian exegesis again in a more moderate form.

The remarkable organisation of trades and Muslim gilds goes back to the Karmaṭians (cf. the art. *SINF*).

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KARMISĪN. [See KIRMĀNŠAH].

KARNĀK. [See AL-UḤṢUR].

KARNĀL (1). A town of 23,559 inhabitants (1901); situated a few miles W. of the Djamnā R. in 29° 41' N. 76° 59' E. The town is the administrative centre of a district of the Panjāb, but historically and ethnologically it belongs to Hindustān rather than the Panjāb. The language commonly used by the inhabitants is a dialect of Western Hindi. It is no doubt a place of great antiquity, and the name is traditionally derived from Karna of the *Mahābhārata* (Karnālaya = Abode of Karna). But it was not of great importance in early times, and is not mentioned in the accounts of the invasions of India by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and Mu'izz al-Dīn. Its prosperity seems to have commenced with the construction of the canal from the Djamnā by Fērōz Shāh Tughlak (see Shams-i-Sirāḍj, *Tarikh-i Firōz Shāhi*, Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iii. 300). The country became productive and rich, and being on the direct road to Dihli from the north became an object of attention to invaders and rebels. Thus in 980 (1573), while Akbar was engaged in Gudjarāt, Karnāl, Pānīpat, and Sōnpat were plundered by Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā. Djahāngir halted at Karnāl in 1013 during his pursuit of his rebellious son, Khusraw (Elliot and Dowson, *o.c.*, VI, 296, also Beveridge's trans., *Fahangir's Memoirs*, Vol. i.). In 1120 (1708) during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Karnāl was attacked and plundered by the Sikh rebels (Elliot and Dowson, *o.c.*, vii. 419). But the most noteworthy event in its history was the great victory of Nādir Shāh over Muḥammad Shāh 1152 (1739) which was fought just outside the walls of the town. The imperial army was before the battle encamped on the banks of the canal, where it was re-enforced by the 30,000 cavalry of Burhān al-Mulk, Nāzim of Awadh (Oudh). But Nādir Shāh's army was under better discipline and provided with abundant artillery, and the

defeat of Muḥammad Shāh's forces was sudden and complete. After the break-up of the Mughal empire following on this invasion (and those of Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni and the Mahrāttas), Karnāl and the surrounding district again became a prey to the Sikhs. Gadḥpat Singh of Dḥind took possession of it in 1763 after the battle of Sirhind but Nadjaf Khān recovered it in 1775. After this the Sikhs and Mahrāttas contended for its possession with varying results. The intrepid adventurer, George Thomas, drove out the Sikhs in 1798, but only held it for a short time. Gurḍit Singh, the Sikh chief of Lādwa, then held it for a space until driven out by a British force under Skinner in 1803, after Lake's defeat of the Mahrāttas at Dihli.

After these events Karnāl became the headquarters of a British district and was for several years the most advanced military post towards the north-west. Partly on account of its unhealthiness and partly owing to the advance of the British frontier to the Satlaj it was given up as a military post in 1841, but remained the centre of a civil district. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, Karnāl was held by the British with the assistance of the Sikh Rāḍjā of Dḥind and the Musulmān Nawwāb of Karnāl, and remained an important link in the chain of communications between the Panjāb and Dihli. Its later history is uneventful. The canal originally constructed by Fērōz Shāh and afterwards extended by 'Alī Mardān (whose name it bore) in the reign of Shāh Djahān I, was entirely remodelled by British engineers and now irrigates a very extensive tract. The only building of importance is the tomb of the Saint Bū 'Alī Qalandar, locally said to have been built by Ghīyāth al-Dīn (probably Tughlak), but the architecture shows it to be a much more modern building. Bū 'Alī Qalandar died in 725 (1323) and Ghīyāth al-Dīn died the following year, so the tradition as to the original foundation of the tomb is probably correct. Both Pānīpat and Karnāl claim to have this saint's tomb.

2. A district in the province of the Panjāb lying between 29° 11' and 30° 15' N. and 76° 11' and 77° 17' E. Area 3153 sq. m. Population (1901) 883,225 of which 241,412 are Muslims. Its eastern boundary is the R. Djamnā, the District of Dihli lies to the S., that of Ambāla to the N., and the territory of Paltāla and other Sikh States to the W. In addition to the Djamnā, the small rivers called Čitāng and Saraswati flowing from N.E. to S.W. traverse part of the district. The first named is absorbed in the Western Djamnā canal system. The Saraswati joins the Ghaghar and the joint stream is lost in the Rāḍjputāna desert although, when the Saraswati held a greater supply of water, it was a famous river, and the stream probably joined the old course of the Satlaj, otherwise called the Hakra. It gave its name to the town of Sarsutī or Sirsa. The territory in the N. of the Karnāl district was the Kurukshētra of the *Mahābhārata* still locally called Kulchētar. Stānēśwara (now Thānēsar) was the principal town. Towards the end of the 6th cent. it became the centre of a powerful kingdom to which Harshavardhana succeeded in 606 A. D. He spread his rule over Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Satlaj and Gudjarāt and was an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism. He was visited by Yüan Čwang at his camp at Kanawḍj in 635

A. D. who also visited the capital Shānēswara before his reception by Harsha. After Harsha's death his empire rapidly broke up and Thānēsar lost its importance. It was sacked by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, and traversed by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sam whose defeat and subsequent victory over Prithwī-Rādj took place at Tirāori, a small town farther to the south near Karnāl in 588 (1192). This place is called Tarān and Talāwarī by the chroniclers, but Tirāori is the actual name in use at the present day. At this place there is a fine serāi of the Mughal period converted into a fort by the Sikhs in the 18th cent. A few miles from Karnāl is also the small town of Kundjipura founded by Nidjābat Khān, an Afghān claiming Ghorghushti descent, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh. It was a fort in a marsh, and was called by its founder Kundjipura, or the Crane's town; hence the family takes its present name of Kundjipuria. Nidjābat Khān afterwards took the side of Nādir Shāh but fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. All the sovereign powers of the Nawwābs were taken from them in 1849. Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān upheld the authority of the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. The family, though reduced through family feuds, still holds a good position. The Mandal family of Karnāl also has the title of Nawwāb. It claims Afghān origin, but is probably in reality Djaṭ [q. v.]. The Nawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī Khān did good service to the British Government in 1857, and received substantial *djāgirs*. The family still continues prosperous.

In the South part of the district the principal place is Pānīpat [q. v.].

The Muslim families of Pānīpat are of a good stamp. Among them is a branch of the Sayyids of Bārḥā. The Nawwāb of Pānīpat is the head of the local Anṣārīs descended from Khwādja 'Abd Allāh of Herāt, whose son settled at Pānīpat in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh 639 (1241). Nawwāb Bakr Allāh Khān in the early part of the 19th cent, and his son N. Amān-Allāh Khān, both did good service to the British Government, and the present Nawwāb holds large estates.

The other principal Muslims of the district of Karnāl are Rādjputīs of the Čawhān, Mandhār, Ghōrēwāha and Juriwar clans. Some of these clans have sections which still retain the Hindū religion. The conversion to Islām is generally asserted to have taken place in the reign of Firōz Shāh Tughlak.

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KARNĀTAK. [See CARNATIC].

KARRĀMIYA, sect, called after Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (or Karām or Kirām; see *Mizān al-Fīdāl*, iii. 127, and for further ancestors Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Kāmil*, vii. 149). Of this person, who

is called al-Sidjistānī, a fairly full biography is given by al-Sam'ānī in the *Ansāb*, 476^b, 477^a. According to this, he was of the Banū Nizār, was born in a village of Zarandj, was brought up in Sidjistān, and afterwards went to Khorāsān, where he attended the courses of Aḥmad b. Harb, the Ascetic (d. 234); at Balkh he heard Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Mākiyānī (d. 257), in Merw 'Alī b. Iḥdjar (d. 244), and in Herāt 'Abdallāh b. Mālik b. Sulaimān; and he recited many traditions on the authority of Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh Djaḡybarī (d. 247) and Muḥammad b. Tamīm Faryānānī: "had he known these two, he would have left them alone", both being notorious fabricators. After spending five years in Mekka he returned to Sidjistān, where he sold all his possessions. He proceeded to Nisābūr, where he was imprisoned by the governor Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh (according to the *Tādj al-'Arūs* on two occasions); after his release in 251 he left Nisābūr and proceeded to Jerusalem, where he ended his days in 255. The sanctuary of his followers there, called Khānikāh, is mentioned by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir (*Livre de la Création*, ed. Huart, v. 149) a hundred years later, as also by al-Muḥaddasi.

2. Doctrines. The opinions of this person were set forth in a work called *Adḡāb al-Kābir* "The Torment of the Tomb", of which some citations are given in the *Fark bain al-Firāk*, pp. 202—214, where there is the fullest account of the sect, with some of whose members the author held debates. His chief theological doctrine, which caused the inclusion of his sect among the Muḡabbihā, was that the Divine Being is a Substance (*Djāwhar*), for which some of his followers substituted Body (*Djism*), though without human members, and in contact (*munāssa*, for which the euphemism *mulāḡat* was substituted) with the Throne, which is located in space. This was apparently a deduction from the Qur'ānic 'ala 'l-'arshī 'stawā, and, indeed, the rest of his theology would seem to have been an endeavour to work the Qur'ānic texts into certain parts of the Aristotelian philosophy, notably the distinction between Substance and Accident, and that between *dynamis* and *energeia*. Thus his followers could maintain that God was "speaking" before He spoke, and could be worshipped before there were any worshippers. The doctrine of the eternity of the world was reconciled with the Qur'ānic creation by some subtle expedients; God, he held, was subject to certain Accidents, such as willing, perceiving, speaking, coming in contact; over such accidents He has power, but not over the world and the objects therein, which were created not by His will, but by the word *kun*. Thus, it would seem, the tense in *kun fayakūnu* could have its proper meaning.

Another doctrine to which allusion is often made in *kalām* works is that faith (*imān*) is constituted by a single utterance of the two *shahāda's*, and involves neither conviction nor works. This view, through similar to the chief thesis of the Murdji'a, is said to have been held by no one before him (Ibn Taimiya, *Kitāb al-Imān*, Cairo 1325, p. 57, who refutes it at length). The rest of his opinions, as recorded in the *Fark*, seem to have been in the direction of moderation. Thus the infallibility of Prophets was confined within certain limits, and a reason was found (somewhat in the style of Ibn Ṭufail) why those

whom no prophetic message had reached ought to believe in prophetic missions; he held that there might be two *Imām*'s simultaneously, and that each would have a right to his followers' allegiance, even when the two were at variance. His innovations in the *furū'* were such as to render the law more flexible.

3. History of the Sect. It would seem that the Karrāmī doctrine spread chiefly in Khorāsān, and in 370 the author of the *Farḡ* debated with a member of the sect in the presence of the Sāmānid commander Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr. It was favoured by Sabuktakīn of Ghazna out of respect for the asceticism of Abū Bakr Ishāḡ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 383), the chief of the Karrāmīs in his time, who is said to have converted some 5,000 *dhimmīs*. This person's son Muḥammad encouraged Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn in a violent persecution of the Bāṭinīs; of this there seems to be an echo in the Life of the Ṣūfī Abū Sa'īd (357—440; ed. Jhukovski, 1899, i. 84—91), where Ishāḡ b. Maḥmashādh makes common cause with the *qāḍī* Sa'īd (a Ḥanafite) against the saint; the numbers of the Karrāmīs in Nisābūr at the time are given as 20,000. In 403, however, this *qāḍī*, who had made the pilgrimage, and been favoured by the Caliph Qādir, complained of the Karrāmī heresy before Maḥmūd at Ghazna; Muḥammad b. Ishāḡ thereupon repudiated the doctrine, while those who openly adhered to it were penalized. Many, however, continued to hold it at Nisābūr; Ibn al-Athīr in 488 records a civil war in that city between the Karrāmīs and the joint forces of the Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs, the leaders of the first and second of these being descendants of the leaders in Maḥmūd's time. Yāqūt (s. v. Bidjīstān) mentions a Karrāmī preacher who acquired popularity at Nisābūr in the middle of the sixth century; and 'Abd al-Qādir Dīlānī (d. 561; *Ghunya*, Cairo 1288, i. 81) speaks of them as still numerous in Khorāsān. Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606; *Asās al-Taḥdīs*, Cairo 1328, pp. 96—98) apparently thinks of them as still existing. It is probable, however, that the sect was practically exterminated when the lieutenants of Činghiz Khān massacred the inhabitants of Khorāsān; and when writers of a later time allude to its doctrines (e.g. Ibn Taimiya and the author of the *Mawāḳif*) they probably derive their knowledge from earlier works.

4. Literature of the Sect. In the *Farḡ* it is stated that the sect was subdivided into three minor sects, which, however, were mutually tolerant; these were called Ḥaḡḡaḡiyya (?), Tarā-iḡiyya (?), and Ishāḡiyya. Shahrastānī mentions twelve minor sects, of which he enumerates six: Ishāḡiyya (as above), 'Abidiyya, Nūniyya, Zaribiyya, Waḥidiyya, and Haiṣamiyya. On these the first was doubtless named after that Ishāḡ who was mentioned above; whereas the last was named after one Muḥammad b. al-Haiṣam, who is called their *Mutakallim* in the *Mizān*. The works wherein the founders of these minor sects put forth their views seem to have obtained little notoriety; the author of the *Bayān al-Adyān* (485; Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, i. 152 text), though living at Ghazna, just knows the name of the main sect; and 'Abd al-Qādir (*loc. cit.*) in giving the names of Karrāmī authorities is in error in each case. The work of the founder 'Adḡāb al-Qabr seems to be known only from the citations in the *Farḡ*.

Bibliography: besides the works quoted above see also the *Tārīkh Yamīnī*, Delhi 1847, p. 429 sqq.; Cairo 1386, ii. 315 sqq.; Makrīzī, *Khīṭat*, ii. 357; van Vloten in *Actes du 11^e Congrès int. d. Orientalistes*, Paris 1899, 3rd sect., p. 114; Horten, *Die philos. Systeme*, p. 340 sqq.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 306.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

KARS, a town in Armenia, called Զար in Ibn al-Athīr, Զար in Yāqūt and Ḥamd Allāh al-Kāzwīnī, Զար in Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and later. According to a doubtful etymology, the name comes from the Georgian *kari* "gate"; *kari*-*kalaki* is said to mean "town at the gate" (from its situation on the frontier between Armenia and Georgia). The town (τὸ Κάρε) is first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetes (*De administr. imperio*, ch. 44) as the capital of the chief of the Armenian princes (ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων). From 961 Mushegh, a brother of the king of Ānī, Ashot III (cf. above, i. 355^a), ruled in Kars, and his successors. A manuscript of the Gospels found in Jerusalem with miniatures of importance for the history of culture dates from the last of these princes, Gagik (1028—1064). The king, queen and their daughter are represented seated in Oriental fashion and wearing Oriental costume; Kars, although it did not then belong to the Caliph's empire, was apparently under the influence of its culture. Gagik continued to hold his principality even after Ānī had been incorporated in the Byzantine empire (1044). It was only when danger threatened from the Turks that he was induced to renounce his rights voluntarily in favour of the Emperor Constantine X Ducas (1059—1067) and received in return a town in the Cilician Taurus. But even the Byzantines could not avert the danger, for in the very same year Ānī and Kars were both conquered by the Turks. Kars remained a Muḥammadan town till 603 (1206—1207), when it was taken by the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii. 169). It was besieged in vain by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (cf. above, i. 1004) in 623 (1226) and taken by the Mongols in 1239 and, according to Ḥamd Allāh al-Kāzwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 93), it belonged at a later period with Ānī to the province of Georgia (Gurdjīstān wa-Abkḡaz) in the kingdom of the Ilkhāns (cf. above, ii. 465 sq.) and later again apparently to the kingdom of the Djalāir (cf. above, i. 1003^a). Unlike Ānī, Kars was never a Muslim mint. In 1386 Kars was captured by Tīmūr; it is said to have been levelled to the ground (*Zafar-Nāme*, i. 400). The town was then in the possession of a prince named Krūz-Bakht, who does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere. It was not till the year 1579 (according to Ḥādjdī Khalifa, *Djīhān-numā*, p. 407, however, 988 = 1580) that Sulṭān Murād III (1574—1595) had Kars rebuilt as an Ottoman fortress by Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha; during the operations a marble slab is said to have been found with an inscription recording an earlier erection of the time of Sulṭān 'Izz al-Dīn (probably Kīlīdj Arslān II, 1156—1188). Kars was raised to be the capital of an eyālet of six sandjaks under Ottoman rule and also became a place of pilgrimage; the tomb of the Ṣūfī Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Kharakānī (d. at the beginning of 425 = Nov., 1033) was shown there (cf. Sam'ānī, ed. Margoliouth, fol. 194 b), but he can never have been in Kars. The tomb is said to have been revealed by the saint himself in a dream — a story often told of other places. The

first Friday mosque was built by Lālā Pasha over the tomb of the saint.

Kars was conquered by *Shāh 'Abbās* in 1604 and in 1616 rebuilt by the Turks, attacked in vain in 1628 and 1744 by the Persians and captured for the first time by the Russians on June 23 (July 5), 1828. On Nov. 16 (28), 1855, Kars had to surrender to the Russians after a long defence under General Williams (later Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars). In the war of 1877—1878 Kars was stormed in the night of 6/18 Nov., 1877, and ceded to Russia by the peace of 1878; in 1918 it was returned to the Turks by the treaty of Brest-Litowsk; this cession remained in force even after the treaty of Brest-Litowsk became void.

The number of inhabitants of Kars about 1860 was 12,300 (*Ritter's Geogr.-statistisches Lexikon* 5, s.v.), in 1878 only 8,672 (according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Under Russian rule the number seems to have fallen considerably at first and then to have risen again rapidly (1889 only 3,941, in 1897 20,805, in 1908 18,397, mostly Armenians). The old Armenian church which had become a mosque (probably the Kīzīl Kilisa monastery mentioned by Ewliyā Çelebi; as a mosque called *Hüsain Katghudā Djāmī'i*) now became a Greek Orthodox church. There were, in addition, two Armenian churches and three mosques (two Sunni and one *Shī'i*). No accurate information is available in Russia regarding conditions since the restoration of Turkish rule; this fact is said to have been fateful for the Armenian population.

Bibliography: E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888; J. Saint Martin, *Mémoire historique et géographique sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1818—1819. On the miniature painting see *Khristsianskiy Vostok*, i. 38; D'Ohssoon, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 20, 22 and 77; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 181; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* 2, Pesth 1834, i., Index; Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhat Nāme*, ii. (1314), p. 329—333.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KARSHĪ, an Uighur word for "castle, palace", probably borrowed from a native language of Eastern Turkestan and later adopted by the Mongols. The town of *Nakhshab* or *Nasaf* [q.v.] has taken its modern name of *Karshī* from a palace built for the *Khān Kabak* (1318—1326; see the art. *ÇAGHATAI KHĀN*), 2 farsakh from the town, all trace of which has long since disappeared. Cf. *Sharaf ad-Dīn Yazdī, Zafar Nāme*, ed. Muḥ. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1887—1888, i. 111; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 470 sq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KARSHŪNĪ is the name, the origin of which has not yet been explained, for the Syriac alphabet adapted to suit the Arabic language. Yūsuf Daryān, Archbishop of Tarsūs, wrote recently on the name in the *Mashriq*, 1904, vii. 785—790, but his suggested derivation of the name from an unknown Syriac *karkūnā*, diminutive of *karkā*, which would describe the alphabet as the "small", "round", is quite improbable. Just as the Jews used their alphabet to reproduce the language of the countries that afforded them hospitality, not only for the sake of secrecy but also as a sign of nationality, so also the Syrians must have written the language of their conquerors in their own alphabet soon after they had adopted Arabic

for everyday use. The letters lacking in the Syriac alphabet were supplied by pointing those already in existence, but in doing this more attention was paid to the sound than the shape of the Arabic letters. *Khā* and *ghain*, for example, are usually reproduced by Syriac *kāf* and *gāmal* with *rukkākhā*, *qīm* by the Jacobites usually by a point inserted in the letter, by the Nestorians by a hook below it. *Zā* and *qād* are written by the Nestorians after the Arabic fashion with points over *fēth* and *qādai*, but among the Jacobites often by a point in the *fēth*, because they had come to be identical in pronunciation. The feminine ending is usually represented by *hē* with two points above it in the Arabic fashion. Vowels are placed, sometimes in the Syriac, and sometimes in the Arabic way, but *ū* and *ī* are almost always represented by *qanma* and *kasra*. Whether there were different roles in different periods and localities can only be ascertained after an accurate examination of manuscripts but nothing of the kind has so far been attempted. (C. BROCKELMANN)

KART, the name of a dynasty which ruled Herāt from 1245 to 1389 A.D. It was founded by *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I*, Kart, who was descended from the *Shansabānī* house of *Çhūr*, the family to which the brothers *Çhiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad* and *Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad* B. Sām belonged. As Herāt recovered from the devastating raids of the armies of *Çingiz Khān*, *Shams al-Dīn* gradually gained power, and by 1245 had established himself as ruler of the state, and used the title of *Malik*, borne by his descendants. In 1251 *Mangū*, the Great *Khān*, when reorganizing the administration of his empire, confirmed *Shams al-Dīn Kart* as governor of Herāt, *Sistān*, *Balkh* and the country lying between those provinces and the Indian frontier. During the latter part of *Shams al-Dīn's* reign his son *Rukn al-Dīn* acted as his coadjutor, but predeceased him, dying in 1283, and when *Shams al-Dīn* himself died, in 1285, he was succeeded by *Rukn al-Dīn's* son, *Fakhr al-Dīn*. As the power of the *Mongol Īl-Khāns* of Persia declined, that of the *Kart Malik*s of Herāt increased, and *Fakhr al-Dīn* befriended the powerful *Amir Çübān*, who had been regent of Persia during the minority of *Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān*, the fourteenth *Īl-Khān*. When *Abū Sa'īd Bahādur*, apprehensive of the growing power of this family, attacked it, *Amir Çübān* sought an asylum with *Çhiyāth al-Dīn*, who received him but in 1327 treacherously put both him and his son *Djalaw Khān* to death. *Çhiyāth al-Dīn* himself died in 1328 and his two elder sons, *Shams al-Dīn II* and *Hāfiz*, who succeeded him in turn, died in 1329 and 1331. The historian *Hamd Allāh Mustawfī* attributes their deaths, following one another at such short intervals, to the divine displeasure incurred by *Çhiyāth al-Dīn's* treachery towards *Amir Çübān*.

Hāfiz was succeeded by a third brother, *Mu'izz al-Dīn*, who sent an army to the assistance of *Malik Kuṭb al-Dīn* of *Kirmān*, driven from his capital by the *Amir Mubārīz al-Dīn*. This army was defeated and a second army sent to the aid of *Kuṭb al-Dīn* was shut up in *Kirmān* and compelled, at the end of 1340, to capitulate. *Mu'izz al-Dīn*, who died in 1370, left two sons, *Muḥammad*, who held the government of *Sarakhs*, which he retained after his father's death, and *Çhiyāth al-Dīn Pīr 'Alī*, who succeeded him in Herāt. In 1380 the *Amir Timūr* sent an envoy to Herāt, to claim the

allegiance of its ruler and his presence, with a contingent, at the forthcoming muster of his army, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pir 'Alī detained him on various pretexts while he provisioned the city and completed its defences. The envoy was obliged to return to Samarkand and report the failure of his mission, and in the spring of 1381 Tīmūr marched to Herāt and captured the city, its ruler and his eldest son, Pir Muḥammad, after a few days' siege. Some of its leading citizens were deported to Shahr-i Sabz and its defences were dismantled, but the Malik and his two sons, the younger of whom had been induced to surrender the strong fort of Ishkalā, were pardoned, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pir 'Alī was permitted to retain Herāt as a vassal of Tīmūr until 1389, when the dynasty was extinguished.

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KARTĀS. [See KIRTĀS].

KĀRŪN, the largest river in Southern Persia. It rises in the north-eastern part of the district of 'Arabistān (earlier called Khūzistān), a little above 32° N. Lat. on the Zardeh-Kūh (Kūh-i Zard, mentioned as early as the xvth century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī; see the *Bibliography*), which belongs to the Bakhtiyārī mountain system, to be more accurate on one of the range named Kūh-i Rang, one of the highest mountains in S. W. Persia (estimated at 13,000 feet). The actual source of the river, according to Sawyer (*Bibl.*; *op. cit.*, p. 486, with a picture), is about 10 miles above the place called Ser-i Česhme-i Kurang "main source of the Kurang (Kuran)". The Zā'indeh or Zēndeh-Rūd, also called Iṣfahān-Rūd, likewise rises on the Zardeh-Kūh and flows eastwards towards Iṣfahān (on it see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 22; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 207; cf. also ii. 529a and the article ZĒNDE-RŪD). As the source of the Kārūn is only about 100 miles from Iṣfahān, Shāh 'Abbās I, the Great, thought of leading the Kārūn into the Zēndeh-Rūd by a tunnel through the mountains. The work although almost finished at his death, was not continued by his successors, however; the remains of it may still be seen at the present day; cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 50 sq.

The valley of the Kārūn is not yet sufficiently known, particularly in its upper course; among those who have explored it are Kinneir, Rawlinson, Selby, Ainsworth, Layard, Chesney, Loftus, Houtum-Schindler, Mackenzie, Lynch, Bateman Champain, Wells, Sawyer and Graadt van Roggen. We may call the upper part its course down to its exit from the mountains at Shuster, the middle course from Shuster to Ahwāz or Naṣriye, where it breaks through the spurs of the Djabal Ḥamrin; its lower course runs through the alluvial plain formed by the Kārūn system. As a result of the great windings, which the river takes in its course, it covers about 500 miles from its source to its mouth in the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, while a straight line between the two points is only about 150 miles. In its upper course the Kārūn makes two great loops in about 32° N. Lat. Shuster which is a little

above this line and only a little south of the source of the river is in a straight line only a third of the distance the river has covered from the source. The course of the Kārūn is at first a south-easterly one; it then runs from east to west, while the next section runs north-west to Susan where the second smaller loop is formed towards the south-west and then the river runs north-west again. This direction is maintained till Chamani Yorga (20 miles as the crow flies N. E. of Shuster) is reached. From there to its the mouth the Kārūn runs S. W., although at times it describes very wide curves.

At Shuster, a little above the town, the Kārūn divides into two navigable arms which unite again about thirty miles away at the village of Band-i Kīr (near the mediaeval 'Askar Mukram; see above, i. 488b) and thus form an island. The western arm is the main stream, the Kārūn proper; it is now called Āb-i Shaṭait' (popular for Shaṭait' = little river; cf. i. 970a for the same name for a bed of the Tigris) and further down also Āb-i Buzurg Shuster (= great water of Shuster). The east arm is artificial in origin and is now called Āb-i Gerger; the Arab geographers of the middle ages know it by the name of Masruḳān (Mashruḳān, Musruḳān) which is explained as a corruption of the Persian Ardashīr-Kān (= Ardashīr's trench). The form Ardakshīragān is noteworthy: it occurs in a Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi in the *Actes du 8e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1891, p. 32, and cf. thereon Nöldeke in the *Sitz.-Ber. Ak. Wien*, 1893, cxxviii., Abh. ix. 42). The first Sāsānian king is said to have been the maker of this water-course. The Persian geographers of the xvth century call the western water-arm, which carries the bulk of the water, Čahar Dānikah (= 4/6), the eastern Dū Dānikah (= 2/6); cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 236. These names are still known locally, according to Layard (*op. cit.*, p. 27). It may further be noted that in the xth century, according to Arabic sources, the Masruḳān canal did not enter the main stream, the Kārūn proper, at 'Askar Mukram, but ran parallel to it and reached the Persian Gulf by a course of its own.

The Kārūn delta begins a little above the village of Sābla. Three channels break off from the main arm, which continues its course till its junction with the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab at Muḥammara; these all run S.-E. to the Persian Gulf and finally end their course in estuaries (*Khawr*, *khōr*) which are at times swamps. Their names are:

1. The Shaṭṭ (or Rūd) al-Ḳadīmī (= the old stream) which leaves the Kārūn about an hour's journey above Sābla and broadens out into the Khōr Mūsā (also called Khōr Mōi Allāh; *mōi* in 'Irāk Arabic = water). In it we have probably the oldest course of the Kārūn.

2. The Shaṭṭ al-Amāya (as it is usually written on maps) or al-A'mā (= the blind stream), probably so called because its bed is usually choked with mud. In Ritter (ix. 159, 166, following Renouard) the name is wrongly explained as "wanderer" (the form *al-Amara* in Ritter, xi. 1028, 1030, is certainly wrong). The same name is also given to an arm of the Shaṭṭ al-Hai, below Kūt al-Amāra (see Ritter, x. 169; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 259, and the maps). Cf. also the analogous name Diḍjla al-'Awra for the present lower course of the Tigris; see above, i. 970b, as well as

Islām, xiv. 22 (a different explanation of ʿAwrā is proposed by Reinaud, *Journal asiatique*, 1861, xviii. 208). It is also called *Shatt Kōbān* (Gobān) from the district of Kōbān (Gobān) which lies on its right bank; Portuguese writers of the xviith century reproduced the name as Rio de Gabão (cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 75 sq.). This second arm begins at Sābla and finally expands into the *Khōr Silidj* (Seluge in Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 292); it is perhaps the second oldest arm of the Kārūn.

3. The *Shatt Bamishir* (Bahmishir, Behemshir) which leaves the Kārūn 6 miles below Sābla and expands into the *Khōr Bamishir* before entering the sea. This third branch from the Kārūn is considerably wider and holds more water than the other two. According to the *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 284; see the *Bibl.*) it is 54 miles long (40 as the crow flies). This may now be regarded as the natural mouth of the Kārūn. Bamishir is a corruption of Bahman-Ardashir, the name of the first Sāsānian king, to whom is ascribed the making of a whole series of canals in southern ʿIrāk. The most southern district of this province, on the coast, was called Bahman-Ardashir after him, as was a town opposite Ubulā (east of Baṣra) on the left bank of the *Didjla al-ʿAwra* (*Shatt al-ʿArab*; cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 770, 20, where the arabicised form Bahmanshir is also given). It appears as if in the middle ages Bahmanshir was regarded as the Persian equivalent of *Didjla al-ʿAwra*. Different scholars (like Rawlinson, Ainsworth, Le Strange) have made the further deduction that the *Shatt Bamishir* is to be identified as the old mouth of the Euphrates or Tigris (before the formation of the modern *Shatt al-ʿArab*). But it is very easy to suppose that the name Bahmanshir (Bamishir) was at a later date transferred from the *Didjla al-ʿAwra* (*Shatt al-ʿArab*) to its eastern neighbour, the third branch of the Kārūn. For Bahman-Ardashir and *Didjla al-ʿAwra* cf. especially Reinaud, *op. cit.*, p. 207 sq.; Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 173, 182; G. Le Strange in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 300 and *op. cit.*, p. 43.

The two western branches of the Kārūn, the *Shatt al-Aʿmā* and the *Bamishir*, form two long islands with the *Shatt al-ʿArab* which runs parallel to them, the main Kārūn in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south. The eastern one, bordered by the *Shatt al-Aʿmā* (Kōbān) and the *Bamishir* is called *Kōbān* (Gobān, Gobban); the western between the *Bamishir* and the *Shatt al-ʿArab* is now usually called *Djazira ʿAbbādān*, a name it already had in the middle ages, from the town of ʿAbbādān (see above, i. 7a) which probably lay at the mouth of the delta originally. The latter island is also called *Djazirat al-Khidr* after the prophet al-Khidr [q. v.] highly revered in Muslim popular belief especially in the ʿIrāk as a patron of water, who had or still has a sanctuary near ʿAbbādān (Chodder Abbādan in Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien* etc., ii., Copenhagen 1778, p. 206) which is mentioned as early as the xiiith and xvth centuries by al-Dimashki (*Nukhbāt al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 97, 18) and Ibn Battūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 19, 3). With ʿAbbādān the most important place in it in the middle ages seems to have been al-Muḥriza (Muḥriẓa) and the island seems to be occasionally called after it; in Portuguese sources of the xviith century the island is therefore called ʿylha Murzique; cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 76; for Muḥriza see Yāqūt,

i. 502, 13; 712, 13; iii. 598, 9; iv. 709, 5; al-Dimashki, p. 97, 6; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 280, 14. The Persians gave this island the name Miyān Rudān (= between the rivers, *Μεσσηνορῳπία*); see e.g. Yāqūt, iv. 708, 23, and Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

It has already been pointed out that the Kārūn at an earlier period probably entered the sea through the *Shatt al-Aʿmā* — apart from the river-bed represented by the *Shatt al-Qadimi*, which is perhaps the oldest bed. According to the Arab geographers of the middle ages, the different branches and tributaries of the *Dudjail* (Kārūn) united at a place called *Hiṣn al-Mahdi*. Whether the *Nahr Sidra* (= Lotus-river) which also enters there must be considered the main arm of the Kārūn from Ahwāz onwards, is doubtful: cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 306. The reunited Kārūn called *Nahr Hiṣn al-Mahdi* (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*) then enters its estuary (*Faḍl Dudjail*) which ends at *Sulaimānān* on the coast. On *Hiṣn al-Mahdi* and *Sulaimānān* cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 48, 243, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 302; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 306, 329—330, 400). *Hiṣn al-Mahdi* perhaps lay in the neighbourhood of the present Sābla; *Sulaimānān* is perhaps to be located somewhere in the region of the *Khōr Silidj*; the end of the course of the Kārūn in the middle ages would thus coincide practically with the modern *Shatt al-Aʿmā*. In the middle ages there must have been several other separate smaller mouths of the Kārūn. In these topographical investigations it should not be forgotten that southern ʿIrāk and *Khūzistān*, the delta of the great rivers, has undergone far-reaching changes in its hydrographic structure in the course of thousands of years. In ancient times the Persian Gulf extended much farther into the mainland, so that the Kārūn, *Kerkhā*, Euphrates and Tigris had all separate mouths; cf. above, i. 675 sq., and Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 1394, 2811. During the middle ages and in modern times the coast-line had been steadily advancing southwards.

The bed of the Kārūn from Sābla to Muḥammara seems to be the work of human hands. In the tenth century the *Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla* (see above, i. 143) had a canal made, which was called ʿAḍudī after him, to secure direct communication between the Tigris and Kārūn (= Baṣra and Ahwāz). As in those days apparently the Kārūn flowed into the Persian Gulf through the *Shatt al-Aʿmā*, the ʿAḍudī in its main lines probably corresponded with the present course of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara. It is very doubtful if the work of the *Būyid Sultān* was something quite new; it is more likely that he undertook the restoration of an older channel which had fallen into neglect and become silted up. A century earlier we have evidence from the Arab geographers of the existence of a canal called *Nahr al-Djadi* (= New Canal) which led from *Hiṣn al-Mahdi* (near Sābla?) to the Tigris and may well have coincided with the ʿAḍudī. From a still earlier period we have the *Bayān* canal (see above, i. 970b); considering its course it may wholly or in part have coincided with the ʿAḍudī or *Nahr al-Djadi*. Whether there was in ancient times — about the period of Alexander — an artificial channel connecting the Kārūn and Tigris following the same direction cannot be ascertained with certainty; on this question cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *op.*

cit., i. 1394. In modern times the name Ḥaffār (usually written Ḥafar in books of travel and in maps) has come into use for the stretch of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara, which suggests that here we have a work of human hands, not a natural bed dug out by the river itself. At the present day, however, this name is limited to the short stretch, only about an hour's journey long, from the beginning of the *Shatt* Bamishir (the mouth proper of the Kārūn at the present day) to Muḥammara. This lower Ḥaffār is (according to Stolze-Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 48) about 600 yards broad and 20–25 feet deep, while the Kārūn above Sābla before the beginning of the delta is a mile broad and 25–30 feet deep. It should also be noted that in the second half of the xviiith century Sulaimān, the powerful Shaikh of the tribe of Ka'b (on him see below) destroyed the connection between the Kārūn and the *Shatt* al-'Arab by placing a dam (*band*) across the Ḥaffār at Sābla and led the water into the *Shatt* al-A'mā. The district of Kōbān was thereby soon raised to great prosperity. But at Karīm Khān's [q. v.] second invasion the dam in the Ḥaffār was destroyed (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 90). On the communication between the Kārūn and Tigris by the 'Aḡdī, Nahr al-Djādid, Bayān and Ḥaffār canals see Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 293–294; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 55–56; Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 76–77; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, i. 174, 184; *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 296; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 48, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 308–309; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 309, 311, 390.

While still in the mountains the Kārūn receives a number of abundant tributaries, for example above Sūsan the Āb-i Bāzuft on the right and the Āb-i Bars (Bors) on the left. A little above Chamani Yorgha the Talak joins it. But the most important tributary is the river of Dizfūl [q. v., i. 983 sq.], the Dizfūl-Rūd or Āb-i Diz. This has no name of its own at the present day; it was the same in the middle ages as it figures in the Arabic sources simply as the "river of Djundai-Sābūr". On Djundai-Sābūr, which must have lain to the S. E. of Dizfūl, see i. 983 sq. and more recently Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 346 sq. The Dizfūl-Rūd, which, like the Kārūn, has a very winding course, rises out of the confluence of two little streams in the district of Burūdjird in Little Lūristān (cf. von Bode, *op. cit.*, ii. 274). It joins the Kārūn at Band-i Kīr; in earlier times the confluence seems to have been a little further south (cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 239); it may have at one time flowed into the Kerkhā [q. v.], as modern tradition still says (see Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 65). As to the Kerkhā, which now loses itself in the marshes below Hawīza [q. v., ii. 294^b], it must be assumed from the statements of the Arab authors and the ancient river-bed, which can still be traced, that the bulk of its waters joined the Kārūn a few hours' journey below the town of Ahwāz (on this see also Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 30). Another arm of the Kerkhā but hardly the main stream (contrary to Rawlinson; cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, i. 1394) may have at one time entered the *Shatt* al-'Arab in the region of Kurna.

The Dizfūl-Rūd, the upper course of which still requires more thorough geographical exploration, has as its principal tributary the Bālā-Rūd which enters it about 7 miles S.W. of Dizfūl. Another important tributary of the Dizfūl-Rūd is the *Shāwūr*

(*Shāpūr*, also written Shaur, Shover), a narrow but deep water-course which rises a few miles above the ruins of Sūs [q. v.] and falls into the Dizfūl-Rūd about 15 miles (as the crow flies) west of Band-i Kīr. In the middle ages the *Shāwūr*, like the Kerkhā, was called the "river of Sūs" because it flowed past this town — which, it may be noted, is at the point where the Kerkhā, Dizfūl-Rūd and Kārūn are nearest one another. The *Shāwūr* and the Dizfūl-Rūd were at one time and in part still are connected with the Kerkhā and the Kārūn by canals. On the Dizfūl-Rūd and *Shāwūr* cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 215, 11; 218, 13, 15; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 233, 239, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 312; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 303–305; Ritter, ix. 193 sq.; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sq.; v. Bode, *op. cit.*, ii. 193; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 329, 342, 346; J. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibliography*), passim; Sawyer, *op. cit.*, p. 490 sq.

The Kārūn is not only connected with the Tigris and Kerkhā in the west but in the east it is linked up with the *Djerrāhī* or Kurdistān-Rūd or Āb-i Kurdistān (the *Tab* of the Arab geographers; see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 270; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 5 sq.; see also the article ARRADIJĀN, above, i. 460). At Sābla a canal navigable by boats leaves the *Shatt* al-A'mā and runs to Dawrak (Dōrak)-Fellāhiye (see the art. DAWRAK) on the *Djerrāhī*.

The more important towns on the Kārūn in mediaeval as in modern times lay on its central course between Shuster and Ahwāz. At the two termini of this stretch stood the two capitals of the mediaeval province of Khūzistān, Ahwāz and Tustar (*Shuster*). Ahwāz, formerly the capital proper of this district, has a very important situation. This is at the gateway of the Kārūn where the river breaking through its last barrier, the *Djabal Ḥamrīn* range, enters the plain and henceforth offers no impediment to navigation to the sea. The later place of this name is built near the ruins of the old city; a mile south is the modern town of Naṣriye, which is growing rapidly (cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 77). Cf. on Ahwāz above, i. 208, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 315 sq., and Graadt van Roggen, *op. cit.*, p. 202 sq. (with plans); for Tustar see the article SHUSTER and on the site (particularly the bifurcation which begins there) Graadt van Roggen, *op. cit.*, p. 174 sq.

Places worth mentioning between Shuster and Ahwāz are: the large village of Wā'is, where a dead arm of the Kārūn runs to the east, and Band-i Kīr (usually pronounced Kīl), a place of considerable importance owing to its situation at the junction of the two arms of the Kārūn and the mouth of the Dizfūl-Rūd. Band-i Kīr is the successor of the mediaeval 'Askar Mukram, the ruins of which (called *Lashkar*; *Lashkar* is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic 'Askar) lie 3 miles north of it. On 'Askar Mukram see above i. 488^b, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 377 sq.

The lower course of the Kārūn from Ahwāz to Muḥammara has no places of great importance on its banks. Among them are Ismā'īliya and Sābla, remarkable for its situation at the beginning of the bifurcations of the delta; it has the ruins of a castle which was at one time the favourite resort of Sulaimān, the influential Shaikh of the Ka'b already mentioned (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 87). Muḥammara [q. v.] at the junction of the Kārūn and the *Shatt* al-'Arab is, however, a place of unusual

importance. It is undoubtedly the best harbour in Persia, easily accessible at any time, and is destined to have a still greater future. The fact is noteworthy that all the places of any importance that we have mentioned on the central and lower Kārūn lie on its east bank.

In the mountainous upper course there are no longer any towns of importance. In late antiquity and in the middle ages the most prominent were Sūsan (also called ʿArūdī or ʿArūh and Djabālīk; see the art. SŪSAN) on the right bank and Idhḥadī or Māl-Amīr [q. v.] opposite on the left bank. Both are famous for the very fine remains dating from the Elamites and Sāsānians. Along the upper course in parts runs a road protected by many forts, now mostly in ruins. The Kārūn in general is one of the most historically interesting rivers in Persia owing to the numerous ruins from ancient times which are everywhere found on its banks.

The dwellers on the Kārūn in its upper course and on its middle course to beyond Shuster are the Bakhtiyāris [q. v., i. 603a], one of the three principal tribes of the Great Lūrs. In the lower half of its central course and the whole of the lower stretch the powerful Arab tribe of Kaʿb (popularly pronounced Tshaʿb, Shaʿb, Shaʿab) are predominant; their Shaikh lives in Dawrak-Fellāhiye. On this tribe which has only become important in these regions since the xviiith century see Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 85—87, 91; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, ii. 195 sq.; Selby, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 36 sq.; v. Bode, *op. cit.*, ii. 110—120; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 285 sq.; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 205—218; Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 159—160, xi. 1038, 1063—1064. From Ahwāz to Muḥammara we find also Bawī and Idrīs tribes who are subject to the Kaʿb (cf. Selby, *op. cit.*).

In the military history of the middle ages the Kārūn basin only occasionally occurs as the scene of fighting; cf. thereon Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 299—300. During the World War of 1914—1918 the possession of this territory became very important on account of its oil-fields; cf. thereon Schweer, *op. cit.*, p. 140—144, and the section relating to the ʿIrāk and southern Persian fronts in books on the war.

As early as the Sāsānians powerful dams (*shadhrawān's*) with the necessary sluices had been erected at various places to enable the water thus dammed back to be led by numerous small canals to fields on a higher level, especially on the central stretch of the Kārūn. During the whole of the middle ages this irrigation system was kept in excellent repair and transformed the land it watered into flourishing gardens. Since then, however, most of these works have fallen more and more into ruins as a result of neglect and great stretches of once fertile country have become desert again. The most celebrated was the gigantic dam at Shuster, which was regarded in the east as one of the wonders of the world. Its erection is ascribed to the Sāsānian king Sapor I (241—272 A.D.). It is very probable that the tradition is correct which says that Roman prisoners of war were forced to build it for him; the modern name, Band-i Kaīsar = Caesar-dam, also points to its Roman origin. On this great system of dam and sluices here, which after considerable restoration is still partly in use to-day, see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 186 sq.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leiden 1879, p. 33; Justi in the *Grundriss der*

iran. Philologie, ii., Strassburg 1896 sq., p. 318; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 235; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* etc., p. 296. At Wā'is, a few hours' journey below Band-i Kīr, the ruins of a great dam may still be seen (cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76). In Ahwāz, at the rapids there, considerable remains of a triple ancient system of dams still exist. Band-i Kīr (= Bitumen-dam) has got its name from the ancient dam coated with bitumen. At the beginning of this century the Persian government thought of restoring the province of ʿArabistān to its former high degree of prosperity by restoring the old system of canals with dams and sluices. It was intended to begin with the island formed by the Āb-i Shaṭait-Kārūn and the Āb-i Gerger between Shuster and the Band-i Kīr and the Dutch engineer Graadt van Roggen was appointed to make a survey. He published the valuable results of his investigations in an important treatise illustrated with numerous plans and sketch-maps (*Notices sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane* in the *Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, vii., Paris 1905, p. 167—207); he also went fully into the old irrigation systems of Shuster and Ahwāz. Unfortunately political jealousies have prevented the execution of this most useful project of the Persian government.

The Kārūn is the only river of Persia that admits of navigation. Communication is maintained with the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Shaṭṭ Bamishir. There is evidence as early as the Umayyad period that there was regular traffic up the river as far as Ahwāz (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 300). The Kārūn is navigable as far as Shuster. The only obstacle is the rapids caused by the gypsum rocks below Ahwāz (see the very full description by Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 156 sq.) which make unloading and reshipment necessary; in 1891 a little railway was put in use for this purpose. The Āb-i Gerger is also navigable; but in it also reshipment is necessary at Shilili (6 miles below Shuster). One can sail up the Dizfūl-Rūd as far as the vicinity of Dizfūl (cf. *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 298). The first to show that steamers could ascend the Kārūn as far as Shuster was Selby in 1842, accompanied by Layard, although in 1836 Major Estcourt, accompanied by Ainsworth, had previously reached Ahwāz in a steamer of smaller size. In 1888 the Kārūn was opened to international navigation. At the present day there ply on it boats of the firm of Lynch who have long had a concession, the Persian Nāshiri company founded in 1889 and a Persian government steamer. If the bed of the river received a certain amount of regulation and the caravan roads from Shuster to Isfahān were improved, we should have an important route for traffic, which would shorten by about half the journey from the Persian Gulf to Isfahān, the centre of Persian commerce, which now mainly follows the difficult road from Bushir via Shirāz. Steamers of an average size can go as far as Ahwāz; from there to Shuster only small boats of shallow draught.

The shipping on the Kārūn has in the last few years become specially important for the transport of the petroleum obtained in Southern Persia. The Kārūn valley possesses a series of oil-wells, e.g. at Ahwāz. The oil-fields of Maidān-i Naftūn (east of Shuster) are particularly productive, perhaps the richest in all Persia. The exploitation and

development of the Persian oil-fields is now in the hands of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The yield of the oil-fields, where the most modern methods are now in use, has grown to such an extent that the transport of oil down the Kārūn in tank-ships is now no longer sufficient and two special pipes have had to be laid in addition. On the oil industry in the Kārūn valley the best authority is Schweer, *op. cit.*, p. 22 sq., 110 sq., 177 sq.

We conclude by dealing with the names of the Kārūn; in its upper course it is called Āb-i Kurang = "water of the Kurang". Kurang (cf. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 232) is said to be a corruption of Kūb-i Rāng = "variegated hill", the name of the mountain already mentioned in which the river rises. Whether this explanation is correct, need not be discussed here. Kurang, or Kuran, seems to have become Kārūn in the mouths of the Arabs. Among the Portuguese historians of the xvth century we find the name as Rio Caron; cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 53. They presumably only refer to the lower course of the river, which alone is called Kārūn at the present day. This name is quite unknown to the Arab and Persian writers of the middle ages. They give the river various names. It is usually called Dūdžail (= little Tigris) by the Arabs, apparently because it was near the larger river. As the name Dūdžail was also found elsewhere (for example a Tigris canal above Sāmarrā; cf. i. 9708; a water-course near Kūfa, see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 292, note 6) it was more accurately specified as Dūdžail al-Ahwāz = the Dūdžail of Ahwāz (Khūzistān or its capital; see the art. AHWĀZ, i. 208). According to Ḥamza al-Isfahāni in Yāqūt (ii. 555, 22), Dūdžail represents the translation of the Pahlavi *Dādā Kāwānāh*. The Kārūn was also called "river of Khūzistān or of Ahwāz" (Āb-i Ahwāz is still usual for the stretch near the town of Ahwāz; see above, i. 208). It was also called "river of Tustar" (Shuster) after the second principal town of the medieval Khūzistān; in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 24, 1) we find the name Nahr al-Azraq = "the blue river", from the blue colour of its mountain water which was generally esteemed for its remarkable freshness. We have already discussed above local names for particular parts or arms of the river, for example in the bifurcation between Shuster and Bād-i Kīr and in the delta. Brief reference may be made to the cuneiform names Ulai (also in O. T.), Iddē, Hadhud and to the names found in Greek and Roman literature: Aduna, Eulaeus, Hedyphon, Koprates, Pasitigris, which were used not only for the Kārūn itself, but also for its tributaries, like the Dīfūl-Rūd with the Shāwūr. For the cuneiform inscriptions cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p. cccxxxix, 26, 787, 788, 813; for the classical references cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i. 435-436, 1393, v. 2450, vi. 1661-1663, vii. 2594, xi. 1363.

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(M. STRECK)

KĀRŪN occurs in Kur'an xxviii. 76-82; xxix. 38; xl. 25. In the second and third passages he, with Hāmān, is an unbelieving minister of Fir'aawn in oppressing the Israelites; he behaves proudly towards Mūsā and says that he is an enchanter and a liar. In Kur. xxviii. he is the Biblical Korah (Num. xvi.) and he behaves proudly towards the people of Mūsā but it is because of his immense wealth which he believes to have been given to him on account of his knowledge (*ʿata ilmāʾ indī*). He makes a great public display

of his wealth and is swallowed up by the earth with his palace (*dār*). He is thus an example of those who prefer the fleeting wealth of this world to gaining by alms and humility and righteousness the abiding riches given by Allāh in the world to come. This is apparently a moralized echo of a story heard and remembered vaguely by Muḥammad. To this the commentators and the compilers of prophetic *ḵiṣāṣ* have added a long and involved legend derived in whole or in part from rabbinic literature. For this, on the rabbinic side, see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vii. 556 *sqq.* and, on the Muslim side, the notes in Sale's translation of the *Ḳurʾān* and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣāṣ*, Cairo 1314, p. 120 *sqq.* It is plain that Haman has become a minister of Pharaoh because he is bracketed with Korah in rabbinic literature for rapacious wealth. The legend of Ḳārūn has had two special developments. 1. From his wealth and knowledge (above and *Ḳur.* xxviii. 78) he has become one of the founders of alchemy. See the preliminary statement of the *Fihrist* on alchemy (p. 352, l. 1); and al-Masʿūdī alludes to this (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, viii. 177). 2. He is associated in Egypt with lakes. Thus what is left of Lake Moeris in the Faiyūm bears his name (Baedeker, *Ägypten*⁶, p. 184; Joanne, *Égypte*, p. 611; Herodotus, ii. 149). Also, beside the Birket al-Fil to the south of Cairo, near the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, there was formerly a Birket Ḳārūn which had evidently associations of supernatural legend. Al-Maḳrīzī describes it (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. 1325, iii. 261 *sq.*) and tells that Ḳāfur who buildt beside it was said to have been driven from his house by *djinn*. It figures also in the Story of Djadar the Fisherman in Zotenberg's (cf. *Not. et Extr.*, xxviii, i. 167 *sqq.*) Egyptian Recension of "The 1001 Nights" (Nights 606—624) as a place where spirits take refuge from magicians. Von Hammer suggested in a note to his transl. of this story (*Der Tausend und Einen Nacht noch nicht übersetzte Märchen*, etc., trans. Zinslerling, ii. 32; trans. Trébutien, i. 291) that Ḳārūn had here become combined with the Egyptian Charon.

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(D. B. MACDONALD)

ḲARWĀN (older former *kar-bān*, "He who protects trade") the original of the word caravan, means in Persian a number of merchants who organise themselves into a body to defend themselves against robbers and brigands (Ar. *ḵaṣṣa*). The beasts of burden are camels, horses and mules: the camels are usually arranged in files of seven animals (*ḵatār*): the camel-driver rides on an ass at the head of the procession. The caravan drivers are slow and do not hurry, but their work is hard and trying; a man has often ten or twelve camels to watch and guide: sometimes thirty or forty are managed by three men. The men have to unload their beasts on reaching a stage and feed and tend them: it is only when this has been done that they can think of themselves. In the middle ages the signal for departure was given by beating kettledrums (*ḵāṣ*).

In desert regions, the caravan camps under the tents that it carries with it; but sovereigns and

generous benefactors have had built from stage to stage and at the resting-places, buildings called *ḵarwānsarāy* "caravan-houses". Their plan is always practically the same; — a square courtyard surrounded by walls with no windows looking outwards, upon which abut a series of rooms each with a door and window or sometimes little huts without a roof, intended to serve as a lodging for the night for the merchant and his goods. The beasts of burden remain hobbled in the courtyard. These caravanserais are as far as possible supplied with running water or at least a well. In Persia the bulk of these buildings still standing date from the Ṣafawid dynasty and are traditionally attributed to Shāh ʿAbbās the Great. There is nothing there but the four bare walls; the travellers carry everything that is necessary with them, beds, carpets, cooking utensils, etc. In the towns especially, however, there is to be found near the caravanserais a caterer who has always ready the dishes loved by Orientals.

The Shīʿis consider it a work of piety to be interred near the mausoleum of ʿAlī at Nedjef (Meshhed ʿAlī) and of Ḥusain at Kerbelā (Meshhed Ḥusain), both places situated in Ottoman territory. For this purpose corpse-caravans have been organised, which carry from the remotest corners of Persia dead bodies by thousands. The bodies placed in wooden coffins or rolled in mats or carpets are tied in twos, threes or fours to the back of a horse. At every stage the corpses are loaded and unloaded like packages. As the journey lasts several weeks, these caravans give out an unbearable stench and never camp at less than three or four miles from the villages they pass.

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ḲARWĀSH B. AL-MUḲALLAD ABU ʿL-MANĪʿ, MUʿTAMID AL-DAWLĀ, an ʿUḳailid. After the murder of al-Muḳallad in 391 (1000/1) he was succeeded as Amīr by his eldest son, Ḳarwāsh. In 392 (1001/2) the latter sent an army against al-Madāʾin, which then owed allegiance to the Būyids. The ʿUḳailids, however, had soon to retreat and when they made an alliance with the Banū Asad under Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mazyad, Bahāʾ al-Dawla's [q. v.] deputy, Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥadīdjādī, at once took the field against them and summoned the Banū Ḳhaḫādja to help him. In Ramaḍān of the same year (July—August, 1002) the armies met; Abū Djaʿfar was defeated but gathered his forces together again and soon inflicted a heavy defeat on the ʿUḳailids near Kūfa. In the year 397 (1006/7) Ḳarwāsh undertook an expedition against Kūfa but was defeated. A few years later (401 = 1010/11) he abandoned the ʿAbbāsids and had the *ḵuṭba* read for the Fātimid caliph, al-Ḥākim bi-Amrī ʾllāh, but on the approach of an army under Bahāʾ al-Dawla's general, Ḥasan b. Ustādī Hormuz, at once returned to his allegiance. In 411 (1020/1) Ḳarwāsh was attacked and defeated by the Mazyadis and the Caliph's troops and was only allowed to retain his position by the Caliph's grace. But peace did not last long. The Banū Ḳhaḫādja invaded Ḳarwāsh's lands and when he took the field against them they made an alliance with Dubais b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad (417 = 1026/7). An army from Baghdād also joined the

allies. The vanguards met near Kūfa; Ḳarwāsh took to flight and the allies for the time being occupied the town of al-Anbār. Internal feuds then broke out. Two 'Ukailids, Naḍīdat al-Dawla Kāmil b. Ḳurād and Rāfi' b. al-Ḥusain, who were joined by Badrān, a brother of Ḳarwāsh and lord of Naṣībīn, made an alliance, advanced against Ḳarwāsh with a strong army and the two forces soon met. In the midst of a desperate conflict, however, a reconciliation was effected on the battlefield and Badrān was allowed to retain Naṣībīn. In the meanwhile Manīf b. Ḥassān, commander of the Banū Khafādja, plundered the town of al-Djāmi'ain, which belonged to the Mazyadis, whereupon Dubais made peace with Ḳarwāsh. After Manīf had twice burned down the town of al-Anbār, he submitted to the Būyid Abū Kālidjār [q. v.], while Ḳarwāsh assisted the people of al-Anbār to fortify their town. In the struggle between the Turkish prince Barstoghan and the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla [q. v.] Ḳarwāsh was on the side of the latter. In the year 432 (1040/1) they quarrelled for various reasons, but friendship was soon restored after Djalāl al-Dawla had sent an army against al-Anbār and Ḳarwāsh had to pledge himself to obedience. In the years 432 and 433 Mesopotamia was invaded by the Ghuzz [q. v.] (cf. the article MARWĀNIDS); on Ramaḍān 20, 435 (April 21, 1044), however, they were defeated by Ḳarwāsh in combination with the other 'Ukailids and Dubais at Ra's al-Aiyil and had to retire to Diyār Bakr and Adharbaidjān. Ḳarwāsh had also to wage war on his brother Abū Kāmil Baraka. Their good relations were interrupted by 440 (1048/9); their nephew, Ḳuraish b. Badrān, joined his uncle Ḳarwāsh and put Abū Kāmil to flight. In Muḥarram, 441 (June, 1049) it came to fighting between the two brothers; but as several of the followers of Ḳarwāsh went over to Abū Kāmil, the latter had little difficulty in taking him prisoner and bringing him to al-Mawṣil. Although Ḳarwāsh continued to be nominally recognised as suzerain, he no longer played an active part in politics, and as Abū Kāmil found him too independent, Ḳarwāsh was deprived of his freedom in 442 (1050/1), although he was still treated with respect. After the death of Abū Kāmil in 443 (1052) his nephew Ḳuraish was recognised as Amīr. Ḳarwāsh died on Radjab 1, 444 (Oct. 27, 1052) in the fortress of al-Djar-rāhiya near al-Mawṣil. According to one story, Ḳuraish had him assassinated.

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KARYA, a village or small town (*balad*). It is not now used of a large town or city (*madīna*) unless it is qualified by an epithet denoting greatness; but in the Ḳur'ān, where the word is of frequent occurrence, it is applied without a qualifying epithet to cities of whatever size, including Mekka and Jerusalem. It is now used chiefly of such villages and small towns as are in India styled *mawḍi'*, that is to say fiscal units which are not the chief town of any district or local area.

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(T. W. HAIG)

AL-KAṢĀB, a town in South Arabia in the Wādī Baiḥān. The town comprises 12 strong castle-like buildings and 400 houses — the Jewish quarter 50 houses — and is surrounded by palm-groves. It has four main streets with shops in which a busy trade is carried on. The goods come mainly from 'Aden and are brought via Bal-Ḥāf. Cotton, which is much grown here, is used for the manufacture of excellent cloths which are much sought after in South Arabia. Indigo is also much cultivated and a number of dyeworks produce the well-known blue-coloured material which is in great demand throughout the south. There are also seven sesame-mills in the town. In addition to cotton and indigo, the fertile soil yields wheat, barley, millet, the red variety (*pennisetum spicatum* Körn.), and summer-millet, dates, grapes and vegetables. The Jews of al-Kaṣāb, the capital of Baiḥān, are, as almost everywhere in South Arabia, mainly silversmiths and leather workers.

Bibliography: C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v., Leiden 1898, p. 30—34. (A. GROHMANN)

KAṢĀBA means primarily the interior part of a country or town and hence a fortified castle, such as is occupied by a commander and his forces, and the town in which such a castle stands, the chief town of a district. It is also applied to a new well. In India, where it is locally pronounced *kaṣba*, it is applied to the chief town of a *pargana* or *maḥall*, which is the smallest subdivision of a fiscal district, and is distinct from the *mawḍi'*, the village or small town which is a complete fiscal unit, and from the *mazra'* or hamlet, which is included in the area and in the fiscal accounts of the *mawḍi'* of which it is an off-shoot.

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(T. W. HAIG)

In the Muslim East, the name is especially applied to the citadel in fortified towns in opposition to the rest of the town. It is the centre of defence and also the governor's residence. Sometimes it is a town beside the town. It is not uncommon to find the two parts of the city taking opposite sides and having violent quarrels. The history of Fez, Tara or Rabat give numerous examples of this. The *kaṣba* developed in the Maghrib especially after the Almohad period (twelfth century); the great ornamental gateways (usually single and simply swung, differing from the outer, more complicated of towns), which were built at this time between a town and its *kaṣba* (a dialectal form of the word) are among the most beautiful monuments that survive from this brilliant period (e.g. the gate of the *Kaṣba* of the Udaiya at Rabat, Bab Agnaw at Marrākush).

Under the Sherifi dynasties of Morocco (from the xvth century) and especially under the 'Alawids (xvith century to the present day) the word was commonly used to designate little forts of very simple plan, built here and there in the country where the sovereign maintained small garrisons to watch the country; the name is also given near the towns to the different cantonments supplied by particular tribes liable for military service (*Kaṣba* of the Filāla, *Ḳ.* of the *Shirārda* at Fez &c.).

Europeans extend the word more or less legi-

timately in the country to the dwellings of important *ka'id*s or to large fortified towns in the Atlas — and in certain towns (Algiers, for example) to the native quarter. (H. BASSÉT)

KASAM (A.) (verb *aḵsama*), is with *yamin* the general term for oath. As *kasama* means "to divide", we seem to have here the usual transition between the meanings "to cut" and "to decide" so that *kasam* would be the deciding, strong word (cf. *قَطَعَ*), while *hilf* (verb *ḥalafa*), which also

means swearing, would be used in special circumstances (see the art. *HILF*).

The oath plays a great part in the social life of the Arabs and is mentioned by Zuhair (*Diwān*, i. 40) as the principal means of ascertaining the truth, along with interrogation by a person in authority and absolute clearness. The oath is the word into which the person taking it puts his whole strength. As the tribe forms a moral unit with joint responsibility, the oath in important matters becomes a tribal oath. This, called *ḥasāma*, consists in 50 men of the tribe swearing to their being right; this may be the oath of an accuser (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 25; Abu Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 777 sq. etc.) or an oath of purification (Zaid b. 'Alī, ed. Griffini, p. 230, 9 sqq.; al-Bukhārī, *Manāḥib al-Anṣār*, bāb 27). Those participating swear not as witnesses — on the contrary, they need not have been present at the deed — but as responsible persons. That the swearer stakes his whole soul on his word is often expressly stated in the wording of the oath. He swears upon his soul or upon his life (*binafsi*, *biḥayātī*, *la-'amrī* or simply *'amrī*), upon his honour and strength or upon particular things with which honour is associated, for example the forelock or the lance (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 441, verse 5); this oath is exactly the same as that by the tribe or by kinship (Sūra iv. 1; Ṭarafa, *Diwān*, N^o. 4, verse 72, in Ahlwardt, *The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic Poets*, etc.) or the very common oath by the fathers (*wa-abī*, *wa-djaddika* etc.) and by the god who supports the life of the swearer, in the *Ḥidjāz* especially by Manāt, al-'Uzzā and al-Lāt (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.* 2, p. 26, 34; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣṇām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā, Cairo 1332 [1914], p. 14, 16 sq., 19); among Muslims one also swears by the faith. The man taking the oath puts all that he values on his word. It is assumed that falsehood and injustice are negative forces so that a false oath imperils the soul and all that is precious to it. The oath is a pledge to God ('*aḥdu 'Ulāhi*, *mithāku 'Ulāhi*, *dhimmatu 'Ulāhi*) and if the person taking it lies or does not keep his promise (*waḥāḥ*) he imperils his own soul and offends the divine being. The oath therefore has often the form of a hypothetical surrender of (*barā'a*) the things the swearer values most, e. g. *anā barī'un min ḥawli 'Ulāhi wa-kuwwatiki in fa'altu kaḥḥā* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii. 618, 10; 622, 5, 9 sq.; al-Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, vi. 296; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 505 sq., 509 sq.). Formulae of this kind are common in the official oath taken by different ranks in the Mamlūk kingdom (al-'Umārī, *al-Ta'rif bi 'l-Mustalah al-Sharif*, Cairo 1312, p. 146—164; al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā*, xlii., Cairo 1337 [1918], p. 205 sqq.). The *barā'a* oath is connected with another kind of oath, invoking a curse upon oneself in certain contingencies. This is a formula like the fol-

lowing: "May Allāh slay me if I do not kill thee"; "I will eat blood if I do not do such and such a thing". Of frequent occurrence is this formula: "May my hand waste away if I do this (or do not do it)" e. g. al-Nābigha, v. 39; Ibn Hishām, p. 830, 18). Ibn al-Fārīd, for example, swears with the exclamation *ḥādhi yadī* "this hand of mine!" (line 264 of his *al-Ta'ziyat al-kubrā*, ed. Kairo 1319). The Prophet said on one occasion: "May I be wretched and despised if I am not just" (al-Bukhārī, ii. 306, 8; cf. al-Kaṣṭallānī, vi. 57). This form of oath is used in the *li'an* ceremony when married people take oaths in giving evidence against one another in cases of alleged adultery (Sūra xxiv. 6—9; cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 192). A curse can also have a positive value and be used to strengthen an assertion, as in *ḡatalahu 'Ulāhu mā asḡidahu*, i. e. "May Allāh slay him. How brave he is". The curse is here used *li-'l-ta'adjjib*, as in Sūra lxxiv. 19, 20 (see al-Baidāwī on the passage). The expression already mentioned "May my hand waste away" is often used in this way.

The taking of a vow is connected with the invocation of a curse upon oneself under certain conditions. It is especially common as an oath of vengeance among the Arabs; thus Imru'ū 'l-Qais says he will neither eat meat nor drink wine nor anoint himself with oil nor touch a woman nor wash the *djanāba* off his head until he has taken vengeance (*Aghānī*, viii. 68, 17 sq.; cf. 68, 2; ix. 149, 2; xiii. 69, 8; Ibn Hishām, p. 980, 3 sq.; 543, 5 sq. etc.). To take this vow (*nadhīr*) is called *nadhāra*. The man concerned dedicates himself thereby and takes an increased obligation (*'ahd*) upon himself. Such oaths are as a rule taken before a battle (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 301; 'Antara, xxi. 84 etc.). Vice versa, one may give force to one's word by taking a special obligation upon oneself in case of breaking it. This pledge, of course, must be inviolable in character and usually takes one of three forms: giving of camels to be sacrificed, releasing of slaves (male or female) or divorce from a wife. These pledges may be made more or less severe; thus one can promise to divorce or release present and future wives and slaves (e. g. al-Ya'qūbī, p. 505 sq., 509 sq., and in the oaths taken by officials of the Mamlūks), a kind of oath which was banned by al-Shāfi'ī but nevertheless often occurs (cf. "he swore by his wife", Zaid b. 'Alī, ed. Griffini, p. 205, 10 sq.). In taking the oath one must endeavour to remember its character as a serious, sacred expression. It is best to swear at sacred places, in ancient times at the holy stone or idol (*Aghānī*, ix. 9 sq.). In pre-Islāmic days and later the Ka'ba was a particularly favourite place for taking an oath (Ibn Hishām, p. 317, 18; Ibn al-Kalbī, p. 19; al-Ṭabarī, iii. 861, 4 sqq.), especially by al-Ḥafīm (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3464, 10); this oath is still considered a very strong one (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 306; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlat al-Ḥidjāziya*, Cairo 1329, p. 127). One swears by the tombs of saints at the same time laying a hand on the tomb (see e. g. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 311; Musil, *Arabia Petrea*, iii. 338, 342), just as a hand is laid on the northern window of the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, in taking an oath (*Shibūk al-Tawla*, see e. g. al-Batanūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 246). Oaths are taken in the mosque, for example, especially on the *minbar* (e. g. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 92, 18 sq.). Special seasons make the oath more serious,

notably the period after the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* (see Goldziher in the *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, ix. 297 sq.). There is evidence of oaths in connection with sacrifice from the pre-Islamic period (Zuhair, i. 50; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 423, 10). Swearing by the sacrificial animals is common, still more frequent by the lord of the sacrificial animals (e.g. *Ḥamāsa*, 715, verse 6). Among the traditional forms of oath is the *hūla*. According to al-Djāwharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s. v., it consists in taking the oath by the fire of the tribe into which salt is thrown. This ceremony, referred to by al-Kumait (*al-Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horowitz, N^o. 4, verse 36), still survives (Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 133 sq.).

The magic circle is often used at the present day; this, which is sometimes divided by lines at right angles, often has something put in it, such as dung, ashes or a piece of cloth. One solemn oath consists in sticking a sword in the ground in the centre of the circle and placing ants beside it; this is the *šemle wa-nemle* oath. Sometimes one takes a piece of wood in the hand and swears "by the life of this wood"; this is the *dīn al-ʿūd*. Other popular customs could be mentioned, such as laying a hand on the tent-pole, taking bread and coffee in the hand, turning towards the *qibla* etc. (see the works of Musil, Jausen, Landberg, Burckhardt and Doughty). Increasing the gravity of the oath by various procedures is acknowledged in official Islām and called *taghlīz al-yamīn* or *taʿzīm al-yamīn*; for example, the *Qurʾān* or al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is placed in the bosom while the oath is being taken (cf. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, p. 115; Lane, *Manners and Customs* 3, i. 168, 470). Great oaths are called *Aimān bāligha* (*Sūra* lxviii. 39; cf. *Djahd aimānīhim*, *Sūra* v. 58; vi. 109; xvi. 40).

The oath formulae give the substance of the oath. Apart from special kinds of oaths such as the curse and the vow, the usual formula is for that by which one swears to be introduced by a particle. The most common particles in this connection are *bi*, *ta* and *wa*, which are all used in solemn oaths (*wallāhi*, *wa-bi-llāhi wa-tallāhi*); the two last mentioned are not so freely used as *bi*. The particle *bi* is the common preposition "in combination with"; *ta* is probably the termination as in *amānata* or *ḥayāta*; *wa* is an intensive particle like *la*, which is used particularly in the formula *la-ʿamri*, *la-ʿamruka* "by my (thy) life", etc.

Other demonstrative particles occur in oaths such as *a*, *hū*, or sometimes the simple accusative is used; abbreviations of *aimunūn* like *aimu*, *imu*, *um*, *mu* etc. are also sometimes used as particles in oaths. There are several linguistic peculiarities associated with oath formulae; for example, a negative can be omitted after the oath; vice versa, we find occasionally in the *Qurʾān* a negative *lā* before the oath, which is apparently intended to give it particular emphasis. A further intensification of the oath is expressed by prefixing *la* to the following verb (on the grammatical point cf. *al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, p. 163 sq.; Ibn Yaʿīsh, ed. Jahn, p. 289 sq.).

Just as an oath is taken at a holy place or at a sacrifice, so we find oaths taken by the place or by the sacrifice (or by its lord). The Kaʿba and all that belongs to it as well as the pilgrimage are used in oaths in continually changing phrases. The old Arabs swore specially by their gods and fathers. The *kāhīn*'s often swore by natural phenomena (Ibn Hishām, II, 4). It is in keeping with the character of the oath that in Islām swearing

by Allāh is alone permitted, but that, on the other hand, swearing by fathers, saints and especially by the Prophet (by the tomb of the Prophet, *Aghānī*, vi. 91, 13) is found in everyday life. Swearing by one's father was particularly forbidden by the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, iv. 263) but it is sometimes used by ʿUmar and Abū Bakr (al-Bukhārī, ii. 444, 6) and even by the Prophet himself (Muslim, commentary of al-Nawawī, iv. 99). It is a good Muslim oath to swear "by the Lord of my father" (al-Bukhārī, ii. 203, 15) or "by the Lord of the Kaʿba, of the sacrificial animals" etc.). The Prophet also swears by his honour (Zaid b. ʿAlī, ed. Griffini, p. 104, 4). The formula may call God to witness, as, for example, "God knows that I am not lying", "God is witness that I am saying this", etc. God is often referred to by some descriptive phrase; for example, "by Him Who sent Muḥammad with truth", while a Jew says "Mūsā" for "Muḥammad". The oath can also be adapted to particular situations; many have their favourite oaths; the Prophet, for example: "by Him in Whose hand my soul is", etc. The oath is intensified by repeating the formula three or more times.

One is freed from an oath to fulfil a vow, when one has performed it (*abarra* or *ḥallala yamīnan*). "Discharge from the oath" (*taḥillat al-kaṣam*) may mean a small quantity or a short period of time, literally: sufficient for release from the vow (cf. al-Bukhārī, i. 316, 11; iv. 265, 12, with *Sūra* xix. 72; Unaiya b. Abi l-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, xxiii. 14). The man, to whom someone has vowed to do something, may, however, release the latter from his oath. The latter is allowed to disregard his oath if higher considerations demand it. There is evidence from the Muslim as well as the pre-Muslim period that such a solemn promise was accompanied by the taking off or rending of certain articles of clothing (al-Wāḳidī, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 197; al-Ṭabarī, iii. 862, 14 sq.). Release from a vow is obtained among the modern Beduins by a sacrifice. One may bind others with an oath if one conjures them. The formula is often of this kind: "I call (*naṣḥada*) God to thee" or "I mention (*dhakkara*) God to thee". But it is an oath of the speaker and it depends upon the relation between the latter and the person adjured whether the latter will fulfil the vow; in such forms of oath appeal is often made to mutual friendship or relationship (e.g. *Lisān*, vi. 428, 7 sq.; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 254 middle). One can also appeal to God. "A servant of God is one whose oath God redeems when he appeals to him" (al-Bukhārī, ii. 168, 19, 204, 2). God is more pressingly conjured, if the appeal is made through one of His favourites, like the Prophet (*taʿwassul bi-l-Nabī*). Maʾrūf al-Karkhī is said to have advised a disciple to call upon God through him (al-Ḳuṣhairī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1330, p. 9, 23).

Between the popular use of the oath among the ancient Arabs and in Islām there is no essential difference, as is clear from what we have already said. But there are special rules regarding the oath in Islām. In the *Qurʾān*, especially in the older *Sūra*'s, the oaths taken by the *kāhīn*s by natural phenomena are usual (*Sūra* lvi. 74; lxxi. 15—18; lxxvi. 1; lxxxix. 1—3; xci. 1—7 etc.); we also have instances of swearing by the *Qurʾān* (xxxvi. 1; xxxviii. 21; xlv. 1; l. 1), by the angels (xxxvii. 1), by the Last Day (lxxvii. 1) etc. Iblis swears by

God's majesty (xxxviii. 23) and we have evidence (Zaid b. 'Ali, ed. Griffini, p. 286, 7 sq.) that God swears by His majesty and grandeur (cf. for the oaths in the Qur'an Ibn al-Kayyim, *Kitāb Aḥsām al-Kur'an*, Mekka 1321). Two passages in the Qur'an are of special importance for the use of the oath. In Sūra v. 91 and ii. 224 sq. it is said that inconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in oaths can be (broken and) expiated. The context in both passages makes it probable that the references are to vows of abstinence, sometimes from food, sometimes from women. Vows of the last mentioned kind, called *ilā'*, are limited to four months (ii. 226), in connection with ii. 224 sq., after which time they must be expiated or the man must divorce the wife. A particular vow of this kind (*ḡihār*) in which the husband says "Thou art henceforth as the back of my mother to me (*ka-ḡahrī ummī*)" is especially condemned in Sūra xxxiii. 4; lviii. 2, 4 sq. (see Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden and Leipzig 1910, p. 224 sqq.; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 1897, p. 13, 68 sqq.).

The practice of atonement for such oaths after repenting of having taken them seems to be taken from the Jews (cf. *Mishna*, *Nedarim*, and *Lev.*, v. 4 sq.). In Sūra lxvi. 2 we read "God hath prescribed you the dissolution of your oaths" and this prescription is applied to a case in which the Prophet had sworn to his wife Ḥafsa not to touch the slave-girl Māriya, which he later regretted (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, xxviii. 90 sqq.).

Among ḥadīths first place must be given to a saying of the Prophet: "I never take a vow without being prepared to expiate it if I see that another is better and adopting the better". In this and similar sayings, which are collected by al-Bukhārī, Muslim and other traditionists (see *Kitāb al-Aimān wa-l-Nudhūr*), the expiation of vows is recommended in cases other than vows of abstinence. On the other hand it is insisted that one should keep one's oath (Sūra xvi. 93, 96; cf. iii. 71; lviii. 15, 17, 19 etc.) and carrying out what one has sworn to do (*ibṛār al-muḡsam*) is mentioned by al-Bukhārī, ii. 99, 3, among the seven principal requirements. It is only in Paradise that there are no such pledges, for these vows are fulfilled and oaths disposed of (Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, xli. 23). But an oath must always give place to a higher consideration. It is therefore recommended not to take an oath without adding the *istiḡnā'* (the formula "if God so will") (al-Bukhārī, iv. 280; Muslim, comment. of al-Nawawī, iv. 106; Zaid b. 'Ali, ed. Griffini, p. 463).

These statements in the Qur'an and in the *Sunna* form the foundation of the Fikḥ system on the subject. According to this, the person taking the oath must be *mukallaḡ*, he must be acting deliberately as a free agent and intend the oath. He must not take an oath to commit a sin; views are divided on the question whether such an oath is valid at all. One can only swear by God, either by His existence or by one of His names or attributes. The oath by the Prophet is recognised by some Ḥanbalis but in general is not considered a binding oath. The *barā'a* oath already mentioned is not recognised by the Fikḥ. The breaking of a vow (*ḡinṡ*) is considered a duty in certain cases, when one has sworn to commit a sin. The *ilā'* already referred to must be broken within four months if the man does not divorce his wife; after the *ḡihār* the wife

must at once be divorced or the vow must be expiated.

Expiation (*kaffāra*) consists, according to Sūra v. 91, in setting free a slave, feeding ten poor men or clothing the same number; for those who cannot afford this, three days' fasting is equivalent. The things to be done are described in detail in the Fikḥ books. In the *ilā'* the expiation is the same as in other oaths while in the *ḡihār* it consists in releasing a slave who is a believer or fasting for two months or feeding 60 poor people (Sūra lviii. 4—5). The Muslim law recognises the oath of affirmation as well as the vow to perform. The former only occurs in law-suits. A special case is formed by the *kašama* already mentioned which was taken over from the ancient Arabs. It is limited in Islām to trial for murder and consists of 50 oaths which can be sworn by one or more individuals. The oath is imposed on the accuser but only in connection with certain indications (*lawṡh*) which must be regularly ascertained. If the accuser refuses to take the oath, the 50 oaths are applied to the accused; if he refuses they apply again to the accuser. In other cases the principle in Islām is that the onus of proof is on the accuser and the accused has to take the oath. Witnesses as a rule do not take an oath; witnesses to the will of a testator who has died in a foreign country are an exception (Sūra v. 105). If the plaintiff has only one of the two necessary witnesses, the oath of one of the parties may take the place of the second witness (al-Bukhārī, ii. 158 sq.). When the plaintiff has not valid proofs, the oath is put to the defendant; if he declines to take it, it is put to the plaintiff (*yamīn al-radd*). Perjury on account of some crime is called *yamīn al-ḡhamūs* by Muslim scholars, an expression which originally meant a peculiarly binding oath. Such oaths can be expiated in the above fashion, according to the Shāfi'ī school, if they are false, according to other views they cannot. The latter hold that expiation only applies to vows.

The formalism of the legal system opens the way for all kinds of artifices by which an oath can be broken, yet formally kept. There thus arose a whole literature regarding such subterfuges; the best known work is al-Khaṣṣāf's *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl wa-l-makhāridj* (ed. by Joseph Schacht [autogr.], Hannover 1923; printed Cairo 1314).

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(JOHS. PEDERSEN)

AL-KAŠAŠ "the story", title of Sūra xxviii. of the Qur'an, taken from vs. 25. See further KIŠŠA.

KASB. The root occurs a large number of times in the Qur'an with the meanings, "seek", "attain", "earn", "work" (good and evil); see C. C. Torrey, *The Commercial Theological Terms in the Koran* (Leiden 1892), p. 27 sqq. and Nöldeke's note there. Stems i. and viii are used synonymously although al-Baidāwī on Qur'an ii. 286 (Fleischer's ed., i. 143, 21), following al-

Zamakhshari on the same passage, tries to show that there is more personal, reflexive force (*ʿitīmāl*) in viii. Hence *kasb* and *iktisāb* mean much the same. There are two technical usages. I. It is equivalent to the *iktisāb* of the Ashʿarites. "The action of a creature is created, originated, produced by Allāh but it is 'acquired' (*maksūb*) by the creature, by which is meant its being brought into connection with his power and will without there resulting any effect from him in it or any introduction to its existence, only that he is a locus (*maḥall*) for it" (al-Djurdjānī on *al-Mawāḳif* of al-Idjī, Bulāḳ 1266, p. 515). Al-Ghazālī, perhaps desiring to emphasize the personal acceptance, apparently preferred *iktisāb*; see his statement in the *Iḥyāʾ* (ed. with comm. of al-Murtaḍā al-Zabidī, ii. 165 sqq.) and the elaborate commentaries thereon. Al-Rāzī on *Qurʾān* ii. 286 (ed. Cairo 1308, ii. 388) states the different views as to the two terms. Al-Sanūsī in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Luciani, p. 68 sqq., also note p. 237) uses *iktisāb* only twice and evidently in the same sense as *kasb*; his statement is an extension of that of al-Djurdjānī. This is the most subtle question in all Muslim *Kalām* (*adaḳḳ min kasb al-Ashʿarī*) but it may be guessed that al-Ashʿarī wished only to explain our consciousness of freedom to choose and that his explanation was that this consciousness is a separate creation by Allāh in the mind; man for him was an automaton with consciousness as part of the machinery. The later mutakallims, especially under the influence of the more ethical Māturidite system, turned it otherwise; cf. e. g. al-Taftāzānī in his commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī (a Māturidite), Cairo 1321, p. 98 sqq. II. *Kasb* and *iktisāb* are applied to that knowledge (*ʿilm*) which belongs to created things and is attained by the voluntary (*ikhtiyārī*) application of secondary causes (*asbāb*), (a) like reason and consideration of premises in deduction and (b) like listening and turning the eye in sense perception. They are thus wider than *istidlāl* which applies only to reasoning. *Darūrī*, "necessary", is sometimes opposed to *iktisābī* and sometimes to *istidlālī*. Others arrange thus: knowledge in a created being is of two kinds, (a) *darūrī* and (b) *iktisābī*; in the acquisition of (b) the *asbāb* are of three kinds, the healthy senses, reliable narrative, rational consideration (*nazar*); *nazar* is of two kinds, immediate intuition (*baḍiḥa*) and *istidlāl*, deduction (al-Taftāzānī on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, p. 39 sq.; also al-Djurdjānī on *al-Mawāḳif*, p. 16, 21).

Bibliography: Is given above; add for both uses, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1243 sq. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

KASF. [See KHUSŪF].

KASH, the modern **SHAHR-I SABZ** ("green town", on account of the fertility of its surroundings) a town in Bukhārā on what was once the great trade route between Samarḳand and Balkh. According to Chinese authorities, Kash (Chinese transcription K'ia-sha or Kié-shuang-na, also K'iu-sha, as a town Ki'-she) was founded at the beginning of the seventh century A. D.; cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 57; *Ērānshahr* etc., Berlin 1901, p. 304; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukine (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 146. Yāḳūt's statement (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 274) on the authority of Ibn Makūlā, who died in 473 (1080/1), that in Mā warāʾ

al-Nahr the name was everywhere pronounced *Kiss* is very doubtful; for the later period the pronunciation *Kesh* is proved by the frequently recurring expression *Kesh-i Dilkes*. The accounts of the Arab conquest are discussed by Marquart in particular (*Ērānshahr*, see Index). The *Kesh* of the Sāmānid period is described very fully by the Arab geographers (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, i., al-Iṣṭakhṛī, p. 324; ii., Ibn Hawḳal, p. 375 sq.; iii., al-Muḳaddasī, p. 282). The town in those days was a third of a *farsakh* (about a mile) in length and breadth; the old city (*madīna*, Persian *shahristān*) as well as the citadel (*ḳuhandiz*) were already deserted, only the outer town (*rabaḳ*) was inhabited; in the vicinity of the earlier Kash a new town was arising. This suggests that the modern town has a site different from that of the Kash which existed before the Muslim conquest. Nothing is known of other transferences of the site. Kash is never mentioned in the history of the Mongol conquest, so that it must have submitted to the Mongols (617 = 1220) without resistance. The name *Shahr-i Sabz* first appears — on coins also — about the middle of the eighth (fourteenth) century. Many buildings were erected in Kash by Timūr, who belonged to the district of Kash, and his contemporaries; thereon cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obsh.*, xxiii. 1 sq. Especially famous is the palace Aḳ Sarāy built at the end of 782 (beginning of 1380) by builders from Khwārizm; cf. Sharaf al-Din Yazdī, *Zafar Nāme*, Calcutta 1887—8, i. 301 sq., and the notices by Nizām al-Din Shāmi and ʿAbd al-Razzāk Samarḳandī in W. Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego vremya*, Petrograd 1918, p. 23; very little survives of this palace; on the inscriptions cf. N. Sitnyakowskiy in *Protokolli Turk. Kruzhka Lyub. Arkh.*, v. 114 sq. As late as the tenth (sixteenth) century Kash or *Shahr-i Sabz* is described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tānīsh (*ʿAbd Allāh Nāme*, MS. of the Asiat. Museum, 574 age, f. 87b) as an important town usually governed by a prince of the ruling house, while the administration of Nasaf or *Ḳarshī* [q. v.] could be left to a military official (*Darughā*). At the present day the situation is reversed and *Shahr-i Sabz* is an unimportant town in comparison with *Ḳarshī*, the result of the political changes in the twelfth (eighteenth) century. The district of *Shahr-i Sabz* is surrounded by hills on north, south and east, so that it can hardly be expected that this region will be soon linked up with the railway system, while *Ḳarshī* is already connected by railway with Bukhārā and Termedh; the town of *Shahr-i Sabz* has therefore little prospect of renewing its prosperity.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 469 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan w epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii., St. Petersburg 1900, p. 134 sq., with corrections, p. 524; do., *Kistorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 125 sq. (W. BARTHOLD)

KĀSHĀN (in Arab authors often *Kāshān*), a town in Irāk ʿAdjamī (al-Djibāl, Media) three days' journey from Isfahān and twelve *farsakh*'s from Ḳumm. It is an ancient town which is said to have been rebuilt by Zubaida, wife of Ḥārūn al-Rashid. The heat there is excessive in summer, but the winter is very mild. Water, which is scarce, is brought by an aqueduct from the spring at the castle of Fīn outside the town, to which

the inhabitants go on pilgrimage once a year. The melons and figs of this locality are esteemed. Large numbers of big, black and very dangerous scorpions are found there. The natives are all Shī'is and were already noted for their devotion to the twelve Imāms at a time when this part of the world was still Sunnī. In expectation of the return of the hidden Imām, they used to go out every morning with great ceremony to be ready to meet him; after a long wait they returned home disappointed but not discouraged. Almost the same thing was done at Hilla (Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, ii. 324—5).

The town was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of the Wakil Karīm Khān Zand, who had it rebuilt. Situated in the centre of a fertile plain, it was surrounded by walls flanked with towers, with a deep ditch running all round; it had six gates. Although not very important (15,000 inhabitants of whom 300 were Jews at the beginning of the nineteenth century), it is one of the prettiest towns in Persia; its streets are clean and paved. According to A. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New-York 1906, p. 410, it has now about 20,000 inhabitants. Its manufactures are cauldrons, silks embroidered with gold and silver flowers, plain stuffs with strips of colour and a kind of velours. Gold, silver and steel are worked there. It has become especially famous for the plaques of faience called *Kāshī* [q.v.], of which there was no longer any trace as early as 1808.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i., al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 197, 7, 10—11, 201; ii., Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 259, 16—17, 264; iii., al-Muḥaddasī, p. 390, 392, n. a; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 15; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḣḣat al-Kulūb*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xxiii. 67—68 (transl. p. 71—2); Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 434—5; Schefer, *Chrest. persane*, ii. 129; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 209; Olivier, *Voyage etc.*, Paris 1807, iii. 96—97; J. Morier, *A second Journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 161—2; W. Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819—23, iii. 86—94; Mme Dieulafoy, *La Perse etc.*, Paris 1887, p. 194—212; R. Binning, *Journal of two years travel*, London 1857, ii. 186 sqq.; E. Aubin, *Rev. du Monde musulman*, 1907, ii. 461—4; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii. 461—3, iii. 1—11.

(CL. HUART)

KĀSHĀNĪ. [See 'ABD AL-RAZZĀK].

KĀSHĀNĪ, ḤĀDJJĪ MIRZĀ DJĀNĪ, the Bābī historian, was a merchant of Kāshān who, with two of his three brothers, ḤĀDJJĪ MIRZĀ ISMĀ'IL DABĪH and ḤĀDJJĪ MIRZĀ AḤMAD, was among the earliest disciples of Mirzā 'Alī Muḥammad, the Bāb. When the Bāb, in 1847, was being conducted from Iṣfahān to his prison at Mākū the brothers bribed his escort to allow him to be their guest for two days and two nights at Kāshān. In the following year Kāshānī, with Bahā' Allāh, Ṣubḥ-i Azal and other prominent disciples, attempted to join the Bābī insurgents of Shaikh Ṭabarsī near Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān but was captured by the royal troops and imprisoned for some time at Āmul, until ransomed by two merchants of Kāshān. "We find him always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at Bārfurūsh, now at Mashhad, now at Tīhrān." The Bāb was put to death on July 9, 1850, and Kāshānī occupied the next two

years in writing his history of the movement, for which task he was qualified by personal acquaintance not only with the Bāb, but with Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Bahā' Allāh and almost all the early apostles of the Bābī religion and by detailed and accurate information of every event connected with the movement during the first eight years of its existence. His history (which, for some mystical reason not readily comprehensible he styled *Nuḣḣat al-Kāf* "the Point of Kāf"), is accurate, but is disfigured by fulsome and almost idolatrous adulation of his hero and by coarse abuse of his persecutors. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh resolved to strike a blow at the adherents of the new religion, Kāshānī was forcibly removed from the shrine of Shāh 'Abd al-Azīm, about six miles south of Tīhrān, where he had taken sanctuary, and thrown into prison, where he shared the cell of Bahā' Allāh. On Sept. 15, 1852, he was put to death at Tīhrān in company with twenty-seven of his co-religionists. As an act of policy, in order to divert vengeance from himself and his minister, the Shāh handed the heretics over to various communities for execution and Kāshānī was delivered to Ākā Mahdī, Malik al-Tudjdjār ("chief of the merchants"). According to one account he suffered death by the bowstring, and according to another the merchants and shopkeepers of the city inflicted wounds on him until he perished.

Of his brothers Ismā'īl died at Tīhrān and Aḥmad, who, after the death of the Bāb, recognised Ṣubḥ-i Azal as his successor, was slain at Baghdād by some Bahā'īs, followers of Bahā' Allāh.

Bibliography: ḤĀDJJĪ MIRZĀ DJĀNĪ, *Nuḣḣat al-Kāf*, ed. E. G. Browne in the Gibb Memorial Series; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Bāb*, Cambridge 1891; do., *The Tūrikh-i Jadīd, or New History of Mirzā 'Alī Muḥammad the Bāb*, Cambridge 1893.

(T. W. HAIG)

KASHF, "uncover", has two technical uses. I. In prosody it is the elision of the seventh vowelised letter in the foot *maf'ūlātu*, changing it to *maf'ūlā* and farther to *maf'ūlātun* — a combination of *wāḳf* and *kāff*. This is often called *kāshf*, "cut", which is more probable; but that root has unlucky associations (Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 87; De Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*², ii. — *Traité de la Prosodie*, Tab. iii.; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie*, p. 241; al-Djurdjānī, *al-Ta'rīfāt*, under *kāshf*). — II. In the emotional religious life (*taṣawwuf*) it is the broadest term for the unveiling of the mystic. When this is analyzed more carefully it is commonly divided into three: (i.) *muḥāḍara* in which reason (*aḳl*) is the means by proof (*burhān*); (ii.) *muḳāshafa* in which taught knowledge (*'ilm*) is the means by explanation (*bayān*); (iii.) *muṣhāhada* by means of immediate, personal experience (*ma'rifa*). By (i.) *'ilm al-yāqīn* is reached by the *arḥāb al-ukūl*; this is still in the realm of reason and is not really *kāshf*. By (ii.) *'ain al-yāqīn* is reached by the *aṣḥāb al-utīm* and by (iii.) *ḥaḳḳ al-yāqīn* is reached by the *aṣḥāb al-ma'ārif*; the last is the immediate Vision of God and is sometimes called *mu'ayana* (al-Ḳushairī, *al-Risāla*, ed. with commentaries of Zakariyā al-Anṣārī and al-'Arūsī, Būlāk 1290, ii. p. 79 sqq.; on this cf. K. Hartmann, *al-Ḳushairīs Darstellung des Sūfismus* (*Türk. Bibl.*,

xviii.), p. 72 sqq.; Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahdżub*, transl. Nicholson, p. 373 sqq. and by index.

Bibliography: Is given above; add for both uses *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ii. 1254.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

KĀSHGHAR, a town in Chinese Turkestan, called Su-le in the oldest Chinese sources; the same name is still used in Chinese official documents. The name Kāshghar first appears in Chinese transcription (K'iu-cha) in the *T'ang-shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 121 sq. On the pre-Muhammadan Kāshghar and the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the vicinity see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i. 52 sq.; do., *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, p. 80 sq. Arab armies did not reach Kāshghar; the story of Kūtaiba's campaign in 96 (715) is, as H. A. R. Gibb (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, ii. 467 sq.) has shown, a mere legend. On the flight of a prince of Farghāna to Kāshghar in the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (755-775) see the article FARGHĀNA. In the Sāmānid period a *Dihkān* of Kāshghar with the name or title Tughān Tegin is mentioned (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 37), with whom the rebel prince Ilyās b. Ishāk took refuge; whether this *Dihkān* had already adopted Islām is not mentioned. At a later date Satuk Boghrā Khān is mentioned as the first Muslim Khān of Kāshghar; in the oldest reference to him that we have (*Djamāl Kūrashī* in Barthold, *Turkestan w epokhu mongolskago nashestiwiya*, i., St. Petersburg 1898, p. 130 sq.) the date of his death is given as 344 (955). This story already contains features which are certainly legendary; in the story of the building of the first mosque we have the well-known folklore motif of the cutting of an ox-skin into strips. The later legend, reproduced by F. Grenard (*Journ. As.*, Ser. 9, vol. xv. 1 sq.), has not this feature but contains many other legendary traits and absolutely false dates. The year 344 A.H. is perhaps too early as probably the story of the adoption of Islām by a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) in 349 (960) must be referred to the Turks of Kāshghar; this story is found not only in Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 396) but also in Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, Oxford 1921, text ii. 181, translation v. 196); the original source is probably Thābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābi' (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 476 and 491; *The Eclipse etc.*, *Index*). The tomb of Satuk Boghrā Khān is in Artūc (now pronounced Artush) north of Kāshghar, where it is still shown.

Under the rule of the İlek-Khāns [q. v.] Kāshghar was politically the most important town in what is now Chinese Turkestan; perhaps it was also the most important from the point of view of culture. In the fifth (eleventh) century there was already in existence a work in Arabic on the history of the town, composed by Abū 'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir (or 'Abd al-Ghaffār) b. Ḥusain al-Alma'i al-Kādighari (sic!); the author's father, who survived his son (according to al-Sam'āni by about ten years), died in 486 (1093). On father and son and the works of the latter see al-Sam'āni, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912, f. 470a and 472a; *Djamāl Kūrashī* in Barthold, *Turkestan etc.*, i. 123 sq. The rulers were buried in a special mausoleum (Arabic *al-djunbadha al-khākāniya*) on the bank of the Tūmen;

the first prince buried there died in Muḥarram, 424 (Dec. 7, 1032—Jan. 5, 1033) and the last in Radjab, 601 (Feb. 22—March 23, 1205). During Mongol rule a madrasa was built in Kāshghar by Mas'ūd Beg (cf. the art. BUKHARĀ); in its library was the copy of the *Shāh* of al-Djawhari used by *Djamāl Kūrashī* for his translation (E. Sachau and Éthé, *Cat. of the Persian . . . Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, col. 983). Kāshghar was later under the rule of the Dughlāt Amirs [see the article *Dughlāt*]; the last of them, Abū Bakr, reigned till 920 (1514), according to the statement of his relative Haidar Mirzā [q. v.] forty-eight years (*Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, English translation, London 1895, p. 253 and 326); but this is contradicted by the author himself, who says that Kāshghar was not conquered by Abū Bakr till 885 (1480/1). Abū Bakr is the founder of the modern town. He destroyed the old fortress and in the last years of his reign rebuilt it on a new site, on the other side of the Tūmen on the tongue of land between this river and the Kizil Śu (*ibid.*, p. 286 sq. and 295).

Under the rule of the "Mongol" Khāns (cf. the *Bibliography* to the art. ČAGHATAI-KHĀN) and later under that of the Kalmūcks and Chinese the capital of the district was no longer Kāshghar but Yärkand; it is only quite recently, since the reconquest of the country by the Chinese in 1877, that Kāshghar has again attained considerable importance as the residence of the Tao-T'ai, who is over the western and southern part of Chinese Turkestan as far as the oasis of Čerčen, and the residence of the Russian and English consuls. On Kāshghar in 1873 see H. W. Bellew in Sir T. D. Fonsyth, *Mission to Yarkand in 1873*, London 1875. On modern conditions see especially Kornilow, *Kashghariya*, Tashkent 1903 (review by W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obsch.*, xv. 131 sq.) with plan of Kāshghar on p. 268, and M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle a/S. 1908, especially p. 45 sq., 89 sq., with plan of the town from Kornilow. The most important building in Kāshghar and vicinity is Ḥadrat Apāk, the tomb of the famous saint of the eleventh (seventeenth century). Kāshghar is now also of greater importance than Yärkand for its intellectual life; Yärkand, "which, down to the conquest of Kaschgaria by the Chinese, was the political capital and also the principal centre of learning and sanctity, has now fallen behind Kāschgar. Its day is over" (M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49). The number of its inhabitants is said to be about 50,000.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KĀSHĪ (in Yakūt: KĀSHĀNĪ, KĀSHĪ; in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: KĀSHĀNĪ), the name derived from that of the town of Kāshān [q. v.] in Persia, given to square, sometimes hexagonal, plaques of faience used in the exterior decoration of buildings or of interior walls.

It is one of the most ancient arts of nearer Asia (already known to the Assyrians and then to the Achaemenids) which survived in Persia in the middle ages, and more especially, it appears, in the town of Kāshān. The monuments of modern Persia from the time of the Ṣafawids to our day (those that are older are in ruins) are covered with these plaques of faience decorated with conventional flowers (*kāshī-kārī*), in which the predominant colours are indigo blue, turquoise blue, green, less frequently red and yellow. Those

with figures in relief are the rarest and the most esteemed.

When this industry was brought to the town of Damascus by Persian artisans — perhaps Christians (some plaques bear inscriptions in Syriac) — the Syrians called these plaques *kishānī* (from the Arabic orthography *Kāshān*). The art disappeared perhaps over a century ago; the ruins of the factory which made them are still shown outside the *Bāb Sharḥī*. These faïences were imitated in Turkey at Iznik and Kutāhiya. Recently an attempt has been made to revive this last factory, but the modern work is far from equalling the beauty of the ancient pieces; it is the same in Persia where the beautiful models of past ages are clumsily imitated at the present day.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstensfeld, iv. 15; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, i. 415, ii. 46, 130, 225, 297, iii. 79; Chardin, *Voyage*, Amsterdam 1735, iii. 4; Pétis de la Croix, *Journal*, ed. Langlès, *Relation de Dourry-Effendi*, Paris 1810, p. 134; Morier, *Deuxième voyage*, p. 250; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii. (*Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vienna 1855, vi. 9). (CL. HUART)

AL-KĀSHĪ, DJAMSHĪD B. MASʿUD B. MAḤMŪD, GHĪYĀTH AL-DĪN, a Persian, was the first superintendent of Ulūgh-Beg's observatory in Samarḳand and a collaborator with this prince in the preparation of his astronomical tables. Besides his astronomical and mathematical researches he also studied medicine; he must have died about the year 840 (= 1436/7). Of his works there have survived: (1) *Zidj-i Khākānī* (the *Khākānī* tables), in Persian, in a manuscript in Constantinople (Aya Ṣofya), a supplement to the *Ilkhānī* tables (of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī); (2) *Miftāḥ al-Hisāb* (key to arithmetic), in Berlin, Leiden, British Museum, India Office, etc.; the preface to it was translated by F. Woepcke (see *Bibliography*); (3) *al-Risāla al-Kamālīya*, also called *Sullam al-Samāʾ* (the ladder of heaven), on the magnitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies, in Oxford, Leiden, India Office; (4) *Risāla fī Istikhrāj al-Djaib daradja wāhida*, etc. (an essay on the calculation of the sine of a degree), in Cairo; in this *al-Kāshī* solves an equation of the third degree by an interesting process of approximation (cf. below Hankel's work).

Bibliography: Preface to the *Miftāḥ al-Hisāb*, MS. Berlin; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, v. 344; H. Hankel, *Zur Gesch. der Mathematik im Altertum u. Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1874, p. 289 sqq.; F. Woepcke, *Passages relat. à des sommes de séries de cubes*, Rome 1864; H. Suter in the *Abhandl. z. Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 173. (H. SUTER)

KĀSHIF, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF B. SHAMS AL-DĪN, with the *takhalluṣ* KĀSHIF-I KUMAIT, a Persian man of letters of the xith (xviith) century. What is known of his life comes mainly from the *Khātima* of his *Khazān u Bahār*. The author's father, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, also known as Shamsā-i Shīrāzī, was living at Karbalā when his son Muḥammad was born and left it for Isfahān in 1006 (1597/98) to escape persecution from the Sunnis. Muḥammad, the son, was then three years old so that he was born in 1003 (1594/95). In 1008 (1599—1600) Shams al-Dīn went to Mashhad and returned seven months later to Isfahān. These dates are given by the Brit. Mus. MS., according

to Rieu's *Catalogue*; from Rosen's description of the St. Petersburg MS. it seems to make the author five years old in 1006 and to put the journey to Mashhad in 1010 (1601/2). After a stay of 23 years in Isfahān the family moved to Ray where the father died in 1035 (1625/26). Muḥammad Sharīf himself was Kādī of Ray for 15 years.

In the *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī* (synopsis in Sprenger, *Catal. of the manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, i. 88 sqq.) there is a notice of Kāshif and his two brothers, Ismāʿīl Muṣṣif and Muḳīmā. The date of our author's death is unknown but must be after 1063 (1652/53). This date is given by the chronogram at the end of the *Khazān u Bahār* in the London MS. as the date of completion of the work; he mentions his other works in the *Khātima* as already written so that the *Khazān* is the last.

Works. Kāshif, who, as he himself tells us, had a literary training and devoted a considerable period to study, wrote both prose and poetry. He composed three epics, two of which (the *Lailā Madjūnūn* and the *Haft Paikar*), like very many epic poems of the later period, deal with subjects very popular since Nizāmī's time. The third was called *Abbās-nāma*, probably a panegyric on the Ṣafawid 'Abbās II (?). Then there are his shorter poems, *qaṣīda's*, *rubāʿī's* etc. His prose works are: *Sīrādī al-Munīr*, a work inspired by Sa'dī's *Gulistan*, composed in an ornate style with verses interspersed. The text is divided into 20 sections (*lam'a*) and deals with the different virtues and moral qualities which are illustrated by anecdotes. The London MS. gives 1030 (1620/21) as the date of completion of this work, but it is probable that this date refers to the time of copying the MS. and the work itself is a few years older. *Khazān u Bahār*, his last book, is a collection, also in ornate prose, of tales which his young brother Muṣṣif urged him to compile. Most of the stories are taken from the earlier *al-Farādī ba'd al-Shidda* of Ḥusain al-Dihistānī, but he details, for example, also an incident that happened to his father Shams al-Dīn. The work consists of a preface (*muḥaddama*), fourteen sections (*asās*) and a conclusion (*khātima*) (lithogr. Tabriz 1294). Two other prose works from his pen are recorded, namely *Durr-i Maknūn* and *Hawāss-i Bāṭin*.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 861; Supplement, p. 250 sq; Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des langues orientales*, p. 285 sq; Ethé in the *Grundr. der Ir. Phil.*, ii. 246, 248, 330. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

KĀSHIFĪ, ḤUSAIN WĀʿIZ, a prolific writer, who flourished in Hirāt (during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā [q. v.] and died in 910 (= 1505). Among the best known of his writings are (i.) a work on ethics, entitled *Akhḫlāq-i Muḥṣinī*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Muḥsin, a son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, and completed in 900 (= 1495); it was printed for the first time in Calcutta, 1809, and frequently since; (ii.) a modernised version of Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥamīd's [q. v.] earlier Persian translation of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* [q. v.]; he undertook this task at the suggestion of Nizām al-Dīn Amīr Shaikh Aḥmad al-Suhailī (ob. 907 or 908 = 1501—1503) and entitled it *Anwār-i Suhailī*; it is written in a very artificial style, overladen with rhetorical ornament, and has on this account been much admired in the East;

MSS. are common, and it has been printed several times, for the first time in Calcutta, 1804. His other works comprise *Djāwāhir al-tafsīr li-tuhfat al-amīr*, a Persian commentary on the *Kurʾān*, compiled at the request of Mir ʿAlī Shīr in 899, but he only completed one out of the four volumes he had planned, and broke off this work to compile for his patron a shorter commentary, entitled *Mawāhib-i-ʿaliya*, but usually styled *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini*; — *Rawdat al-Shuhadā*, a history of the martyrdom of ʿAlī and his family (abridgements exist under the titles, *Dah Maʿjils* and *Muntakhab-i-Rawdat al-Shuhadā*); — *Badāʾiʿ al-Afkar fi Šanāʾiʿ al-Ashʿār*, a treatise on figures of speech and poetic artifices, as well as faults in poetic composition; — *Maḥṣan al-inshāʾ* (compiled in 907 and dedicated to Ḥusain Mirzā) and (later) *Šahīfa-i-Šihāhī*, two works containing models of epistolary composition; — *Ḫiṣṣa-ʾAthār-i-Ḥātim Tāʾi* (or, *Risāla-i-Ḥātimīya*), completed in 891, giving the story of Ḥātim Tāʾi [q. v.]; — *Tuhfat al-šalawāt*; — *Risāla al-ʿaliya fi ʾl-ahādīth al-nabawiya*; — selections from *Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī's Mathnawī*, entitled *Lubāb-i-mathnawī*, from which shorter extracts were made, entitled *Lubb-i-Lubāb*. Several of the above works have been translated into Turkish, and the first two into English.

Bibliography: Schefer, *Chrest. pers.*, i. 190 sqq.; Ethé, *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*, v. Index s.v. Ḥusain Vāʾiz; id., *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, *India Office*, Nos. 2188, 2680. (T. W. ARNOLD)

KASHISH-DAGH (in Turkish "mountain of the priests"), a name given by the Ottomans to Olympus in Mysia, at the foot of which is built on the north the town of Brussa [q. v.]. Its slopes are covered with forests now much diminished; its summit is covered with snow which only melts in summer (height 6,200 feet). Its massif is formed of granite, marble and felspar. At the time of the Ottoman conquest, Olympus was covered with convents and hermits' cells whence its Turkish name. The Christian monks were replaced by dervishes. The poet Lāmīʿi has described the two monasteries Geikli Baba and Doğlu Baba. At the foot of the mountain in a quarter of the town of Brussa is the tomb of Shaikh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī of Bukhārā, better known by the name Sultān Amir Walī: a mosque is built over the tomb.

Bibliography: Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa, *Djāhānumūʾ*, Constantinople 1145, p. 660 (transl. by Norberg, ii. 480—1); Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhet-nāme*, Der-i Seʿādet 1314, ii. 29—30, 46, 47—48 Engl. transl. by v. Hammer, London 1850, p. 15—16, 24, 25; Samī Bey, *Kānūs al-ʿĀlām*, v. 3866; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyenin Tārīkh ve-Djoghrafiya Loḡhātī*, p. 669; v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, i. 157 sqq.

(CL. HUART)

KASHKĀL, a Turkish people in Persia. The name is said to be the Turkish *kaškā* "horse with a white spot on its forehead" (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 395). The *Kashkāi* are said to be descended from the Turkish *Khaladji* (cf. also *B.G.A.*, i. 158: *Khaladji*) mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī (*B.G.A.*, vol. i.) and later writers in the country between India and Sistān. The *Khaladji* are said to have migrated first to the Persian ʾIrāk where a district near Sāwa is still called *Khaladjistān*; there is still said to be a Turkish speaking people there

(private information from V. Minorskiy). The *Kashkāi* are said to have come from the ʾIrāk to Fārs where they lead a nomadic life at the present day. Their winter quarters are in the southern part of this province, especially around Fīrūsābād, where the chief of their tribe (*Ilkhānī*) is regarded *ex officio* as governor; the stronghold of Parwīza was built there by the *Ilkhānī* Šawlat al-Dawla (from 1324/5 = 1906/7). In summer they wander as far as Kumīsha and Gandemūn in the southern part of the province of Isfahān. According to Curzon (*Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii. 112 sqq.), the *Kashkāi* were a numerous people down to about 1870 (60,000 families; in case of war about 120,000 horsemen) but they suffered greatly from the famine of 1871 and 1872; at the time of Curzon's journey (1889) the number of families was said to be 25,000, while he put it at really some 10—12,000. The number 12,000 is also given by Tumanskiy (1894) for the tents of the *Kashkāi* proper, but he says the number of all the nomads for whom the *Ilkhānī* of the *Kashkāi* paid the taxes was double (24,000). Larger figures are given by later travellers: 35,000 (1906) and 55,000 (1914). In 1914 the *Kashkāi* formed a well armed division of an army of about 20,000 men and took part in the world-war on Germany's side against England. All the *Kashkāi* are fanatical Shīʿis. The men are engaged in horse-breeding (the breed is related to the Arab); the women weave carpets. A few *Kashkāi* have gone over to a settled life in the south at Dārāb and in the north at Kumīshe. According to Curzon, the *Kashkāi*, in spite of their Turkish descent, were considered to belong to the Lūr family; in their customs also they differ little from the Bakhtiyārī and Kūgelū (the Turkish tribe of the Aghācerī also belongs to this Lūr tribe); but the language of the *Kashkāi*, as the songs written down in 1914 by A. Romaskevič show, is a Southern Turki dialect closely related to the Turkoman and Aḡharbaidjānī.

Bibliography: A. A. Romaskevič, *Piesni Kashkaicev* (in the *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii Etnografii pri Ross. Akad. Nauk.* = *Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie près l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, v.ii.; so far only available separate, p. 573—610; in it the literature is given from A. Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, to G. Demorgny, *Les réformes administratives en Perse. Les tribus du Fars* (*R.M.M.*, 1913, xxii. 92—100) and B. V. Miller, *Kočerīya plemenā Farsistana* (*Vostočnyj Sbornik*, 1916, ii. 213—218; reports for 1906).

(W. BARTHOLO)

KASHKŪL (P.), an oval bowl of metal, wood or coconut (calabash), worn suspended by a chain from the shoulder, in which the dervishes put the alms they receive and the food which is given them. The etymology of this word is obscure; a popular one is given by the Persians: *kašk* "draw" (imperative) and *kūl* "shoulder", "what one draws over the shoulder"; but as we find a form *kaškūl* attested in the older poets (Anwārī, Saif Isfarangi), this explanation can hardly be accepted. The dictionaries give as the first sense "beggar" and then "beggar's bowl". We are not able to say whether they are right.

In literature the word means an album, a collection of different pieces from different sources, and is applied particularly to the *Kitāb al-Kashkūl*

of Bahā al-Din al-Āmili [cf. above s.v. AL-ĀMILĪ].

Bibliography: *Farhang-i Kashidī*, s. v. *Khaḥkūl*; *Burhān-i Kātibī*, s. v. *kashkūl*; Rev. R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, p. 217; Ricaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, figure in chapt. xvii. . . ; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*¹, i. 337; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii. 4; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 52.

(CL. HUART)

KASHMĪR (1). The name Kashmīr (in Arabic works also *Ḳashmīr*) has from early times been employed to denote the valley situated in North-west Himalaya between 33° 30' and 34° 40' N. Lat. and 74° and 75° 30' E. Long. This valley has a length from N. W. to S. E. of about 84 miles and a breadth from N. E. to S. W. of 20 to 25 m. The area is about 1900 sq. miles. It is separated from the outer hills of *Djammū*, *Rādjāwari* and *Pūnč* by the lofty *Pir Pandjāl* Range of which several peaks are more than 15,000 feet in height. On the North-west side ranges which come nearest to the valley rise to greater heights, the principal peaks being *Gwash-brārī* (17,800 ft.), *Amarnāth* (17,321 ft.) and *Haramukh* (16,903 ft.). Beyond these is an extensive mountainous district through which the passes connecting the valley with *Ladākh*, the Upper Indus valley, and Central Asia are few and difficult. The *Zādji* Pass (11,300 ft.) is the principal means of communication with *Ladākh*, and the *Burzil* Pass (13,500 ft.) with *Astōr* and *Skardū*. With the plains of India the most direct pass is via *Bhimbar* over the *Pir Pandjāl* (11,400 ft.), but the easiest and only route open throughout the year is that by *Bāramulla* where the R. *Djehlam* or *Bēhat* leaves the valley. This may be approached now most easily by the good road from *Rāwal Pindī* via *Marri*, which follows the gorge of the *Djehlam*, but the *Abbottābād* route which joins the other at *Muzaffarābād* (the confluence of the *Kishangangā* with the *Djehlam*) has more natural facilities and was most used in early days. The geography and geology of this isolated valley are fully described by *Drew*, *Lydekker* and *Oestreich*, and the historical geography has been elucidated by *Cunningham* and *Stein*.

The valley is shown to be a lacustrine basin formed by the *Djehlam* R. and its tributaries, of which the *Sind* and *Lidar* are the principal. The drying up of the lake which filled the valley is due to the removal of the rocky barrier which must have closed the exit at *Bāramulla*, and no doubt the general progressive dessiccation of this part of Asia contributed to the result. The *Wular* Lake is the principal remaining sheet of water, and the smaller *Mānasbal* Lake and the *Srinagar* Dal also deserve mention.

The surface of the valley lies between 5000 and 6000 ft. above sea level, it is nearly level and of great fertility, and seems to have attained prosperity at an early period, although its remoteness and inaccessibility protected it from many of the storms of invasion which have swept over Northern India. The people of Kashmīr, although of fine physique, have generally been stigmatized by travellers and rulers alike, from *Yuan Čwang* to *Abu 'l-Faḍl* [q. v.] and *Gulāb Singh*, as an unwarlike, cowardly and cunning race, but, as *Lawrence* has pointed out, these defects have been exaggerated by persistent oppression. It is evident that a race which maintained its independence for so many

centuries could not, even though assisted by the great natural difficulties of approaching the country, have been altogether destitute of a manly character.

Although historical information does not go back to a very early period, yet for the last two thousand years Kashmīr is exceptionally well supplied with sources of historical information. The principal of these is *Kalhana's Rādjataranginī*, a metrical chronicle composed in the xiith century, which is almost unique in India, and which as edited, translated, and annotated by *Stein* is the main source of our knowledge. Other authorities are the Chinese pilgrim, *Yuan Čwang*, who visited Kashmīr in the viith century, the chronicle of *al-Birūnī* [q. v.] in the xiith century, the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* of *Abu 'l-Faḍl*, the diary of the Emperor *Djahāngir*, and the accounts of many modern travellers, beginning with the French physician *Bernier*, who accompanied the Emperor *Awrangzēb* [q. v.] on his visit to the valley. There is also a very complete series of coins illustrating the history of Kashmīr from the 6th century till the present day through the period of the *Epthalites*, the *Hindu* kings, the *Muslimān* sultāns, the *Mughal* Emperors, the *Durrānis* of *Afghanistan*, the *Sikhs* and the present rule of the *Hindū Dogras* of *Djammū*, under British suzerainty.

The most noticeable point in the history is the immunity of the valley from the great historic conquerors. *Alexander* did not touch it, and it repelled the attack of *Maḥmūd* of *Ghaznī*. *Čingiz Khān* [q. v.] and *Timūr* passed it by as did *Bābur* [v. *BĀBER*]. It fell easily into the possession of *Akbar* after he had consolidated his power over the whole of Northern India, and it was unmolested by *Nādir Shāh* even when the *Mughal* power had crumbled away under his attacks. Yet the disorganised country succumbed at once to the attacks of the mountainbred *Afghāns* of *Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī*, and the later *Durrānis*, divided among themselves, were easily defeated by the *Sikhs*. In these cases the people of the valley, regarded simply as subjects for extortion, had no ground for preferring one set of conquerors to another, and they took no part in these later struggles.

No information about Kashmīr can be derived from classical sources before the time of *Ptolemy*, as the Greek historians or *Alexander* do not even mention it. *Ptolemy* (in the middle of the 2nd cent. A. D.) describes it as a very powerful state extending far beyond the limits of the valley, and it is evident that it formed part of the great kingdom of the *Kushāns* which spread over Northern India at that time. He calls it *Kaspeiria*, and states that it lies below the sources of the *Bidaspes*, the *Sandabal* and the *Adris*, i. e. the *Vitastā* (*Vēhat*, *Bēhat* or *Djehlam*), the *Čandra-bhāga* (*Cināb*) and the *Airawati* (*Rāvi*), a very accurate description.

Before this time however, although there is no contemporary information, there is good ground for believing that Kashmīr formed part of the dominions of *Aśōka* about 250 B. C. The defeat of *Seleukos* by *Čandragupta* had enabled the *Maurya* monarchs to extend their power northward, and the spread of *Buddhism* made it easy for *Aśōka* to extend his influence into Kashmīr when he adopted that creed. No inscription of his edicts has been found in the valley, but that at *Man-sēhra* was situated close to the most obvious route

to Bāramulla through the Pakli plain forming part of Urasā (Hazara), and Yuan Čwang tells us that he erected four stūpas in the valley.

This is confirmed by the *Rājataranginī* (i. 104), which shows the tradition still existing in Kalhapa's time. It represents Aśoka as a king who built numerous stūpas, and founded the city of Srinagari, the name of which is preserved in the modern capital Srinagar, although its actual site is marked by the temple of Pāndrēthan (i. e. Purañādhsthāna "ancient capital"), three miles away. The chronicle again embodies an actual tradition when it comes to the kings Kanishka, Djushka, and Hushka, who correspond very closely to the Kushāns Kanishka. Vāsishka, and Huwīshka, known from coins and inscriptions. We know from the Chinese and other Buddhist records that Kanishka called together the second great Buddhist council in Kashmir, and it seems probable that this took place, if the Buddhist tradition is correct, 400 years after Buddha's death, viz. the last half of the 1st century B. C. Even if the theory identifying Kanishka's date with the Śāka era should prove correct, this council cannot be dated later than the first cent. After the decay of the great Kushān kingdom it is probable that Kashmir remained under the rule of minor chiefs of that race who were overthrown by the Ephthalites or White Huns in the early part of the vith century.

All through this early period the name Kashmir or some similar form seems to have been in use. Stein shows that Ptolemy's Kaspeiria corresponds with a Prakrit form Kaśvira, which is preserved in the modern Kashmiri form Kaśhīr, while the older Sanskrit form Kaśmīra has survived almost unaltered in India and Persia as the appellation of the country. The derivation from a supposed Kasyapa-pura advocated by Wilson and Lassen is not now generally accepted, and the Kaspatyros of Herodotos certainly does not refer to Kashmir but to some place bordering on the Indus. He places it in the province of Paktyikē which must have been the later Pakhlī, the hilly district lying between the Indus and the Djehlam which gave its name to a *sarkār* of the Mughal empire under Akbar). Hekataios also mentions Kaspatyros as a city of the Gandarians. In the vith cent. the Chinese pilgrims adopted the name Ki-pūi for Kashmir, but Yuan Čwang also uses the form Ka-si-mi-lo.

The Ephthalite occupation of Kashmir does not seem to have formed part of the direct invasion of India, which came from the west. Their king Mihira-gula seems to have been established at Sākala (Siyāl-kōt) in 520 A. D., when the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun found him making war on Kashmir. How far he succeeded is not clear, but after his defeat in Central India in 528 A. D. he appears to have retired into Kashmir, and seems to have gradually obtained possession of the country, whence he attacked his brother who had usurped his throne in Gandhāra. Yaśōdharman, his Indian conqueror, appears to have followed him into Kashmir and struck coins there, but probably Mihira-gula remained in possession, as coins in the Kashmir style are found in the names of his successors, Khingila and Tōramāna. Yuan Čwang, who visited Kashmir early in the next century, states that Mihira-gula was a tyrant and oppressor of Buddhists. He was favourably received by the king then reigning, whose name he does not give, probably

Durlabha the founder of the Kārkoṭaka dynasty and found 100 Buddhist monasteries still existing. Shortly afterwards king Harsha of Kanawdj [q. v.] extorted from Kashmir the tooth-relic of Buddha, but did not invade the country. Relations with China were frequent during the viiith century. An embassy from China arrived in 713 A. D. After 720 A. D. the kings of Kashmir were recognized by the Chinese emperors. The last recorded embassy from China was in 759 A. D. The Kārkoṭaka dynasty was then in possession, and the embassy in 713 A. D. seems to have been due to an application by the king Candrapīḍa for assistance against the Arabs, who now appear for the first time. Muḥammad b. Qāsim after the conquest of Sindh had advanced to the foot of the Himalaya, but no further advance was made. The regular coinage of Kashmir reproducing that of the later Kushāns (with gradual degradation of designs) begins with the Kārkoṭakas and continues till the supersession of the Hindū by the Musalmān kings in the xivth century. The earlier kings of this race had possessions extending far beyond the limits of Kashmir including Pakhlī, Punč, Rājapuri, Taxila and the Salt Range.

The extension of the Kashmir style of architecture, which is found almost unaltered in the ancient temples of the Salt Range, may probably be referred to this period. Hindūism and Buddhism flourished side by side in Kashmir, as we learn from Yuan Čwang, and even as late as the xiith century when Kalhapa wrote; and the style of architecture used for the Hindū temples was probably identical with that of the Buddhist *vihāra*'s. Foucher (*L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 136—145) has proved its derivation from the Gandhāra architecture of the ist and iind centuries. The double pyramidal roof, its distinguishing feature, has been perpetuated in Muḥammadan mosques up to the present day. The mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Srinagar shows this feature.

It is also in his account of this period that references to the Shāhīs of Gandhāra begin to appear in Kalhapa's chronicle, and (as was the case with China) the growth of Islām appears to be the cause of the alliance between Gandhāra and Kashmir. In addition to the progress made in Sindh attacks were being made on the Gandhāra border towards Kābul. Al-Tabarī tells us that as early as A. H. 23 'Asim b. 'Amr reached Kandahār (Gandhāra) and the Indian frontier, and under al-Manṣūr, 136—158 (754—775), according to al-Balādhurī, Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibi, governor of Sind "conquered Kashmir and Multān . . . then he came in boats to al-Kandahār and conquered it", and al-Ya'kūbī confirms this. The territories of Kashmir which were conquered were no doubt outlying portions of the dominions between the Indus and Djehlam, and not the valley. It was no more than a raid without permanent effect on Kashmir, where the Hindū kings continued to rule undisturbed for some centuries. The most remarkable of these kings was Avantivarman (A. D. 855—883), founder of Avantipur, where the ruins of his temples still exist. He also carried out extensive works to regulate the floods of the Djehlam. The alliance with the Shāhīs is again met with in his son's time, and becomes closer as time goes on. Gopāla-varman (902—904) helped Toramāna or Kamaluka, the Kamalūā of al-Bīrūnī, to recover his capital from a rebel,

and Kshēma-gupta (950—958) married Diddā, grand-daughter on her mother's side of Bhīma, successor of Kamaluka. Diddā exercised great influence in successive reigns, and ultimately became queen herself. She was a member of the ruling family of Lohara in Pūnc, and through her influence this dynasty became rulers of Kashmir. In 404 (1013) Maḥmūd of Ghazni destroyed the Shāhi kingdom. The last king, Triločan-pāl, assisted by a Kashmir force, was defeated and put to flight, but Maḥmūd's attempt to penetrate into Kashmir itself was brought to a stop at the hill-fort of Lōhara, the Lawhūr of al-Birūnī which he describes as the strongest place he had ever seen. Even after the destruction of the Shāhi kingdom princes of that family continued to exercise influence in Kashmir. The Lōhara dynasty reign throughout the Ghaznavi period. The half mad king Harsha (1089—1101), according to Kalhana, was under Musalmān influence, employed Turkish soldiers and destroyed Hindū and Buddhist images. The employment of 'Turushka' or Turkish troops is attributed partly to the incapacity of the Kashmiris. It is evident that the country was distracted at this period by frequent plots and rebellions caused by misgovernment, and it is probable that foreign troops were employed quite as much on this account as for the reason alleged. Kalhana's chronicle comes to an end in 1149, and it is evident from the continuation by Djonarādja that the condition of affairs became worse, and also that a gradual conversion of the people to Islām was in progress. An invasion from the north by Tātars under Dhu 'l-Qadr Khān (Zulzū) took place in 706 (1305), and it is stated that after plundering Kashmir, this army perished in the snows while returning northwards. This perhaps made the way easier for the next Musalmān adventurer, Shāh-Mir Swāti (probably an Afghān), who seized the crown and brought in Muḥammadan rule under the title of Shams al-A'ẓam in 735 (1334). The change seems to have been accepted by the bulk of the nation, and the Hindūs, mainly Brahmans, who retained their religion were treated with toleration, still continuing to hold official posts. In the reign of Sikandar Shāh, 788—813 (1386—1410), a change took place, and this fanatical ruler commenced a violent persecution and reduced the ancient temples to the ruined state in which they still remain. His nickname Butshikan (Iconoclast) commemorates these deeds. Zain al-'Ābidin, who reigned 820—872 (1417—1467) reverted to the policy of toleration, and was an excellent ruler in every respect. His reign is looked back upon by Kashmiris of every class as a golden age in which justice prevailed. He constructed roads, canals, and bridges and in every way promoted the prosperity of the country. Under his successors misrule again prevailed. The Shī'ah Čaks who, according to Lawrence, probably came from Dardistān, obtained great power, and ultimately displaced the later kings of the legitimate line. Ghāzī Khān Čak was king in all but name, and Ḥusain Shāh, Muḥammad 'Alī, and Yūsuf, as shown by their coins, took the title of Bādshāh in rivalry of the Mughal emperors, and not that of Sultān used by the former kings.

After Bābur's conquest of northern India the emperors turned their eyes on Kashmir, which offered great attractions to a race accustomed to a cool climate, running streams, and gardens. Bābur

himself sent a small expedition into the country which met with no success. In 947 (1540), the year in which Humāyūn was driven from power by Shēr Shāh's rising, his cousin, Haidar Shāh Dughlāt, a member of the family ruling at Kāshghar [see DUGHĪLĀT], a man of great ability and famous as a historian [see HĀIDAR MĪRZĀ] persuaded Humāyūn to attempt the conquest of Kashmir, and thus to obtain a safe refuge from his opponents. Humāyūn, however, found himself unable to carry out the project, but Haidar Mīrzā went on with the expedition, and receiving much local support established himself as ruler in Humāyūn's name. He maintained himself till 958 (1551) when he was killed in an outbreak. This was probably organized by the Sūrī kings as a coin of Islām Shāh struck in Kashmir in 957 is known. The Čaks continued to rule until Akbar invaded the valley. In spite of the determined opposition of Ya'qūb Khān, son of Yūsuf Shāh, all resistance was overcome in 995 (1586) when Kashmir became part of the Mughal empire. It became one of the favourite resorts of the Emperors.

Akbar's first personal visit was in 997 (1589) by the Pir Pandjāl Pass, the next in 1000-1001 (1572) when he was accompanied by Nizām al-Dīn, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. On his third visit he had a land-settlement carried out by his financier, Todar Mal, and fortified the hill at Srinagar on which now stands the fort of Hari Parbat. A full description of Kashmir under Akbar is given by Abū 'l-Faḍl in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. Djahāngir as a prince accompanied his father to Kashmir, and indulged his fondness for the country to the full after he became emperor. He erected numerous summer palaces and laid out gardens, of which the Nishāt Bagh on the shores of the Dal, Achibal where the springs of one branch of the Djeḥlam gush from the rocks, and Vērṇāg are the best known. To please his consort, Nūr Djahān, he is said to have introduced the *chinar* or plane-tree from Persia, her native country, and the fine groves and avenues of this tree are still one of the beauties of Kashmir.

His successor Shāh Djahān also laid out many gardens, and under his reign 'Alī Mardān Khān built serais along the Pir Pandjāl road. His son, Dārā Shikōh [q. v.], built the Pari-Maḥall or Fairy Palace of which the ruins still stand on the mountain side above the Dal. Here as elsewhere the intolerant policy of Awrangzēb brought in trouble. He only visited the valley once, and some mosques erected by him still exist. The outward splendour of the empire was still undiminished, and the condition of Kashmir is vividly described by Bernier who accompanied the emperor on his visit.

Under the later emperors the administration became very bad. Nadir Shāh's invasion, although he did not touch the valley, brought in anarchy. Its *subaqaar*'s became practically independent. About 1752 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.] took possession and in 1756 he appointed Buland Khān Sadozai to be *subadar* of Kashmir. Coinage however continued in the name of the emperor 'Ālamgir II till 1174 (1760) and Aḥmad Shāh's first Kashmir coinage is dated 1176. (The coin of 1162 mentioned by Rodgers is shown by Whitehead to belong to the Mughal Emperor Aḥmad Shāh and not to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī).

The condition of Kashmīr under the Durrānīs was thoroughly bad. They were barbarous and uncivilized rulers, and their governors looked on Kashmīr simply as a field for plunder and extortion. The internal wars between claimants to the throne, especially between Maḥmūd Shāh and Shudjā' al-Mulk, are faithfully reflected in the coinage. From the time 1227 (1814) when Faṭḥ-khān Bārakzai obtained possession of Kashmīr by the help of Randjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Paṇḍjāb, the nominal rulers were Maḥmūd Shāh and afterwards Aiyūb Shāh, but the real power was in the hands of the Bārakzai chiefs, especially Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, by whom the coins in the name of Muḥammad (1227—32) were probably struck. In 1223—1225 the anarchy prevailing is shown by the issue of coins in the name of the popular local saint, Nūr al-Dīn, instead of any nominal king. This state of affairs was brought to a close by the invasion of Randjit Singh in 1234 (1819), who annexed Kashmīr to the Sikh kingdom. The Sikh rule also was harsh and oppressive but firmer and better than that of the Durrānīs. Hari Singh was a governor noted for his severity, and Miyaṇ Singh was the most just and efficient. Moorcroft, the traveller, visited Kashmīr during this period and gives an unfavourable account of the condition of the people under Sikh rule.

Under Randjit Singh a Dōgra family of Djamṃū consisting of three brothers, Dhiyaṇ Singh, Gulāb Singh, and Suṭēt Singh, had risen into notice. They were not Sikhs but orthodox Hindūs. The Dōgras are a Rāḍpūt race of the outer hills, but not of the Kashmīr Valley. Dhiyaṇ Singh, became one of the chief officials of the Sikh state, while Gulāb Singh was invested with the Djamṃū Rāḍj, which had been confiscated by Randjit Singh about 1820. In Randjit Singh's name he annexed one hill-state after another, increasing thereby his own power, and his influence in Kashmīr itself. In this way he added Kishtwār and Ladākh to the Sikh dominions. After Randjit Singh's death in 1839 and the dissensions which followed it, Dhiyaṇ Singh's position was for a time a very powerful one, and through his help Gulāb Singh was able to consolidate his power in the mountain country. After the murder of Dhiyaṇ Singh with Maḥārāḍjā Shēr Singh, by the Sindānwāli's (1844), Gulāb Singh after a time withdrew to his mountain possessions, but previous to this he had been sent into Kashmīr to put down a mutiny in which Miyaṇ Singh, the governor, had been killed (1842). This he did successfully, but the country had again fallen into anarchy, and the rebellious Bomba tribe defied the Sikh army. In 1845, when the Khālsa army plunged into war with the British government, Gulāb Singh took no part in it, and after the war he acted as representative of the young Maḥārāḍjā Dalip Singh in the negotiations which followed. Ultimately, on the advice of Major H. Lawrence (Sir Henry Lawrence), Kashmīr and the adjoining territories between the Indus and the Rāvi were separated from the Paṇḍjāb and formed into a separate state of which Gulāb Singh became Maḥārāḍjā on payment of a subsidy and recognition of British suzerainty. The treaty in which these terms were embodied was signed in 1846. From this date begins the modern state of Djamṃū and Kashmīr.

Gulāb Singh did not obtain peaceful possession

of his new dominions. The governor Imām al-Dīn allied himself with the turbulent Bombās. Gulāb Singh's troops were defeated, and he was able to assert his authority only after a British force had entered Djamṃū. The Bombās continued to resist for several years. Ultimately all the rebellious tribes submitted. These movements had not had any hold on the agricultural population whose only desire is to live quietly and escape excessive demands from officials. Gulāb Singh's rule was on the whole firm and just, and the condition of the country gradually improved. He died in 1857 and was succeeded by his third son Ranbir Singh, a good and well meaning ruler, but lacking the strong character of Gulāb Singh. The famine of 1877—79 caused great misery in the country and the earthquake of 1885 enormous losses. Ranbir Singh was succeeded in 1885 by his eldest son, the present Maḥārāḍjā Partāb Singh, who is a pious and conservative ruler. In 1893 the famine and earthquake were followed by one of the most disastrous floods in record. In spite of these catastrophes the preservation of peace and an orderly administration has caused an enormous increase in prosperity. One of the principal contributory causes has been the establishment of a regular system of land revenue administration under the settlement made by Mr. Wingate and Mr. W. Lawrence in 1887—92, after the model of the settlements in British India. These have been since improved and developed by Mr. W. S. Talbot, settlement commissioner. The development of communications by the construction of a good road through the Djeḥlam Valley to Bāramulla and more recently the cart road from Bāramulla to the capital has been a great benefit to the country.

Kashmīr is divided for administrative purposes into the districts of South Kashmīr, North Kashmīr and Muẓaffarābād. The first two comprise the valley with the smaller river valleys and mountain slopes immediately adjoining it. The third consists of the narrow valley of the Djeḥlam below Bāramulla and that of the Kishn-gangā which joins it at Muẓaffarābād. This tract has from time immemorial been treated as part of Kashmīr. North Kashmīr was formerly known by the name of Kāmraḍj, and South Kashmīr as Marāḍj. The Kashmīrī language extends down the Djeḥlam some distance below Bāramulla, but not to Muẓaffarābād or the Kishn-gangā valley where the dialect spoken is a form of Lahndā or Western Paṇḍjābī.

The population was 1,295,201 in 1911. It consists of about 94 per cent of Musalmāns and 6 per cent of Hindūs, including a small number of Sikhs. The Hindūs are mainly Brahmans, commonly called Paṇḍits, whatever their occupation may be. The aboriginal agricultural population has become Musalmān, there has been little or no admixture of foreign races, and the original castes survive among them, but intermarriage between them is permitted, and family names (*krām*), often nicknames in their origin, have to a considerable extent superseded caste-names.

There is a great deal of artistic talent, and a natural gift for craftsmanship among the Kashmīrīs. The old established industry of shawl-weaving for which Kashmīr was once famous, has died down to very small dimensions, plain *pashmina* woven from the *pashm* or wool of the Tibetan goat has to some extent taken the place of

the shawls of the same material. Other industries have however sprung up, carpets, embroidered fells and tablecloths are made in considerable quantities, while the products of the wood carving, lacquered and painted wood and papier-maché, silverwork, and copperwork all find a good market in Europe and among tourists.

A considerable class, the Hāndjīs or boatmen, live entirely on boats on the rivers and lakes, and form a very distinct element in the population.

Kashmīr has always had an attraction for visitors, and the improvement of communications has increased the number of visitors. It has become one of the principal summer resorts for European residents in India as well as for tourists from all parts of the world, who travel about the country in camps or house boats on the rivers or settle in the upland valley of Gulmār, 8000 ft. above sea-level. Game large and small in the mountain valleys formerly attracted many sportsmen, but it is no longer abundant, and seekers after trophies now seldom visit Kashmīr.

The language of Kashmīr known as Kashmīrī or Kāshur is a Prakritic tongue differing much from the dialects of the Panjāb, and showing so much affinity in some respects with the Shīnā language of Dardistān that it is classed by Grierson with the Pisācha group of languages.

The principal travels in Kashmīr which may be consulted in addition to the earlier authorities prior to the 17th century which have been mentioned above are those of Francisco Xavier (who accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr), François Bernier (who accompanied Awrangzēb in 1664), George Forster in 1783 (during the reign of Timūr Shāh, Durrānī), William Moorcroft and George Trebeck (through Ladākḥ and thence into Kashmīr in Rāndjīt Singh's time 1819—25), Victor Jacquemont (1831), Von Hügel (1835), and Vigne (1835). For more modern time the best general descriptions are those of Drew and Lawrence and for ancient history the works of Stein.

(2). A name frequently given to Srinagar, the capital of the country of Kashmīr. It was the name applied to the mint-town under the Muḥammadan Sultāns, the Mughal emperors, the Durrānī Shāh's, and even as late as 1835 von Hügel speaks of the City of Kashmīr. The ancient name of Srinagar which, according to Kalhana, was given by Aśoka, has been revived by the Hindū rulers in modern times and is now in general use.

(3). The extensive dominions of the Mahārājās of Džammū and Kashmīr are now frequently included under the name Kashmīr in atlases and official publications such as the *Census of India*. These include vast tracts not only in the outer hills, southwest of the Pir Panjāl Mts., including Džammū and Rājāwārī, but in the inner Himalayas comprising the conquests made in the name of Rāndjīt Singh and those made by the Mahārājās of Kashmīr in more recent times. This region extends 32° to 37° 30' N. Lat. and from 73° to 80° E. Long and has an area of 84,432 sq. miles and a population of 3,158,126 in 1911. Of this population however 2,895,061 is comprised within the narrow limits of Kashmīr and Džammū, while the outer enormous area, the greater part of which consists of mountains, contains only 265,060. The countries of Ladākḥ, Skārdū (Baltistān [q. v.], Čilās, Gilgit

[q. v.], Hunza-Nagar [q. v.], and Yāsīn are comprised in this region and will be found described under their own names, the connection with Kashmīr being purely modern.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KAṢĪDA, not infrequently also *Ḳaṣīd*, is the name given to a form of Arabic (also Persian, Turkish etc.) poem of some length. The name is derived from the Arabic root *ḳaṣada* with the meaning "to aim", because in the earlier times it contained the praise of the poet's tribe and attacks upon its adversaries, later the praise of a person or family by a poet who expects and openly asks for presents for his eulogies. From the earliest times the elegy (*marṭhiya*) does not appear to be included under the same designation, but poems of insult (*hidya*) are frequently by older poets called a *ḳaṣida*, though the latter probably had frequently not the characteristics which come into the scheme of a proper *ḳaṣida*. We can form the best opinion by taking as the basis for investigation the poems of the authors who lived in the first century of the *Ḥijra*, instead of beginning with the poems preserved from the time of Paganism, though the latter formed the model of the former. A perfect *ḳaṣida* should contain three essential parts. First the *nasīb* or erotic introduction in which the poet describes his visit to the erstwhile abode of his lady and his yearnings at finding the place forsaken. Secondly follows a description of his ride to the persons whom he intends to praise. This gives him ample scope for describing the terrors of the desert and the comparison of his camel with various animals of the deserts. At last comes the chief portion of the poem containing praise, or abuse of the person or tribe aimed at. Some poets, when so inclined, finish up with some moral reflection.

An Arabic (or Persian etc.) *ḳaṣida* is a very artificial composition; the same rhyme has to run through the whole of the verses, however long the poem may be. In addition the composition is bound by a metre which the poet has to guard most scrupulously through the whole course of the poem. The result is that we cannot expect very much beautiful poetry; the description of the desert and its animals and terrors may have a certain charm at first, but when the same descriptions recur in endless poems expressed in the same manner, only with different words, the monotony becomes nauseous. The difficulty was keenly realised by the poets themselves and accounts for the fragmentary character of most poems, which required much time in their composition. The poet *Dhu 'l-Rumma* stated that for a long time he could get no further than the first verse of his now celebrated poem (No. 1 of his *Diwān*) and that it was only when he visited *Iṣfahān* that the remaining verses (128 in the edition) came to him with ease (*Asās al-Balāgha*, s. v. *s-t-l*). The poet *Djarir*, though stirred to his soul by the attacks of *Djandal*, the son of al-Rāfi, composed at first only about 80 lines of his reply, though rhyme and metre are the easiest possible in the Arabic language, and completed the remainder at a later time (*Nakā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 430). We can likewise be sure that al-Ṭirimmāḥ composed only a portion of his renowned poem against the tribe *Tamīm* and al-Farazdaq and that the additional

verses sometimes included in the poem are by the poet himself and not interpolations by others. When a poet had composed a *ḳaṣida* he would recite it whenever an occasion offered and it is quite natural that he should add or cancel verses himself, especially if a reply to his poem opened fresh avenues of attack. Many poets certainly never rose to composition of a poem containing all the essential portions of a *ḳaṣida*, and it is foolishness to assume in each case that part of a poem has been lost if only a certain part is recorded. Such a poem was sent into the world before the poet had time to complete it and it is equally certain that lampoons in particular did not lend themselves easily to the complete scheme. Very early poets also composed poems which, though called *ḳaṣida*, did not contain the essential portion, the praise or insult. As such we must take e.g. the poems of 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a and some poems of al-Ṭirimmāḥ. Some of the latter's compositions were made to display the art of description and were never intended to be *ḳaṣīd* in the proper sense of the word. The Arabic *ḳaṣida* was naturally imitated by poets who wrote in other languages and the Persian poets Anwarī and *Khakānī* are celebrated as masters of this style. The form of the *ḳaṣida* has survived to modern times and I have specimens by poets still living where we find the absurdity of a description of a desert-ride by persons who live in Cairo and travel by railway and steamer.

The *ḳaṣida* by its references to persons and events is also a source of historical information. This, however, must be handled with the utmost care, as false statements, by design or through ignorance, are frequent and the mention of a battle-day does not necessarily imply that the poet was present. As an example I mention only that the Asadī poets 'Abid and Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, probably a century distant from one another, both boast that their tribe was victorious at al-Nisār and al-Djifār. (F. KRENKOW)

ḲĀSIM, the name given by the Ottoman Turks to St. Demetrius whose festival falls on Oct. 26 of the Julian calendar. It was formerly the beginning of the winter semester, during which the fleet took up its winter-quarters at the Golden Horn.

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AL-ḲĀSIM B. 'ISĀ AL-'IDJLĪ, usually called Abū Dulaf, a Muslim general. When in 195 (811) the Caliph al-Amin sent an army under 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān against al-Ma'mūn's general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, Abū Dulaf went with him. When Ibn Māhān had fallen, Abū Dulaf came back to the neighbourhood of Hamadhān and, although he declined to pay homage to al-Ma'mūn, Ṭāhir left him in peace in al-Karadj. In 214 (829/830), when al-Ma'mūn came to Raiy, he sent for him. His friends advised him not to go, but he went and the Caliph received him with the greatest goodwill. In al-Mu'taṣim's reign, Abū Dulaf was arrested by al-Afshīn [q.v.] who was jealous of his bravery and eloquence. Al-Afshīn accused him of murder

and treason and on the evidence of false witnesses he was condemned to death but reprieved at the last minute by the intervention of the chief *kāfi* Ḥmad b. Abī Dū'ād [q. v.]. As soon as the latter heard of the danger threatening Abū Dulaḥ he hurried to al-Aḫṣīn and said the Caliph had ordered him to spare Abū Dulaḥ. When the latter had been released, Ḥmad went to the Caliph and told him that he made up the story to save the life of the innocent accused, whereupon al-Mu'taṣim forgave him and pardoned Abū Dulaḥ. The latter died in 225 (839/840) or 226 (840/841) in Baghdad. He left several works. He was also famed as an exceedingly ardent devotee of the Caliph 'Alī. On his descendants see the article DULAFIDS.

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AL-ḲAṢĪM, a district in Central Arabia, on the high plateau of the Arabian desert. It owes its fertility to the Wādī Rumma', which runs to the north-east and whose course is barred by a series of parallel sand-dunes and hills from 1600—2000 feet high, which run from north-west to south-east. The water, richly provided by the spring and summer rains, sinks into the valleys and even in dry periods is preserved for years at a little depth under the red or yellow sandy soil and this supplies the essential requisite for a rich vegetation. The plateau is therefore covered in spring and summer with a rich crop of grass and affords excellent pasture for the great herds of camels and cattle and the numerous smaller animals. The sand-hills are covered with tamarisks (*afhl*, *tamarī nilotica Ehrh.*) and varieties of acacia indigenous to Arabia (*karaz*, *acacia Arabica W.*, *ḳaṭād*, *acacia Senegal W.*). Millet, maize, wheat, vetches, etc. grow in the fields. Fruit-trees of all kinds yield plentiful crops. So early a writer as Yāqūt makes special mention of the figs, peaches, grapes and pomegranates. The most important and most cultivated fruit-tree is, as elsewhere, the date-palm, which is represented in al-Ḳaṣīm by a particularly fine variety.

Among plants of economic importance may be mentioned the cotton-tree, which supplies local requirements. In the western part of al-Ḳaṣīm rock-salt is found. This mineral, so important for the cattle-breeders, is sold in the towns, especially in Boreida and 'Aneiza.

Al-Ḳaṣīm plays an important part in the caravan traffic of Arabia on account of its wealth in camels and its enterprising population. Of the population, estimated by Palgrave at 25—30,000 souls, at least a third devote themselves to caravan traffic either hiring out animals or acting as attendants or as small merchants. The caravan business takes them through the Wādī Dawāsir and Wādī Nadīrān to the Yemen, from which the best coffee is exported, to Ḳuwait, al-Baṣra, Baghdad and Djebel Shammar, to Mekka and Syria via Khaibar. It is in the nature of things that many natives of al-Ḳaṣīm settle in the frontier districts or in one of the towns just mentioned and many have attained prosperity and wealth. Al-Ḳaṣīm also plays an important part in the trade in race-horses. Al-Djarad,

also called Djarad al-Ḳaṣīm, in olden times the chief town of al-Ḳaṣīm, a day's march from 'Aneiza on the road to al-Baṣra, has been identified by A. Sprenger with the *Popda* of Ptolemy. The ancient settlements of this area which al-Ḥamdānī includes in al-Yamāma are all in ruins; the modern larger towns date from the late middle ages.

The district which lies in the centre of Arabia has had a lively history. One of the battle-“days” of the Arabs is called after it. Zuhair, Akḥṭal, 'Aws b. Ḥadjar and other poets know and mention al-Ḳaṣīm. The young faith of Islām found al-Ḳaṣīm at first on the side of the anti-prophet Musailima, but in the decisive encounter between the Muslims and the followers of the Prophet of al-Yamāma we find al-Ḳaṣīm on the side of Ḳhalīd, the “Sword of Allāh”; in the struggle for the Caliphate, Nadīd and al-Ḳaṣīm were on the side of 'Alī but the victory of the Umayyads brought the whole of Central Arabia under their sway and there was no change with the 'Abbāsids. It was not until the revolutionary movement led by the Ḳarmāṭians that Nadīd was lost to the 'Abbāsids. In the eleventh century, Dārim, a native of al-Rass in al-Ḳaṣīm, was able to conquer a large part of Nadīd and Yemen and unite it with al-Ḳaṣīm. His kingdom was inherited by his sons and successors but the increasing power of the chiefs of al-Yamāma and 'Arid conquered Dārim's kingdom bit by bit, till finally it was again reduced to al-Ḳaṣīm. Al-Ḳaṣīm was from the first somewhat hostile to the Wahhābī movement; but 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd of al-Darī'ya succeeded in gaining possession of Boreida, al-Rass and Tennūne. The other villages then rose and in 1772 slew all the Wahhābīs they could capture. In 1780 a new rising broke out against Ibn Sa'ūd, which he was only able to put down after much fighting with varied fortunes. Ibn Sa'ūd's kingdom soon found itself faced with an extremely dangerous opponent: Mehmed 'Alī of Egypt had been commissioned by the Sublime Porte to take measures against the Wahhābīs and sent his son Ṭūsūn to Arabia, where in a rapid succession of victories he conquered the whole of the west coast (1811—1813).

After the death of Ibn Sa'ūd (1814) the Egyptians extended their intrigues against Ibn Sa'ūd's kingdom to the interior of Arabia, and in 1815 Ṭūsūn marched into Central Arabia and captured the fortress of al-Rass in al-Ḳaṣīm after gaining over the greater part of the country by bribery. The peace concluded between Ṭūsūn and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd was, however, not confirmed by Mehmed 'Alī, who ordered Ibrāhīm to conquer Arabia; in 1817 he took al-Rass, Boreida and 'Aneiza and thus became master of al-Ḳaṣīm. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd had to retire to Darī'ya, was taken prisoner and in 1818 beheaded in Constantinople. Al-Ḳaṣīm was now under Egyptian suzerainty and formed a strong base for Mehmed 'Alī. But by 1822 the Arabs of Central Arabia had begun their war of liberation from the Egyptian occupation which ended in 1841 in the Egyptian-Turkish troops being driven out. Al-Ḳaṣīm was now for a time under the protection of the Grand Sharīf of Mekka; in 1855 Zāmal Āl Salīm, who resided at 'Aneiza, was recognised by Ibn Sa'ūd as independent ruler of al-Ḳaṣīm, but in 1861 the district was again paying tribute to Ibn Sa'ūd. After six years al-Ḳaṣīm was again able to attain its independence and in 1879 Ibn Sa'ūd surrendered his claim to suzerainty over al-Ḳaṣīm in favour of Ibn Rashīd,

lord of Ḥā'il. A rising against Muḥammad b. Rashīd in 1891 ended in disaster and Zāmal Āl Salīm lost his life in battle. The Turks then took advantage of the fierce feud between Ibn Sa'ūd and Ibn Rashīd to gain a firm footing in al-Kāşīm again, all the more easily as the people of al-Kāşīm were weary of the long struggle and anxious for peace, and even Ibn Rashīd would rather have the Turks in al-Kāşīm than the governors of his enemy Ibn Sa'ūd. Aḥmad Faizī Pasha therefore invaded Central Arabia in 1905 and occupied al-Kāşīm also. Soon the position of the Turks became untenable, especially as Ibn Rashīd now sided against them; the Turkish troops had to evacuate al-Kāşīm and Aḥmad Faizī Pasha's successor, Sāmi Pasha, was no more able to restore Turkish authority. In 1906 al-Kāşīm belonged to Ibn Sa'ūd; in 1911/12 there were again attacks on Ibn Sa'ūd, especially by the Grand Sharīf of Mekka, but since 1913 al-Kāşīm has formed a province in the wide kingdom of Ibn Sa'ūd.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Sifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891, p. 144, 165; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 279, 666, ii. 823, iii. 78, 617, iv. 127, 610; *Marāziḍ al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juybnoll, Leiden 1853, ii. 426; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876, i. 292, 392; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 48, 168, 207; W. G. Palgrave, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1865, i. 129, 166, 230, 252, 258; Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, Index cf. ii. 612; H. S. J. B. Philby, *Southern Najd (The Geographical Journal)*, 1920, vol. lv. 168; Alois Musil, *Österreich. Monatschr. f. d. Orient*, 1917, xliii. 14, 15, 17, 49, 81, 166, 167, 169, 203, 204, 207—209, 212, 213, 297—300, 303 (supplemented by oral information from Alois Musil); H. S. J. B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

KĀSIM AGHA, called **QODJA** (the old), an Ottoman court architect. He was appointed court architect in 1032 (began Nov. 5, 1622) in succession to the distinguished architect Mehmed Agha, who built the Aḥmad mosque in Sтамbul (on him cf. the *Risāla-i mi'māriye* [in MS.] of Dja'far Agha), relieved of his duties in 1053 (began March 22, 1642; cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 335) and his office given to Muṣṭafā Agha, known as *Merammetdji*, lit. "mender". But after a few months only he was restored to the office as the result of a low estimate (cf. Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, ii. 46; J. von Hammer, *op. cit.*, v. 338 sq.). His manly intervention on behalf of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, afterwards Grand Vizier, cost him his office and dignities very soon after the Sultāna-mother Mah-Peiker (Kösem Wālide, q. v.) had appointed him to manage her affairs (*kāya*) in October, 1651, on account of his honesty. He was imprisoned in the Seven Towers and soon afterwards banished to Cyprus (Na'imā, *op. cit.*, ii. 333 sq.). He was later released and after being unsuccessful several times finally succeeded in the summer of 1655 (Na'imā, *op. cit.*, ii. 551) in getting for Mehmed Pasha the Grand Vizierate. He died, apparently at a great age, in 1070 (began Nov. 18, 1660). None of his buildings seem to have been of great importance. His work did not apparently extend to public buildings. It is only known that he was engaged in building the Ye'ni Wālide Djamī^c but hardly as the chief

architect. The part which he played as a politician in Ottoman history is more important and the historian of the empire, Na'imā, in particular, deals very fully with it.

Bibliography: Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, Sтамbul 1147, ii, passim; *Sidqill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 49 (following Na'imā); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v. 335, 338 sq., 556, 576, 636, 655; F. Babinger, *Quellen zur Osmanischen Künstlergeschichte in der Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1924, p. 37. (F. BABINGER)

KĀSIM-I ANWĀR, MU'IN AL-DĪN 'ALĪ, called KĀSIM-I ANWĀR, a Persian mystic and man of letters, born in 757 (1356) in Sarāb near Tabriz. For Sarāb (in Yāqūt Sarāw) Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, p. 346, gives *Surkhāb*; this name is not found in Yāqūt, but Dawlatshāh has three times the phrase *Surkhāb-i Tabriz*; the name is once found in a play on words (in a *rubā'i* of Kamāl-i Khudjandī in Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 326). According to the Persian lexicographers, *Surkhāb* is a hill near Tabriz (Vullers, *Lexicon Pers.-Lat.*, s. v., N^o. 7). Kāsim's family came from Ādhar-baidjān. His religious teachers were Šadr al-Dīn-i Ardabil (an ancestor of the Šafawids) and Šadr al-Dīn 'Alī-i Yamānī, who was a pupil of Awhād al-Dīn-i Kirmānī. As Djamī (*Nafahāt al-Uns*, p. 690) tells us, mention was made of Yamānī but not of Ardabili in a work on Kāsim's *Irādāt*, which came from the circle of his intimates. This circumstance might suggest that Kāsim did not think so highly of Ardabili's instruction. The facts given in Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 473, contradict this, however. Among Kāsim's own *murīd*'s there must have been several free-thinkers, as Djamī, *op. cit.*, p. 690, mentions that the teacher himself was, however, free from this imputation. The truth is that he — although it cannot absolutely be proved that he was a Hurūfī — strongly sympathised with this sect (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 479). He travelled a great deal; he first of all lived in Gilān: Gilānī expressions are several times found in his poetry. From Gilān he migrated to Khurāsān where he lived first in Nishābūr and later in Herāt. He was expelled from the latter town when the king, Shāh-Rukh, was murdered by a Hurūfī in 830 (1426/27). It was assumed that Kāsim was connected with the murderer, had harboured him and knew of the attempt beforehand. A singular story is given by Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 346 sq., according to which he had already been expelled from Herāt once previously: some individuals had complained to the king that the *murshid* was gathering many young pupils around him, which aroused misgivings among them on moral grounds. Shāh-Rukh, according to the story, then intervened and banished Kāsim. The latter then travelled to Balkh and Samarkand but returned later to Herāt. This story is not very probable but it is evidence at any rate of the great popularity of the teacher in Herāt. Whether the libellous reason given for his expulsion is true cannot be proved either, but it must be confessed that at that time also there were great rascals among the Šūfis. It seems to be certain that Kāsim found a protector after the banishment in 830 in Ulugh Beg in Samarkand. As we also find Samarkand mentioned in the story in Dawlatshāh, it may be suggested that the story in Dawlatshāh is an invention duplicating the story of his actual banishment.

Ḳāsim later returned to Khurāsān again and settled in Khardjird in the district of Djām. There through the support of well-to-do friends he was able to lead a life of freedom from care down to his death in 837 (1433/34). Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 348, makes him die in 835, differing from the other authorities. In addition to what Rieu says (*Catalogue*, p. 636) on the date of Ḳāsim's death see also Rosen, *Les Manuscrits persans de l'Institut*, p. 121, where a chronogram on his death is quoted from a St. Petersburg MS.

Ḳāsim was buried in Khardjird; Dawlatshāh says that in his time 'Alī Shīr began to embellish the site of the tomb with buildings. The same authority tells us that Ḳāsim in his youth practised asceticism to such an extent that he injured his health. But in later years he altered his views — for example he said to someone who could not help expressing surprise at his prosperous appearance that he was no longer 'ashik but ma'shuk; he had once been a beggar but now he was a king.

Works: The author, who, according to Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 303, was a great admirer of the poetry of Ḥāfiz, left a *Diwān* behind him containing ghazal's, kit'ā's, rubā'ī's, elegies on mystics and mathnawīs. Some pieces are composed in Gilānī and Turkish. His other works, *Anīs al-'Arifin* and *Anīs al-'Ashiqin* (also called *Risālat al-Amāna*) are treatises on mysticism in prose and verse. Finally we may mention his extracts from Sa'dī's *Bustān* entitled *Khulāṣa-i Bustān*.

These writings are unpublished; judging from the not very extensive specimens in Browne and the few pieces in Dawlatshāh (Bland's *Century* where ten of Ḳāsim's ghazal's are published I have not seen) we can agree with Browne when he says "the poetry of Qāsimu 'l-Anwār, so far as a foreigner may venture to judge it, is only of average merit". One cannot deny his ability to write pleasing Persian verse but we look in vain for anything out of the way which would give him a claim to a place among the great names of Persian literature. A just verdict on his literary activity, however, will only be possible when his works have been published.

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ḲĀSİM PASHA, usually called Güzeldje Ḳāsim Pasha, an Ottoman statesman. The son of Christian parents (*Is* [i.e. Ayās Pasha and Ḳāsim Pasha] *sont tous venus de chrestiens*, in C. D. Schepper, *Tagebuch*, in *Missions diplomatiques de Corn. Dpl. de Schepper, dit Scepperus, de 1523 à 1555*, par le Brn. de St.-Génois et G. A. Yssel de Schepper, in vol. xxx. of the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique*, Brussels 1861, p. 169 infra), he was born in the reign of Bāyazid II and brought up in the Imperial Serāi (Ewliyā, i. 169). He attained the rank of a *rikiāb aghasi* ("stirrup-agma"), accompanied Selim I on his campaign to Egypt, was appointed governor of Hamā on its capture in August, 1516 (sandjakbeyi) (cf. L. Forrer, *Die osm. Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, Leipzig 1923,

p. 55; not in Halil Edhem, *Tagebuch der ägypt. Expedition des Sultans Selim I., aus Feriduns Sammlung der Staatsschriften*, Weimar 1916, p. 15), and soon afterwards governor of Adana. A few years afterwards, he became Beylerbeyi of Anatolia and Rumelia, probably as early as the first year of Sultān Suleimān. Appointed second vizier in 927 (began December 12, 1520) Ḳāsim Pasha held a command in the expedition against Rhodes (*Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, p. 62 at the top). When on Radjab 12, 929 (May 27, 1523) the Egyptian governor Muṣṭafā Pasha was dismissed, Ḳāsim succeeded him but lost the office with 34 days (on Sha'bān 16, 929 = June 30, 1523) (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 35). A few months later, when in Rabī' II (February, 1525) the traitor (khā'in) Aḥmed Pasha, his successor, was slain in a rising, he went to Cairo as governor for a second time but was again dismissed by March, 1525. Down to 935 (beginning September 15, 1528), when he once more became second vizier, he seems to have held a governorship ("Budin", i.e. Ofen [?], according to some sources, but which could only have been a temporary appointment). In May, 1533, the Fleming C. D. Schepper, envoy of the Hungarian royal widow Maria, saw him in Stambul as vizier along with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.] and Ayās Pasha (d. July 13, 1539): *Cassim Bassa a la face plus grande et rouge et n'est si grand que le dict Ayas* (*op. cit.*, p. 169). In 1537 he was governing the Morea and sandjakbeyi at Modon; in the summer of this year he attacked unsuccessfully the two last bulwarks of Venetian rule in the Morea, Napoli di Romania and Malvasia (cf. Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, ii. 771, 783). He may have then fallen into disgrace and lived in exile. The date of his death is uncertain. In 959 (began December 29, 1551), however, he seems to have lived in the Morea in non-activity; cf. Aṭā'ī, *Dhail* on the *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, p. 23. In 944 (began June 10, 1537) he had a madrasa built for the poet Surūrī [q.v.] in the garden of the *tūrbe* of Mehmed Yazidji Oghlu [q.v.] which is now burnt down (cf. Aṭā'ī, *op. cit.*, p. 27); he cannot have, therefore, died in 939 (1532). It is certain, however, that he was buried in Gallipoli.

Ḳāsim Pasha earned lasting fame from a series of pious foundations and by building a mosque, a madrasa and a bath in Stambul. To this day one of the most important quarters in Constantinople, the Byzantine "Suburb of the Spring" (*krenides* or *pegai*) is called after him *Ḳāsim Pasha mehallesi* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, Pest 1822, p. 55 sqq.; Ewliyā, *Siyāhet-nāme*, i. 169, 416 sqq.; *The Travels of Ewliyā*, transl. by J. v. Hammer, London 1834, i.; Ḥāfiz Ḥusain, *Ḥadiqat al-Djauāmī*, ii. 2 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, ix. 106 sqq.). His daughter Nefise Khātun also endowed a school and is buried in it; cf. *Ḥadiqat al-Djauāmī*, ii. 4, 3).

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted above: *Sidjill-i othmānī*, iv. 46 sqq. (defective and inaccurate); Geoffroy, *L'Estat de la Court du grand Turc*, Paris 1542, fol. 10 v; Guil. Postel, *La tierce Partie des orientales Histoires*, Poitiers 1560, p. 61 sq. (*Cassim Bassa du temps qu'il estoit Bassa, avoit 20 mille ducats, il en peut avoir autant, de Sangeacy de Morea. Maintenant en son lieu est Moustapha Bassa*).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KASIMOV, in Russian originally GORODEZ or GORODOK MESHČERSKIY, in Tatar KHĀN KARMĀN, formerly the capital of the Tatar princes subordinate to the Czar of Moscow and now a district capital in the gouvernement of Ryazan. It took its name from Kāsim, son of the founder of the kingdom of Qazān, Ūlū Muḥammad. In the war between the brothers that followed the assassination of Ūlū Muḥammad (1446), Kāsim was induced to enter the service of the Russian Grand Duke. The town, which bears his name, was granted him about 1452 (not later than 1456); there he built a mosque (of which only the minaret still exists) and a palace of stone (no longer standing; it was seen as late as 1768 by Pallas). After his death about 1469, his son Dāniyār reigned till about 1486. Kasimov was next under the rule of prince Nūr Dawlat of the Girāy dynasty and his sons Satilghan and Djanay. About 1512 Shaikh Awliyār (grandson of Khān Kūtūk Muḥammad), descended from another branch of the descendants of Djuṭi, is mentioned as prince of Kasimov. In 1516 his minor son Shāh 'Alī (he is so called in his epitaph, but is usually known as Shaikh 'Alī, Russian Shigaley Shigawliyarovič) was reigning (nominally). After a life of vicissitudes (he was repeatedly appointed Khān of Qazān by the Czar and then deprived of all his dignities and condemned to the severest imprisonment, then pardoned and again restored to his principality), Shāh 'Alī died childless, aged sixty-one, on Monday, Shawwāl 10, 974 (April 21, 1567). The *takya* built by him in Ramaḍān, 962 (July–August, 1555), in which are his tomb and the tombs of several of his relatives, has been several times described, first by Pallas in the year 1768, most recently by Welyaminov Zernov in 1863. During his rule in Qazān, his brother Djan 'Alī represented him in Kasimov and later ruled for a short time (1532–35) in Qazān also until he was murdered during a rising there.

The "Czar" Shāh 'Alī was succeeded in Kasimov by his distant relative Sayin Bulat, great-grandson of the Khān of the Golden Horde Aḥmad. In 1573 he adopted Christianity, received the name of Simeon, moved to Moscow and was there given by Ivan the Terrible the title of "Czar of all the Russians". He died in 1616 as the monk Stephen. It was not till 1585 that a successor to him was appointed in Kasimov, Muṣṭafā 'Alī, whose father, 'Abd Allāh b. Ak-Kubak, also a great-grandson of Khān Aḥmad, died in 1570 and was buried in Kasimov. About 1600 we find mentioned as prince of Kasimov Uraz Muḥammad of the family of Khāns of the Kirgiz Kazak, who afterwards took part in the fighting during the civil war in Russia and was killed in 1610. The last rulers of Kasimov were Arslān (grandson of the last Siberian Khān Kučum) and his son Saiyid Burhān, descended from the house of Siberian rulers; the latter, first mentioned as ruler in 1627, was baptised between 1653 and 1655 (he received the name Wasiliy) and yet remained prince of Kasimov till his death soon after 1678. To this period belongs the forcible conversion of a part of the Tatars by Misayil, Archbishop of Ryazan (1651–56); in one of these attempts at conversion the Archbishop was killed by the enraged populace. The verse from the Qur'ān (iii. 52), constantly quoted in epitaphs in Kasimov, seems to have been placed there in antagonism to the zeal of the Christian missionaries.

Even under Wasiliy the administration of Kasimov was in the hands of a Russian woyewoda; the Tatar prince exercised only nominal rule. The mother of Wasiliy, Faṭīma Sultān, was recognised as ruler in the years following Wasiliy's death on these terms; she is last mentioned in 1681. After this there was no "Czar" or "Czarevitch" (sometimes one, sometimes the other title is used) of Kasimov any longer. In the modern district capital of Kasimov the Tatars only form a comparatively small part of the population, according to the census of 1897, 13,545 souls (according to Reclus, as many as 14,100 in 1870), including 1,539 Tatars, in 1909, 17,075, including 2,000 Tatars. The Bulghar industries (tanning and shoemaking; cf. above, i. 789a), introduced to the Russians through Tatar intermediary, are especially followed in Kasimov.

Bibliography: The most thorough and still indispensable, although several new documents have since been made available, is Wilyaminov Zernov's great work "*Istoriya Kasimowskiikh Zarey si zarevichey*" (4 vols., *Trudi Vost. Otd. Imp. R. Arch. Obsch.*, ix.–xii.), on which is based almost all that has been written about the princes of Kasimov elsewhere, especially Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 429 sqq. Cf. more recently N. Lileyew, *Simeon Bekbulatowich*, Trier 1891, review by D. K(obe)ko in the *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, viii. 335 sq.; N. Shishkin, *Istoriya giroda Kasimowa*, 1889; review by V. R(osen), *ibid.*, v. 122 sq. (W. BARTHOLD).

KĀSIYŪN, a bare and rocky massif — the summit is over 4,000 feet high — commanding in the north-east the Ghūṭa [q.v.] and dominating Ṣālihiya, the suburb of Damascus. It lies between the valley of the Baradā [q.v.] and that of the Ḥalbūn. The Nahr Yazid which flows out of the Baradā runs along the foot of Kāsiyūn. "There they venerate the birthplace of Abraham on the slope adjoining the village of Barza. This mountain has been famous since remote antiquity as a place of ascension and retreat of prophets" (Ibn Djubair). Adam is said to have stayed there, Cain killed Abel there, whose body was buried on this "sacred and most venerated mountain" (Yāqūt), which is covered with sanctuaries. The encyclopaedists and the historians of Damascus associate with it several thousands of martyrs and prophets buried between the Bāb al-Farādis and the slopes of Kāsiyūn.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 557, ii. 588, iii. 363, iv. 13–15; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, i., Damascus 1329, p. 231–237; Ibn Djubair, ed. Wright-de Goeje, p. 273, 274.

(H. LAMMENS)

KASKAR, the name of a town in the 'Irāq. When al-Ḥajjīdjādī [q.v.], the governor of the 'Irāq appointed by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, had put down the rebellion there, he began in 83–86 (702–705) to build a new town which was called Wāsiṭ ("centre") because it was midway between the two older Arab capitals of this province, Kūfa in the north and Baṣra in the south. For the site of the town he chose the vicinity of the town of Kaskar on the Tigris, which had played a not unimportant part in the Sāssānian period. The new Muslim town was built on the east bank of the Tigris, while Kaskar lay opposite it on the west side; a bridge of boats linked the two halves of the city. Neither Wāsiṭ nor Kaskar

exist at the present day and until quite recently their exact situation was uncertain. In looking for the site we must not think of the modern course of the Tigris in Central and Southern Babylonia; in the days of the Caliphs this river ran much farther to the west; its course in those days probably corresponded for a good part to that of the *Shatt al-Haiy* (cf. i. 677^a, 970^a). Kaskar-Wāsiṭ certainly lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of the modern *Kut al-Haiy* (cf. i. 677^a, 970^a). According to the results of an archaeological journey by Count Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort (see *Babylonica*, vii., Paris 1922, p. 115) the now insignificant ruins of Wāsiṭ lie almost 25 miles west of Haiy on the dry Tigris bed of *Shatt al-Khōrder*. On the other hand the map of Mesopotamia (Sheet Baghdād, 5 d) published by the General Staff in Berlin in 1917, puts Wāsiṭ about 15 miles N. E., as the crow flies, of *Kut al-Haiy*. On the modern ruins of Wāsiṭ see also the notes by Massignon based on information given by a native of the district in his *al-Hallaj, Martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, p. 23. For further information on Wāsiṭ, see the article.

As to Kaskar, it probably dates back into the Assyrian period. It may be recalled that we seem to have a Babylonian town Ka-as-ka-ri mentioned in a fragment of an inscription probably of the time of Assur-banipal, in the British Museum ([18] 82:3—23:128; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1824); cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p. lxxxviii. and 790. The place is perhaps also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā*, fol. 10^a, where *Bashkar* has probably to be corrected into *Kashkar*); see Marquart, *Ērānsahr, Abh. G.W. Gött.*, New Series, iii., N^o 2, Berlin 1901, p. 164. In any case Kaskar called *Kashkar* in Syriac and Christian Arabic sources, is one of the oldest Christian towns in Babylonia. It frequently appears in the ecclesiastical history of this region. The episcopal diocese of this name was considered second in importance within the Nestorian church. Its occupant was the right arm of the patriarch of Seleucia — Ktesiphon (see *MADĀ'IN*) and his representative when the office was vacant.

Among the signatories to the acts of the Syriac councils we find bishops of *Kashkar* from the period 410—790 (Guidi in *Z.D.M.G.*, xliii. 411 and Chabot in the *N. E.*, xxxvii., Paris 1902, p. 675). According to the Syriac "chronicle of Arbela" there was a bishop in *Kashkar* as early as the first half of the third century A.D. The Christian Arabic "Chronicle of Seert" also mentions an occupant of the episcopal see there of the period before 410 A.D. On the bishopric of *Kashkar* and a list of its occupants see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904, passim (s. the Index s. v.); Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1915, N^o 6), p. 21; Sachau, *Zur Ausbeutung der Christentums in Asien* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919, N^o 1), p. 30—31.

The town of *Kashkar*, like the bishopric which bore its name, was the home of many founders of monasteries, as may be seen from the work compiled in the eighth century by Jeshūdēnah, entitled *Keṭābā de Nakhpūtā* (ed. Chabot in *Mélang d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*), xvi., Paris 1896), p. 225 sq.; the Great Abraham (d. 588) was especially famous, s. Jeshūdēnah N^o. 14; Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 315;

A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 130. One of the most influential personalities at the court of the Sāsānian King Khusraw II Parwēz (590—628) was Abā of *Kashkar*; on him see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 123. On other Syriac writers who belonged to *Kashkar* ('Abdī-shō', Grighō, Eliyā) see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 128, 420. For the Syriac sources on *Kathkar* see also the indices in Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1870) and Wright, *Catal. of the Syriac manuscr. in Cambridge* (Cambridge 1901), p. 1284, also in Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschr. in Berlin* (Berlin 1899), p. 923.

In the Arsakid period there seems to have been a little kingdom of *Kaskar*, which was destroyed by the first Sāsānian Ardashīr I; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Arab. und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, (Leiden 1879) p. 13 note 5. In the Sāsānian division of the 'Irāk, *Kaskar* is mentioned as one of the 72 administrative districts; see Streck, *op. cit.*, (see *Bibl.*) p. 15, 18. It probably — as later under the Muslims — comprised roughly the district east of the Tigris, from the modern *Kut al-Amāra* in the north to the region of the mouth of the Tigris. Sometimes it is mentioned as equivalent to the district of Maisān [q.v.]. On this cf. Schaefer in *Islam*, xiv. (1924) p. 17 sq. The bishopric of *Kashkar* must have coincided pretty much with the Sāsānian district of the same name; cf. the map in Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, p. 16.

Kaskar is also given as the name of the capital of Dailam, which was usually called *Dūlāb*; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the East*, Cal., p. 174; de Morgan, *Miss. scientif. en Perse*, i. (Paris 1894), p. 276.

Bibliography: *B.S.A.*, passim; al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 582; Yūkut, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 274; al-Kazwini, *Athār al-Bilāa* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 299; Hamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii./i. p. 162, 6; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 39, 43, 80 and do. in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 44 sqq.; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, ii. (Leiden 1902), p. 318 sq., 321 sq.; Ritter, *Erkunde*, x. 191. (M. STRECK)

KASR. [See **KASRA**].

KASR, fraction, a mathematical term which is used in Arab mathematics for the relation of two indefinite numbers as well as for that of distances, surfaces etc. In geometry, however, the term *al-kasr* is very rarely used; usually one says *nisbat a ilā b ka-nisbat c ilā d* ($\frac{a}{b} = \frac{c}{d}$).

While in the Arab astronomers the sine of the angle is referred to the radii of the circle which contain 12 or 60 parts, al-Bērūnī gives the radius the value 1 and the values of the sine thus appear as actual fractions in his work. In his *Kānūn Mas'ūdī* we read: "..... wa-yakūmu maḳām al-kisār allatī maḳhāridjūhā min al-iṭhnainī ila 'l-asharati wa-li-dhālīka sanmaw tilka 'l-awtār ummahāt ka-mā sammaw hādhihi 'l-kusūr ru'ūsan" (and the fractions follow in regular series which start with the [numbers] 2 to 10 and therefore they [the mathematicians] call those chords "mothers" just as they call these fractions "heads" (see Berl. Arab. MS., Okt. 275, p. 63b).

Kasr is more frequent in Algebra. The so called "expressible" fractions are the fractions with

the denominators 3 to 10, i.e. *ḥuṭṭh* ($\frac{1}{3}$), *rubʿ* ($\frac{1}{4}$), *ḥums* ($\frac{1}{5}$), *suds* ($\frac{1}{6}$) etc. In other cases, e.g. instead of $\frac{5}{11}$, one writes "five out of eleven parts". If the denominators can be broken up into factors, the following formula is used: $\frac{1}{18} =$ one sixth of one eighth. The fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ is expressed by *niṣf* (half).

Bibliography: J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra*, Heidelberg 1917, p. 20 and 54.
(C. SCHÖV)

ḲAṢR, a palace, castle, mansion or pavilion, in which sense it is synonymous with the Turkish *küşk*. The word occurs in the *Qurʾān* three times, once in the singular and twice in the plural (*ḥuṣūr*), and is applied twice to castles on earth and once to the abodes of the faithful in Paradise. It is the common word for the palace of a king in his capital or of a governor in the chief city of a province, e.g. *Ḳaṣr-i Ḳādjār*, the Palace of the *Qājārs*, near *Tihrān*. The word, with the article, has been naturalized in Spanish as *alcazar* and is applied to old Moorish castles, such as the alcazar of Segovia and the alcazar of Seville.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, London 1887.

(T. W. HAIG)

ḲAṢR FIRʿAWN is the name given by the Moors to the ruins of the Roman city of Volubilis, which lie in a little valley of the *Djabal Zarhūn* about 20 miles N. of the present *Meknès*. Volubilis, at the entrance to the fertile plain of the *Wādī Rōm* in a district where the olive-tree flourishes, was the principal Roman centre of the interior, although it lay almost on the southern edge of the zone effectively occupied by the Romans. It was still a flourishing town in the fourth century A. D. In the fifth the Vandals, without establishing themselves there, put an end to Roman power in Morocco. The Byzantines, when they reconquered the country in the seventh century, had no effective authority outside of the north coast. There is reason to believe, however, that Volubilis left to itself was not depopulated but there grew up there, as in other parts of North Africa, a kind of state, comprising the remnants of the urban population, romanised Berbers for the most part, and the surrounding tribes under the authority of a native chief. Little by little, in the course of these two centuries this region became the centre of the great Berber confederation of the *Brāneṣ*, the dominant tribe of which at that time was the *Awrāba* (Warba) and the chief, at the time of the Muslim conquest, *Kosaila* (whose capital some authors have tried to locate in the *Awrās*, which is untenable). When the Berbers, who under the leadership of this chief, had overcome *ʿOḳba b. Nāfiʿ* and succeeded in driving the Arabs out of the whole of Africa Minor (63 = 683), had to abandon *Ḳairawān* again five years later, the Warba contingents having lost their chief and having been severely punished, returned to *Walili* (*Ulili* = Volubilis (68 = 688). These events much diminished the power of the Warba. Henceforth they lived quietly, taking no part in the great *Khārījī* risings which began in 122/740, but recuperating their strength, until the day when, after the battle of *Fakhkh*, *Idris b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī* (cf. the art. *IDRĪS I*, above, ii. 450) settled in *Ulili*, where he was received by *Ishāḳ b. Muḥammad*, chief of the Warba (172 = 788/9). He

was soon recognised as sovereign by the Warba and ultimately by all the surrounding tribes either voluntarily or under compulsion. *Ulili* became the capital of a state stretching from the Atlantic to the region of *Tlemcen*, the first Muslim empire in Morocco and the centre of intense missionary activity among the heretical tribes and those which had remained Jews, Christians or pagans. It was there that *Idris* died in 177 (793), poisoned, it is said, at the instigation of *Harūn al-Raṣhīd*. His son *Idris II* [q.v.] continued his policy of conquest and conversion, but in 192 (808) abandoned *Ulili* for *Fās* which he had just founded, no doubt in order to escape from the tutelage of the Warba, whose chief *Ishāḳ b. Muḥammad* he had killed. When he himself died in 213 (823) he was buried beside his father in *Ulili*, according to most of the early authorities. But in 841 (1437) his tomb or at least a tomb reputed to be his was discovered, conveniently for political reasons, in the *Djāmiʿ al-Shurafaʿ* in *Fās*; and this tomb has become the most popular sanctuary in the town founded by him.

After the building of *Fās*, *Ulili* lost all political importance. The *Zarhūn* remained a much visited place of pilgrimage. Around the sanctuary of *Idris* rebuilt two centuries ago by *Sulṭān Mūlay Ismāʿīl*, two miles from the ruins of Volubilis in a very picturesque situation on two mounds commanded by higher hills, stands the town of *Mūlay Idris* of the *Zarhūn* with about 9,000 inhabitants, the majority *Idrisī* *sharīf*'s.

The *Idrisīd* town of *Ulili*, of which no remains seem to survive, probably lay on the site of the present town, a remarkable natural fortress. Excavations systematically conducted since 1915 in the Roman town have already yielded interesting results, bringing to light inscriptions very important for the history of the settlements of the Romans in this region and works of art of the first rank.

Bibliography: Tissot, *Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Mauritanie tingitane*, Paris 1878; the Muslim historians of the *Idrisīds* and the geographers down to the xiiith century (see the bibliography to the art. *IDRĪS*, *IDRĪSĪDS*), especially *al-Bakrī*, *Kitāb al-masālik*, Index; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1885, vol. i.

(HENRI BASSET)

AL-ḲAṢR AL-KABİR (*ḲṢAR AL-KEBİR*), a town in Northern Morocco, about 50 miles south of *Tangier* on the right bank of the *Wādī Lukkos*, which at one time ran through it, but the course of the stream was diverted to prevent inundations. Lying in a vast plain commanded on the east by heights it is divided into two parts, *al-Sharīʿa* in the north and *Bāb al-Wād* on the south, between which lies the *sūḳ* or market-place. The only buildings of any importance are the great mosque which is pre-Almohad, the mosque of *Sīdī al-Azmīrī* and the *Djāmiʿ al-Saida*, finished in 1689. Within and around the town are many *ḥubba*'s dedicated to local saints. The most venerated marabouts are *Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Ḳurshī* (*Ḳurashī*), a native of Spain who came towards the end of his life to teach in *al-Ḳaṣr* where he died in 568 or 573 (1172—73 or 1177—78), *Sīdī Ben Aḥmed*, *Sīdī ʿAlī b. Khlef b. Ghālīb*, usually called *Mūlay ʿAlī Bū Ghālem* and regarded as the patron saint of the town, and lastly *Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbās*, who is really a Jewish rabbi, *Yūda Yabalay*.

The population numbers about 9,000 belonging for the most part to the *Khlot*, *Tlik* and *Djabala*. It also includes Rifans, a few families originally from Tetwan and Fās as well as Algerians who left Tlemcen and Oran as a result of the French occupation. The Jews number 2,000. Many of them have settled in the town quite recently in such numbers that the *Mellāh* was too small for them and they had to live among the other inhabitants. They speak Arabic and Spanish but Muslims use only the former language. Industry at one time flourishing is now limited to the manufacture of cloths for local needs. Agriculture, on the other hand, is prosperous in the country around as a result of the system of combination between townsmen and tribesmen. Al-Ḳaṣr is thus a busy market for corn, barley, beans and flax.

History. The site of al-Ḳaṣr perhaps corresponds to that of a Roman town (*Oppidum novum*?) which had already disappeared by the time of the first Muslim invasions. In the second century A.H. a fortress was built in these regions by the *Danhādja*, a branch of the *Ketāma*. According to al-Ziyānī, it was built in 102 (720—721) by the Amīr ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ketamī whence the name Ḳaṣr ‘Abd al-Karīm (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l’Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 78; transl. p. 89; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 78; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, p. 140; as well as Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 401; transl. ii. 323) or Ḳaṣr Ketāma which the town kept for several centuries. Al-Bakrī, however, makes a distinction between *Sūk Ketāma* “a large and magnificent town situated on the river Lukkos with a *djāmi‘* and a very busy market” and Ḳaṣr *Danhādja* “a castle built on a hill and commanding a large river”. Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, text i. 188, transl. ii. 291), connects Ḳaṣr Ketamī with the *Danhādja* (cf. also *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*). *Sūk Ketāma* was the capital of the state governed by Idris b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Muḳaddasī (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 219, 7) mentions *Sūk al-Ketamī* among the towns dependent on Fās. Although eclipsed by the rapid development of Fās, al-Ḳaṣr seems to have retained a certain amount of commercial importance. Al-Idrīsī (*loc. cit.*) mentions its very busy bazaars. But it was only under the Almohads that the town rose out of the semi-obscurity in which it was vegetating. Yaḳūb al-Manṣūr surrounded it with a fortified wall and made a hunting-ground and a hospital called *Hārat al-Mudjārīn*. This is perhaps why he was regarded by Leo Africanus and Marmol as the actual founder of al-Ḳaṣr. Under the Marīnid dynasty, the town was given a madrasa by Abū ‘Inān which attracted many students and was still frequented in the xth (xvth) century. Al-Ḳaṣr recognised the authority of the Marīnids from 620 (1223—1224). In 687 (1288—1289) the latter appointed as its governor the Ra’īs Abu ‘l-Ḥasan b. Aṣḥkilūla, whose descendants for long remained lords of the town. The memory of this local dynasty, whose members, in alliance with the Banu ‘l-Aḥmar of Granada, distinguished themselves in the holy war, is still alive to-day.

The period following the disappearance of the Banū Aṣḥkilūla was one of calamities. The Portuguese, established on the coast, threatened the town. The inhabitants did not dare to cultivate the soil more than six miles from the walls. In

1503 the governor of Aḳila, Don Juan de Menecez, attempted to take it but without success. In the century following, al-Ḳaṣr became the most advanced post of the “volunteers of faith” (*Mudjāhidīn*) who harassed the Christians settled on the coast. During the period of anarchy that preceded the establishment of the *Filālī* dynasty, the town became the residence of the *Kā’id Ghilān*, who had gained possession of all *Gharb*. Driven from his capital by *Mulāy al-Rashīd* in 1078 (1668) *Ghilān* was able to return to it on the death of this prince. He held out there till 1084 (1673) when he was defeated and killed by *Mulāy Ismā’īl*. Al-Ḳaṣr fell again, this time finally, into the hands of the *Sharīf*, who dismantled its walls.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l’Afrique*, ed. de Slane, text p. 110, transl. p. 250; Leo Africanus, *Description de l’Afrique*, book iii., ed. Schefer, ii. 217; *Description of Africa*, Hackluyt Society, London 1896, p. 496; Marmol, *Africa*, ii.; Moulières, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. 358 sqq.; De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, p. 14 sqq.; de Cuevas, *Estudio general sobre geografía del bajalato de Larache*, s.l. 1882; J. Costa, *El-Ksar el-Acabir*, Tangier 1887; G. Le Châtelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus de Maroc en 1890*, Paris 1902; Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, p. 333 sqq.; Frances MacNab, *A Ride in Morocco*, London 1902, p. 83—110; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *El-Qsar el-Kebir. Une ville de province au Maroc septentrional*, in the *Arch. marocaines*, 1904; A. Peretoli, *Le raïs el-Khadir Ghailan in the Arch. marocaines*, 1911. (G. YVER)

AL-ḲAṢR AL-ṢAGHĪR, a town in Morocco, now in ruins. It lay on the south bank of the Straits of Gibraltar, 14 miles W. of Ceuta, 23 miles E. of Tangier, at the head of a bay sheltered by a spur of the *Djebel Ghomāri* at the mouth of a navigable river.

In ancient times this site was perhaps occupied by a Phoenician factory and then by a Roman town (*Lissa* or *Exilissa* of Ptolemy). A fortress was erected there quite early in the period of Muslim occupation, in 90 (708/9), according to al-Ziyānī, *Archives Marocaines*, vi. 494, on the territory of the *Maṣmūda* whence the name of Ḳaṣr *Maṣmūda* (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 280, 13, transl. ii. 134) which is given it by the author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* and by al-Idrīsī. Al-Bakrī calls it al-Ḳaṣr al-Awwal to distinguish it from al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabir [q. v.]. According to him, it was inhabited by the Banū Ṭarīf and surrounded by great plantations. Under the Almohads it took the place of *Marsā Mūsā* as the port of embarkation for Spain. Many authors call it therefore Ḳaṣr al-Madja (*Geogr. d’Aboul-Féda*, transl. Reinaud, II/i. 185; Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*), or Ḳaṣr al-Djāwā “Castle of the crossing” (Ibn Abī Zar’, *Rawḍ al-Kirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, p. 138, 143, 146). The Almohads erected important buildings in it and established naval dockyards there. But the prosperity of the town declined in proportion as the rulers of the Maghrib lost their hold on Spain. Deprived of the income which the transport of the armies had assured them, the inhabitants turned to piracy. Al-Ḳaṣr therefore became one of the first towns that the Portuguese sought to capture. In 1458 King Alfonso V attacked it with a fleet of 80 ships and an army of 17,000 men; after repelling

two assaults, the Muslims, overwhelmed by the Christian artillery, capitulated. They were, however, granted permission to retreat with their arms and baggage. Alfonso V entered the town on Oct. 19, 1458. The great mosque was turned into a church, the fortifications were strengthened and a garrison installed under the command of Don E. de Mínecez. Two attempts made by the Sulṭān of Fās in 1458 and 1459 to recapture the town did not succeed. In 1463 the tribes of Andjera recognised the suzerainty of Portugal and in 1471 Sulṭān Mūlay Saīd signed a treaty by which he ceded al-Ḳaṣr to the king of Portugal.

Al-Ḳaṣr remained in Christian hands till 1540 but during this period it was continually being attacked by the Moors. John III therefore decided to evacuate it after previously dismantling it. Some years later (1559) a French prince, Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, obtained al-Ḳaṣr in exchange for the men-at-arms that he was to supply to the Sharif of Fās but the intrigues of the king of Spain, Philip II, prevented the treaty from being carried out. Since that date no attempt has been made to rebuild the town. The inhabitants abandoned it and the harbour became silted up and no longer used except by smugglers. The site is marked by the ruins, still imposing, of the Portuguese fortress, by ditches, the remains of the wall and the ruins of the gate through which the citadel communicated with the town proper.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 104—105, transl. p. 243; al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique* etc., ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 166, 167, 168; transl. p. 199, 200, 201; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 24; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, p. 48; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de Sennor Rey D. Alfonso V*, Chap. lxxxviii.; *Colleciao de livros ineditos de historia portugueza*, i. 454—467, Lisbon 1790; Pienot Desseilligny, *Traité d'Antoine de Bourbon avec le chérif de Fes*, Maroes 1891; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, book iii., ed. Schefer, ii. 247; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, p. 508, 514, 629; E. de La Primaudaye, *Villes maritimes du Maroc* in the *Revue africaine*, 1872; Michaux-Bellaire and Peretié, *El-Qar es-Ḡeġhīr*, in the *Revue du Monde musulman*, 1916, p. 329 sqq.

(G. YVER)

ḲAṢR-I SHĪRĪN, a town in the south-western part of the district of Ardīlān or Persian Kurdistan (cf. ARDILĀN) in 34° 30' N. Lat. and 45° 30' E. Long. (Greenwich) on the right bank of the Hulwān-rūd or, as the Kurds call it, the Ālwān or Ālwānd. This river alters its course, hitherto east to west, at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn to a southerly one and enters the Diyālā [q. v.] at Zengābād. To the west and south-west of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn lies the great range of Agh-Dagh; in the S. E. also on the left bank of the river run imposing mountain chains. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn was an important caravan station from the earliest times. The most important route through it is the very old road from Baghdād to the Īrānīan highlands — the *Tarīk Khurāsān* of the Arabs of the middle ages (cf. above, i. 926a). Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn lies about halfway between the two stations of Khānikīn [q. v.] in the south-west and Sar-i-pul (in mediaeval times Hulwān, S. of Sar-i-pul; see

SARPUL-I ZOHĀB) in the east. Less important roads also branch off here to north, north-west and south-east.

The modern Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn (1600 feet above sea-level) is an insignificant town surrounded by a wall of earth and stone. Outside the walls on the east is a commodious caravanserai; to the west is a fort of modern style which, according to Aubin (*op. cit.*; see the *Bibl.*), Djowān Mir built at the beginning of the sixteenth century and plundered passing pilgrims to Kerbelā and merchants from it until he was captured and killed. The population of the town, which de Morgan estimated at 3,000—6,000, is Kurdish. Shāh 'Abbās I (1587—1628) transplanted to the region of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn to guard the Turco-Persian frontier 900 families of the Kurdish tribe of Sandjābī (on which see Rawlinson in the *J. R. G. S.*, ix. 33; for a Lur branch of this tribe cf. Rabino, *Les Tribus de Louristan*, Paris 1916, p. 17). A Kurd chief acts as Persian governor of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century there has been a small customs house here. Opposite the town on the left bank of the river lies the Bāgh-i Shāh = "King's Gardens", a park laid out with date palms, orange and pomegranate trees by Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Kerbelā.

The most remarkable feature at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, which makes it one of the most interesting places in Persia to the historian or archaeologist, is the extensive system of ruins dating from the Sāsānīan period in its vicinity. The name Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, "Shīrīn's Palace", dates from the later period of the Sāsānīan empire. Shīrīn, a Christian, was the favourite wife of Khusrāw II Parwēz (560—628) who called the great palace built by him as a summer residence after her. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and the neighbourhood was the scene of the unhappy love-story of Shīrīn and the royal architect Farhād, which plays a great part in the romantic poetry of Persia; cf. above, ii. 67, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 102b. A rock tomb south of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, for example, is popularly known as Ūtāk-i Farhād = "Farhād's chamber"; see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 10. The famous lute-player, Bārbud (on him see Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, i. 168, and Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 63) also spent some time at the imperial court at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn; he also plays an important part in the cycle of legends which centre round Khusrāw Parwēz. Among the 30 melodies or songs which he composed for the king (see the list of them in Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii. 369) there is one (N^o. 4 in Vullers) entitled *Bāgh-i Shīrīn* = "Shīrīn's Garden"; another (N^o. 30 and cf. also Vullers, ii. 1299b) is entitled *Nakhk-īsgānī* = "Hunting Song", probably the *Bāgh-Nakhkīrgān* in Yākūt, iv. 113, 12. Both songs obviously refer to Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, the summer-residence and hunting-palace of the Sassanian ruler.

The period of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn's glory was only a brief one. Ten years after the death of Khusrāw II the Sāsānīan empire collapsed before the onrush of the Arabs and in the Muslim period the palaces of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn seem to have been no longer inhabited. They fell quickly into ruins, mainly as the result of the poor quality of the building-material used. Al-Ya'qūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 270) as early as 278 (891) talks of the ruins. Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, viii. 388) mentions

that as a result of an earthquake in 345 (956) the walls of Kaşr-i Shirin cracked. The Arab and Persian authors, like Ibn Rosteh, Yāqūt, al-Kazwini and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, emphasize the great scale of Kaşr-i Shirin with its halls, hermitages, treasure houses etc. and the splendid gardens containing very rare animals roaming at large in them, but give no detailed descriptions. Yāqūt and al-Kazwini give especially the story of the origin of the palace, which the former (*Mu'djam*, iv. 113) actually regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

We owe the most accurate description of the modern ruins to the French expedition of J. de Morgan. The main ruins lie on a broad plateau N. E. of the modern town. Near the latter is the quadrangular citadel of Khusraw flanked by 6 round towers (called Kal'a or Kaşr-i Khusraw, also Kal'a-i Khusrawi) surrounded by a ditch. Built as barracks for the ruler's troops, we have preserved in it one of the rare perfect examples of the military architecture of the Sāsānians. North of the Kal'a are further mounds of ruins the object of which we do not know. About 500 yards to the N. E. we reach the wall of a gigantic park in shape a not quite regular oblong, enclosing the summer-residence proper of the king, measuring, according to de Morgan, 300 acres. The wall round it which also served as an aqueduct, the highest part of which reaches 20 feet, is about 6,000 paces in extent. Another aqueduct-wall divides the park into two parts. The requisite water for the irrigation of the gardens was brought from the Hulwān-Rūd and, as already observed, led farther along the top of the miles' long surrounding wall; the aqueduct can still be traced in the Hulwān-Rūd valley until it is lost in the maze of ruins of Hawsh Kuri. In the centre of the whole scheme is the main palace, now called 'Amārat-i Khusraw (= house of Khusraw) or Hādjdjī Kal'e-sy (= pilgrim palace). It is a vast building lying east to west (1080 feet long, 625 feet broad) with vaulted rooms and a long terrace in front which is still most imposing with its huge dimensions and colonnades. Before the palace still exists a 600 yards long stretch of the aqueduct flanked by two kiosks. West of the 'Amārat-i Khusraw stands a smaller similar vaulted building with 4 doors and a square principal chamber. It is now called *Čuār Kapu* or (pure Persian) *Čār Dārwarā* = "Four Doors", or *Kal'a-i Čuār Kapu* = "Palace of the 4 Gates". The object of this building (perhaps for audiences?) is obscure.

About 3 miles E. of Kaşr-i Shirin is another late Sāsānian ruined palace, called *Hawsh Kuri* = "House of the Horses" (so the name is explained: *kur* = probably Pers. *kurrāh*, *kurāh* = colt; Rich gives the name *Hawsh Kerek*), because it is popularly believed to contain the stables of the horses belonging to the palace of Kaşr-i Shirin. These ruins which consist of a palace 600 feet long with annexes and another mound of ruins are the latest of all the palaces of Parwēz so far known.

Kaşr-i Shirin is, of course, a town of much greater antiquity than the time of this Sāsānian king. A site so favoured by nature must always have invited settlement. So far it has not been ascertained what ancient city — which must have practically occupied the site of the present town — stood here. It was still thought — e.g. by

Malcolm, Kinneir, Ker Porter — that Dastadjird was here, but this is certainly to be located in the ruins of Eski Baghdad (cf. above, i. 926). This erroneous identification was previously attacked by Buckingham, Rich (see *Bibl.*) and Ritter, ix. 484, 509. The ancient Artemita, a town of Apolloniatis, has also been suggested — e.g. by Kinneir (see *Bibl.*) —; but this is much better located in the region of the later Dastadjird [q. v.]; and Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, ii., Berlin 1919, p. 78. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 329, suggests with all reserve an identification of Kaşr-i Shirin with the station Danas of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; but see against this view my article DANAS in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, Suppl., i. 337. Kaşr-i Shirin has not the slightest connection with Kinkiwār or Kaşr al-Luṣūṣ, although there was a great palace built by Khusraw Parwēz there also (cf. on this G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 494 sq.); the latter place lay much farther east between Kirmān-Shāh and Hamadḥān. This corrects Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, v. 17, vi. 144 (where Kaşr-i Shirin and Kinkiwār are regarded as one and the same).

There is a village 12 miles north of Kaşr-i Shirin called Kend-i Shirin. A short hour's journey above it are some oil-wells, not, however, very rich, which form part of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's concession. On them see de Morgan, *op. cit.*, ii. 81 sq., and Schweer, *Das türkisch-persische Erdöl-vorkommen*, Hamburg 1919, p. 21, 46, 110, 112, 143—144.

Down to the Great War the Turco-Persian frontier, which was not minutely defined, ran about two hours' journey S. W. of Kaşr-i Shirin. On the Persian side the frontier was guarded by the fort of Kal'e-i Sebzi where a detachment of Sandjābi cavalry was stationed (cf. Aubin, *op. cit.*). On the place see also Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 263 (where it is wrongly called Kalai Selzi; Buckingham calls it Khallet el-Subzey). An hour's journey beyond it is the Turkish frontier-station Kal'e Redifiye.

Bibliography: B.G.A., passim, especially vii. 164 (Ibn Rosteh); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 112 sqq.; al-Kazwini, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 295—297; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii. 43 sqq.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 63; Pietro della Valle, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Geneva 1674, ii. 4 (passed Kasri-Scirin in 1617); Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, v., Paris 1807, p. 8; Kinneir, *A geographical Memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, p. 305—306; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, i. 64—78; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii. 212—219; G. Keppel, *Personal Narrative of Travels in Babylonia, Assyria*, London 1827, i. 297 sq., ii. 306 sq.; Cl. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii. 263—272; Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix. 438—488, 509; J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, etc.*, London 1840, ii. 175 sqq.; J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, ii. 81 sq., 111, iv., 341—359 (with a general plan of the ruins on Pl. xl. and plans of the three palaces of Kaşr-i Shirin on Pl. xlii., xlii., xlix. and

that of Hawsh Kuri on Pl. li., and also excellent pictures). Justi in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 540; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 351 sq.; E. Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1907, liii. 52—53; E. Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, p. 131, 236—240; E. Herzfeld, *Die Aufnahme des sasanidisch. Denkmals von Paikūli* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1914, N^o. 1), p. 6—8; Mrs. Bishop, *Journey in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i. 79.

(M. STRECK)

KASRA, lit. "break"; name of the sign of the vowel i; the vowel itself is called *kasr*.

AL-KASTALLĀNĪ, ABU 'L-^{AS}ABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-KHAṬĪB SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-SHĀRĪF, an authority on tradition and theologian, born on Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 12, 851 (January 20, 1448) in Cairo where he spent his life as a preacher — apart from two stays of some duration in Mekka — and died on Friday, Muḥarram 7, 923 (January 31, 1517). He owes his literary fame mainly to his exhaustive commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī entitled *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, which exists in numerous MSS. and printed copies; of these latter the earliest may be that of Būlāḳ of 1267 and next the Lucknow edition of 1869 (others in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i. 159). The Cairo edition in 1325/6 gives the glosses of Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī and the Cairo edition of 1279 those of Ḥasan al-'Idwī (d. 1203 = 1887). In the field of Ḥādīth he wrote a *Muḥaddima* which was printed at Cairo (n. d.) with the commentary of 'Abd al-Ḥādī al-Abyārī (d. 1305 = 1883). Great popularity is enjoyed in the Muslim world by his history of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāḥib al-laduniya fī 'l-Minal al-Muḥammadiya*, which he completed on Sha'bān 15, 899 (May 22, 1494) and which caused him to be accused of plagiarism by al-Suyūṭī. It exists in numerous MSS. and has also been printed several times, e.g. Cairo 1281, several times commented on, e.g. by al-Zurkānī (d. 1122 = 1710), printed in 8 vols. Būlāḳ 1278, 1291, and translated by 'Abd al-Bakī into Turkish, printed Stambul 1261. Not long ago al-Nabḥānī, the President of the Court of Justice in Bairūt, prepared a synopsis of it entitled *Al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiya min al-Mawāḥib al-Laduniya*, Bairūt 1310—1312. Finally in the same field he prepared a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Shamā'il* of al-Tirmidhī (*Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 162). Besides studying the science of tradition he worked also at the readings of the Qur'ān. His principal work on the subject is entitled *Latā'if al-Ishārāt li-Funūn al-Ḳirā'āt*. He also wrote a biography of the teacher of Qur'ān reading, Abu 'l-Ḳasim al-Shāṭibī (*G. A. L.*, i. 409), and a commentary on the *Muḥaddima* of al-Djazarī on *Tadwīd* (op. cit., ii. 202). Finally he also wrote on mysticism and personal piety; among his works in this sphere are his *Maḳāmāt al-'Arifin*, *Masālik al-Ḥunafā'* ilā *Mashāriḥ al-Ṣalāt 'ala 'l-Nabī al-muṣṭafā'*, and his commentary on the *Burda* of al-Buṣrī (*G. A. L.*, i. 265).

Bibliography: 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfiḳiyya*, Būlāḳ 1306, vi. 11; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, N^o. 509; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, ii. 73.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KAŞTALLĀNĪ (KESTELİ), MUŞLIḤ AL-DİN MUŞTAFĀ, Ottoman theologian and Ḥanafī

jurist. Mewlānā Muşliḥ al-Din was a native of Kestel (from Latin *Castellum*), a village not far from Brussa, where in after life he built a mosque. From his native place he took the name of Kesteli or, more impressive, Kaştallānī. In his youth he attended in Brussa the lectures of the celebrated theologian Khidr Beg and on the conclusion of his theological and legal studies was appointed teacher in various medreses, for example in Mudurnu, Demotica (medrese of Urudj Pasha), and finally "guardian". Next he was for some time kaḍī of Brussa, Adrianople and in 886 (began March 2, 1481) of Stambul, but in the same year was appointed military judge of Rumelia with the rank of a fourth vizier. He was the first to hold this office separately: it had previously been combined with that of military judge of Anatolia (cf. the art. KĀZĪ-ASKER). At the same time Ḥādjđji Ḥasanzāde Mehmed Efendi was appointed the first independent military judge of Anatolia (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 246). In 891 (1486) he was deprived of his office. He died in 901 (1495—1496) in Stambul where he was buried in the cemetery of Eiyub. — The Ḥanafī Kaştallānī composed a number of legal works in Arabic including highly esteemed marginal glosses on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī on the *'Aḳā'id* of al-Nasafī (cf. Ḥādjđji Khalifa, *Kaṣḥ al-Zunūn*, iv. 226, as well as Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 427, which, however, belongs to ii. 196; MSS. in Berlin, N^o. 1973, and Leiden, N^o. 1998) as well as an essay on seven doubtful matters (*Ashḳāl*) in al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Idjī's *Kitāb al-Mawāḳif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* (Ḥādjđji Khalifa, vi. 240), also a work *Tanfiḍ al-Ma'ālīm* (Ḥādjđji Khalifa, ii. 442), an essay on the orientation of the Kibla (*Risāla fī Djiḥat al-Kibla*; cf. Ḥādjđji Khalifa, iii. 387) and lastly a work called *Yaḳaḳa Dhawi 'l-'Iṭibār* (cf. Ḥādjđji Khalifa, vi. 511).

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

KAŞTAMUNİ (in the Arab geographers — Abu 'l-Fida', al-Dimashḳī, Ibn Baṭṭūta —, Ibn Bibī and on the coins Kaştamūniya with variants; al-Idrisī, ed. Jaubert, ii. 312: Kaştamūnī; *ibid.*, p. 393: Tāmūnī; the *Κασταμών* of the Byzantines, in Chalcocondylas, corresponding to the oriental form, *Κασταμώνν*, *Κασταμωνί*; corrupted in various ways by Western writers: Albertus Aquensis: *civitas Constamines*; Clavijo: *Castamea*; Benedetto Dei: *Chastarmina*, *Casstimana*; Menavino: *Castemol*; with modern Greeks and Europeans: *Kastamboli*; cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 313, 40), a town in N. W. Asia Minor, capital of the wilāyet of the same name, which corresponds to the ancient Paphlagonia. The town is not mentioned in classical literature although the rock tombs there show that the place was settled in historical times. In the middle ages Kaştamūnī was famous as the family stronghold of the Comnenoi, who waged a desperate warfare with the Dānīshmand-oghlu and the Saldjūks for its possession until it was finally lost to the Byzantines about the middle of the xith century A. D. The town then passed, along with the other possessions of the Dānīshmand-oghlu, under the sway of the Saldjūks of Kōnya and formed a beylerbeylik, which was hereditary in the family of Ḥusām al-Din Čöbān. On the break-up of the Saldjūks

empire, the Turkoman Isfandiār-oghlu of Aflani seized the region of Kaştamüni and made the town their capital. It was taken from them by Bāyazid I in 795 = 1392/3 but restored to them by Timūr after the battle of Angora (804 = 1401/2) and remained in their possession till they were ousted by Mehemmed II (864 = 1459/60). Henceforth Kaştamüni formed a sandjak of the eyalet of Anadolu, in more recent times a wilāyet, which besides the so-called *merkez sandjak* included the sandjak's of Boli, Kiāghri and Sinüb (Sinope). The Kaştamüni of the early Isfandiār-oghlu is described by Ibn Baṭṭūta (ed. Paris, ii. 341 sqq.); Chalcocondyles (xvth century) calls it a "flourishing and strongly fortified town" (p. 260, Bonn edition); the description in Ḥādīdī Khalifa's *Ḍiḥān-numā* (p. 648 of the first edition) dates from the beginning of the xviiith century. Kaştamüni was first visited by European travellers in the beginning of the xixth century, first of all by Kinneir in 1814.

The erstwhile family stronghold of the Comnenoi with its Byzantine and Saldjuk fortifications was abandoned and left to fall into ruins after the Turks had maintained a garrison and artillery in it down to a century ago. There are no antiquities in existence that date from the classical period but numerous buildings survive from the times of the Saldjuks and Isfandiār-oghlu. The town contains no less than 62 large or small mosques (*ḍjāmi'* and *masājid*), 16 medreses, 12 dervish monasteries, 4 libraries and 30 tombs of saints. The oldest dated building is the tekiye of the Rifa'i (called Yılanli Tekiye) of the year 671 = 1272/3; from the same period dates a mosque built in 672. The following are also worthy of special mention: — the Ḍjāmi' of Ghāzī Atābeg with medrese, of Ḥādīdī Naṣr (of the year 754 = 1353/54), that of Khwādja Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (of the year 806 = 1403/1404), and of the last Isfandiār-oghlu, Ismā'il Beg, dated 855 = 1451/52, but these monuments have not yet been scientifically examined. They bear witness to the way in which the former lords of the land fostered Muslim culture; Ismā'il Beg himself, after his dispossession, composed a much esteemed theological work, the *Ḥulūwīyāt-i Sultānī* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 12 sqq.). Laṭīfī [q. v.], the biographer of poets, belonged to Kaştamüni. Ḥādīdī Khalifa calls Kaştamüni the "lofty citadel" (*kā'ida*) of the Turkomans and the dialect of Turkish spoken there still survives. The population of the town was estimated at about 30,000 including 1500 Turkish speaking Greeks and 500 Armenians but the latter may have emigrated since the war.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 414—419; Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1819, p. 281 sqq.; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1843, i. 80—84; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925, p. 228 sqq.; Leonhard, *Paphlagonia*, Berlin 1915, p. 72 sqq., 130 sqq. (with pictures); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 462; *Sālnāme* of the wilāyet Kaştamüni for the year 1297; *Revue hist. Ottom.*, Series i., Part 5 and 6 (articles by Aḥmad Tawḥīd); *Doghū* (Kaştamüni 1340 A.H.), No. 3 and 5 (articles by Ismā'il Ḥakkī Beg); on the dialect of Kaştamüni see Josef Thury in the *Értekezések* of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1885, vol. xii., part i. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

KAŞTİLİYA, the name given by Arab writers to the district of Tunisia adjoining the Shuṭṭ's and to Tawzer, the most important area in Tunisia. Its boundaries are rather difficult to determine. The descriptions by Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrīsī refer only to the town of Kaştiliya. Al-Bakrī, on the other hand, distinctly distinguishes between the town and the district. "The land of Kaştiliya", he says, "contains several towns, such as Tawzer, al-Ḥamma and Nefta. Tawzer, which is its metropolis, is a large town". In another passage he refers to Tawzer as marking the eastern limit of the land of Kaştiliya. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī opposes the land of Kaştiliya, "formed by Tawzer and the cantons attached to it" to the "Zāb, which includes Biskra and its dependencies". Ibn Khaldūn (*Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 646; transl., iii. 156) includes among the dependencies of Tawzer the "cantons" of Kaştiliya, to the south of the Shuṭṭ al-Djarid and Neftāwa. The same indications are given by al-Zarkashī. Ibn Khaldūn (*op. cit.*, i. 122; transl., i. 192), on the other hand, seems to identify the Bilād al-Djarid with the land of Kaştiliya. After enumerating among the towns of the Bilād al-Djarid, Nefta, Tawzer, Gafsa (Ḳaṣṣa) and the places in Neftāwa, he adds: "All this country is called the land of Kaştiliya." The Shaikh al-Tidjānī, in his turn, applies to Tawzer the description "capital of al-Djarid". From the fifteenth century onwards, we no longer find the terms Kaştiliya and land of Kaştiliya as the name of a district or of a town, but only those of Tawzer and Djarid, still in use at the present day. The enumeration of the towns of Africa given by al-Kairawānī (*Kitāb al-Mu'nis*, transl. Pellissier and Rémusat, p. 28) in which Kaştiliya is mentioned is probably taken from an earlier writer. In brief, the land of Kaştiliya seems to correspond very well with the present Djarid, i.e. to the group of oases (Nefta, Tawzer, al-Udyāna and al-Ḥamma) occupying the isthmus which separates the Shuṭṭ al-Djarid from the Shuṭṭ al-Gharsa and perhaps to al-Neftāwa.

The Arab authors are unanimous in praising the wealth of the land of Kaştiliya. The cultivation of dates and other fruit-trees, watered with great care, was very flourishing there. Flax, indigo and *hinnā'* were also grown. The fields of sugar-cane, noticed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, were beginning to disappear by the time of al-Bakrī and soon afterwards vanished. Commerce was active and prosperity general. In the time of al-Bakrī the taxes of this area amounted to 200,000 dinārs a year.

The population was composed for the most part of Berbers, many of whom professed Khāridjī doctrines or, as at Nefta, Shī'a doctrines. Al-Muḳaddasī (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 243, 12 sqq.) and al-Bakrī mention that cynophagy was practised among them. According to al-Tidjānī, there lived alongside of the Berbers the descendants of the Rūm, who occupied this region at the Muslim conquest. When this Shaikh visited Tawzer the remains of Christian churches were still to be seen. Ibn Khaldūn (*op. cit.*, i. 646—647; transl., iii. 156) says that there were in al-Neftāwa and the land of Kaştiliya people of Frankish origin, whose ancestors had come from Sardinia and settled in the country as tributaries of the Muslims to whom they paid poll-tax.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ii. 67, 69, 1—3; transl. de Slane, *Journ. As.*, 1842, third series, vol. xiii. 243, 248; al-

Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique septentr.*, ed. de Slane, text p. 49, 71, 75, transl. p. 117, 151, 175; al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 104, transl. p. 150; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 41—44; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, p. 76 sqq.; al-Tidjānī, *Rihla*, transl. Rousseau, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1852, fourth series, vol. xx. 199 sqq.; al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafssides*, transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, p. 64; 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djīb*, ed. Dozy, p. 258; transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, p. 304. (G. YVER)

KAṬ, **ḌJĀT** (A.), **ČĀT**, (Amharic, Galla), **ČĀTŌ** (Kaffa), is the name of a smooth-stemmed shrub, of the family of Celastraceae (represented in Central Europe by the spindle-tree: *Catha edulis*, Forskād. [or *methyscophyllum glaucum*, Ecklon et Zeyher]), reaching a height of 12 feet, which is found in East Africa from Cape Colony to north of Lake Ṭānā (Sānā) and in the Yemen. The leaves are called *kafṭa* in Arabic. These and the skins of the young shoots contain an alkaloid, *katīn*, which accounts for the stimulating or intoxicating effect of these parts of the plant (or a decoction made from them) and the widely spread use of *kāt* in the Muslim lands of Abyssinia and South-West Arabia.

In Abyssinia, as well as in S.-W. Arabia, the leaves and young shoots of the *kāt* are chewed; more rarely a decoction is used, which is either taken as "tea" or added to the Abyssinian honey-wine (Amharic *ṭādjīj*). The most esteemed are the tender shoots and young leaves which have a pleasant, sweetly aromatic flavour and are merely stimulating and anti-soporific and slightly intoxicating only in large doses, while the older tough leaves are unpleasantly astringent and have a much stronger effect. All accounts agree that the use of *kāt*, as ordinarily taken, which has become regular in all classes of society in the Yemen, undermines the physical and moral health of the people and also does the greatest damage from the economic point of view.

As a result of the enormous consumption of *kāt* leaves (about 30,000 tons are exported annually from Abyssinia and the adjoining countries) the cultivation of the shrub, which is propagated from cuttings, is very important. In the Yemen, Ḍjabal Ṣābir, Ḍjabal Raima and 'Uḍen are mentioned as the centres of its cultivation. The *kāt* twigs, which are not plucked till the plant is in its fourth year, are tied in bundles for transport (Arabic *kilwāt*, pl. *kalāwīt*) and, in order to keep them fresh as long as possible, are bound up in moist, leafy branches and banana leaves.

Kāt is first mentioned in "The Military Exploits of the Ethiopian King 'Amda Ṣeyōn against the Muslims" of the year 1332/33, which puts the following words into the mouth of 'Amda Ṣeyōn's opponent, King Ṣābr al-Dīn: "I will make.... his royal palace Mar'ādē (Arabic Mar'adā) my residence and plant *čāt* there." Al-Makrīzī († 846 = 1442) mentions the *čjāt* as a plant found in Awfāt (Ethiopic Ifāt, in Eastern Shoa [Shaua]), the leaves of which are eaten. The *Shaiḫ* 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djazīrī, who wrote in 996 (1587), says that 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhīlī (al-Mashā'ī, † 827 = 1424), as is still said in West and South Arabia, introduced coffee into the Yemen, which took the place of *kafṭa*, i.e. the *kāt* leaves, previously in use. Ibn

Ḥadjar al-Haitamī († 974 = 1567) wrote at the instigation of people from Ṣan'ā and Zabīd a treatise in which he, without taking up a definite attitude to the contradictory opinions of reputable scholars regarding the effects of the *kāt*, includes the enjoyment among the *shubuhāt*, from which one should refrain. Among European travellers Niebuhr and his botanist collaborator Forskāl give the earliest accounts of our plant and its use.

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KAṬ^c (A.), a cut. The Arabic verb *k-ṭ* has, as the dictionaries show, undergone a remarkably varied development of meaning both in its original and metaphorical senses. Here we only deal with cases which are of importance for the history of religion, etc.

The infinitive form *kaṭ* is not found in the Qur'an but the verb occurs in the literal meaning (Sūra v. 42: "cut off the hands of a thief, male or female" — the well-known law adopted in the Fīḫ, sometimes briefly known as *Kaṭ' al-Liṣṣ* —) and in a more metaphorical sense (Sūra ii. 25 and xiii. 25: "cut asunder what God hath ordered to be bound together").

The old reciters of the Qur'an (*kur'ān*) gave the name *kaṭ* or *waṭf* to a pause in reciting whether required by the sense or for another reason. Later reciters distinguished between the brief pause necessary to take breath and other pauses required by the sense: *kaṭ* was only applied to the first (according to others only to the last).

The grammarians give the name *alif al-kaṭ* to the strong hamza which cannot be elided in contrast to the *hamzat al-waṭf* (cf. the article ALIF). *Kaṭ* is also the deliberate division of a syntactical combination in a sentence for special reasons, e. g. for *al-ḥamidu li-'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdī*: *al-ḥamidu li-'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdu* (= *wa-huwa 'l-ḥamīdu*) or *'l-ḥamīda* (= *anī 'l-ḥamīda*).

In prosody *kaṭṭ* means the elision of the end of certain feet, e.g. the abbreviation of *fā'ilun* to *fā'il* = *fa'ilun* or of *mustaf'ilun* to *mustaf'il* = *maṭ'f'ilun*. This shortened form is then called *maḥṭūf*.

The conic section *kaṭṭ al-maḥṭūf* is of importance in mathematics and the varieties are *kaṭṭ ṣā'id*, the hyperbola, *kaṭṭ nāḳiṣ*, the ellipse, *kaṭṭ mukāfi*, the parabola and *kaṭṭ mukāfi mudjassam*, the paraboloid.

In astrology *kaṭṭ* = abscissio = ἀναίρεσις, or concrete, κλιμακτής, the great danger.

Kaṭṭ al-waraq, meaning a format of paper, has acquired some importance in the history of administration. According to the Arab accounts, *ḳirfās* (papyrus-paper was probably not used before the third or fourth century; cf. above, i. 385a) was used from Mu'āwīya's time for documents in the chancellery of the Caliph and at quite an early date we find five different formats used: (*kaṭṭ*) *ṭhuluthai* (*al-tūmār*, "sheet", called *farkha* at a late date in Mamlūk Egypt), *niṣf*, *ṭhuluth*, *rubu'* and *sudus*. The chancellery of the Caliphs in Baghdād had its own formats different from those used in Syria and even after Cairo had become the capital of the Caliphs and the chancellery there had adopted the Baghdād formats, forms peculiar to Syria continued to be distinguished. For the Mamlūk period we are most minutely informed by al-Ḳalkashandī regarding the formats usual in the chancellery of the Mamlūk court in Cairo and those used in the province of Syria. He distinguishes, giving exact particulars regarding the size and particular uses, of nine formats in use in Cairo: *kaṭṭ al-baghdādī al-kāmil*, *kaṭṭ al-baghdādī al-nāḳiṣ*, *kaṭṭ al-ṭhuluthain min al-waraq al-miṣrī*, *kaṭṭ al-niṣf*, *kaṭṭ al-ṭhuluth*, *al-kaṭṭ al-ma'rūf bi 'l-manṣūrī (rubu')*, *al-kaṭṭ al-ṣaghīr* or *kaṭṭ al-āda (sudus)*, *kaṭṭ al-shāmī al-kāmil*, *al-kaṭṭ al-ṣaghīr (min waraq al-fair)*; also four Syrian formats: *kaṭṭ al-shāmī al-kāmil*, *kaṭṭ niṣf al-ḥamawī*, *kaṭṭ al-āda min al-shāmī*, *kaṭṭ waraq al-fair*. The smallest formats were used for the pigeon post. Al-Ḳalkashandī only gives quite general observations for other countries.

In the history of religion the expression *kaṭṭ'a yaminan* meaning "to take an oath", which Pedersen (*Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 46; cf. also p. 12, note 5) compares with the Hebrew *ḳarāt berit*, is interesting. It is perhaps through the influence of this expression that *kaṭṭ* comes to mean "to settle, to decide", as do verbs meaning "to cut" in other Semitic languages. In logic we find it meaning "to assert something with confidence, to refute someone completely", etc., or e.g. *'alima kaṭṭ'an* or *'ala 'l-kaṭṭi* "to be absolutely sure of something", *dulil kaṭṭi* "a decisive proof".

A small Shī'i sect is called *Ḳaṭṭiya* because it "cuts short" the list of Imāms at the death of Mūsā 'l-Kāzim.

Bibliography: Besides the usual dictionaries see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.; M. A'la, *Dict. of Technical Terms*, s. v. — Mathematics: Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Harrānī, *Fi Kaṭṭ al-Maḥṭūf alladhī yusammū 'l-mukāfi* (on the measurement of the parabola), transl. and annot. by H. Suter in the *S.B.P.M.S.*, 1916—1917, xlviii. and xlix. 65—86; Ibrāhīm b. Sinān b. Thābit, *Fi Masāḥat Kaṭṭ al-Maḥṭūf al-mukāfi* (on the measure-

ment of the parabola), transl. and annot. by H. Suter in the *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, 1918, lxiii. 214—228. — Astrology: C. A. Nallino, *Nell Vocabolo kaṭṭ astrologia araba*, in the *R.S.O.*, 1921, vol. viii., part 4, p. 739—743. — Administration: al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-'Ashā*, vi. 189—193; do., *Ḍaw' al-Subḥ*, p. 412—415. — *Kaṭṭiya*: al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milāl wa-'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 127. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

KAṬĀBA, a town in South Arabia. This town, the capital of the district of the same name in Yemen, lies in the Wādī 'l-Djhabān, in the plain between the Djabal Djihāf and the Djabal Mirais, in a very fertile area which produces all kinds of cereals, including a particularly noted wheat, and also coffee, *ḳāt*, tobacco, fruit, including peaches, apricots and winegrapes. The town, the population of which may be estimated at about 1,500, consists of about 100 not particularly well built houses and huts, two mosques, a bath and a bazaar. The Jewish quarter is not important. Its inhabitants are mainly engaged in the manufacture of cloth from the cotton brought from 'Aden.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KATABĀN, the name of a country or kingdom and people in S. W. Arabia of whose existence we have evidence from about 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. in the ancient South Arabian inscriptions and in Greek and Roman literature. The oldest records, which at the same time give us the first accurate information regarding Katabānian economic conditions, constitution and laws, have only become known in quite recent years from the hitherto published Katabānian inscriptions in the wealth of material left by E. Glaser. Along with those not exactly numerous epigraphical documents which only give us a few further isolated details of the history of the country and a geographical name or two, the scanty references in Greek and Roman literature, the only source for our knowledge before the South Arabian inscriptions were known, still retain their value for the matter they contain. On a basis of the inscriptional evidence alone one could not obtain an idea of the geographical boundaries of the land, certainly not of the configuration of the ancient kingdoms of South Arabia.

The first known mention of Katabān by the Greeks is found in Theophrastus (about 300 B.C.), *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2 — the earliest Greek source for South Arabian history —. This passage, however, as the Greek botanist, who was able to use the reports of the various journeys of exploration sent to the Arabian coast by Alexander, was only concerned with districts of Arabia that yielded aromatic plants, tells us nothing more than that Kitibaina (Katabān) and the lands of Saba, Hadramyta (Ḥaḍramūt) and a certain Mamali are the South Arabian localities for frankincense, myrrh, cassia and cinnamon. The manuscripts of Theophrastus also give the form *Karāḍaḥwa* alongside of *Kitibaina*. D. H. Müller's suggestion in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie d. klass. Altert.*,

s. v. Catabanes and Chatramis, to read *Καταβανία* in Theophrastus need not be accepted. Glaser wrongly supposed (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 6, 8) that *Καταβανία* (or, as he incorrectly writes, "Kittibaina") lay on the Persian Gulf.

Later and fuller is the reference to Katabān in the synopsis in Strabo, xvi. 768, of Eratosthenes (end of the third century B. C.), who, in addition to the sources available to Theophrastus, had at his disposal itineraries of seafarers and travellers by caravan in Egypt and Petra. According to this, the *Καταβανῆς*, who are given after the Minaeans and Sabaeans in order from north to south of the four principal Arabian peoples and before the Chatramotites (inhabitants of Ḥaḍramūt), whose lands stretched farthest east, dwelled down to the straits and entrance to the Arabian Gulf (*πρὸς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου*); their capital was *Τάμνα*. From Strabo's information it may be assumed that the Katabānians in the time of Eratosthenes lived in the part of the west coast south of Saba' and in the western parts of the south coast of Arabia, being the western neighbours of the Sabaeans. From Strabo's account of their lands which refers to the straits of Bāb al-Mandab, it is clear that the boundary for the kingdom in Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 19), who sought to locate the Katabānians "mainly east of the Djabal Šabir" with the Gebanites west of them and the Ḥimyars south of the Katabānians and Gebanites, was not correct. This could have been deduced from the fact that in the time of Eratosthenes the Ḥimyars did not form an independent kingdom (cf. the art. SABA') but belonged to Katabān, which Glaser, who later modified his views considerably, had to confess in his book *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 112. The *Γαβαῖοι* of Strabo (xvi. 768), the Gebanitae of Pliny (vi. 153), were presumably at this date still a part of the kingdom of Katabān (see the article GABAIOT in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencykl.*) and only became independent about Pliny's time and at that time were, it is true, the neighbours of the Katabānians but not on the west, as Glaser supposed, but on the south-east between Katabān and Saba'. The statements in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 65, are also in agreement with Eratosthenes, according to which the Katabānians lived in the S. W. of Arabia Felix. From the idea we get of the geography of their lands from Eratosthenes, which is nowhere contradicted, we see the impossibility of the mixture of right and wrong in the location of the four principal kingdoms in Glaser, *Punt und die süd-arabischen Reiche*, M.V.A.G., 1899, iv/ji. 21, according to which Katabān in the old period was the land south and S. W. of Saba', bounded by N. W. Ḥaḍramūt and later stretching to the straits of Bāb al-Mandab so that it originally included the land of the Ḥimyars and would appear as early as Theophrastus as the immediate neighbour of Ḥaḍramūt on the west. Glaser at the same time also assumed in the passage in Theophrastus the alteration *Σαρά* in the text (said to be = Shehrāt, Shehr, "frankincense coast") for *Σαβά*, which, however, is wrong (cf. the art. SABA'), and further altered his early views on the frontiers of Katabān (cf. below). That Eratosthenes mentions the Katabānians between Saba' and Ḥaḍramūt and that the Katabānian inscriptions found by Glaser, ac-

cording to his own words (*Abessinier*, p. 111), "all came from the region between Mārib and Shabwat" (M. Hartmann's [*Die Arabische Frage in Der islamische Orient*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1909, p. 169, 1] observation on this statement, that the description of the find-spot of Glaser's inscription N^o. 1693, "which is of Ru'ainī provenance", is not in keeping with it, can now be more easily estimated at its true value; cf. the topographical data in N. Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenkulturschaft*, Series 2 [S. B. Ak. Wien, 1922, xcviij/ii., p. 57 sqq.]) is, as the expression quoted *πρὸς τὰ στενὰ . . . κόλπου* in Strabo shows, not sufficient evidence for the conclusion that the land of the Katabānians was limited to the territory between Saba' and Ḥaḍramūt and does not prevent — neither does another circumstance — the assumption that the kingdom of Katabān surrounded in north and east by Saba', the gradually increasing bulk of which came to include the S. W. corner of Arabia, in the time of Eratosthenes stretched to the N. E. as far as between the Wādī Ḥarīb (S. E. of Mārib) and the Wādī Baiḥān al-Kaṣāb. The expression in Strabo *καθ' ἑκόντες πρὸς τὰ στενὰ* etc. ("stretch up to the straits") is quite reconcilable with the assumption that Katabān was not only the land directly on the coast but also stretched into the interior, towards the upper Yāfi'a. — A. Sprenger's view (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 64, 254 sq., 264, 273 sq. etc.) that the Katabānians were the Arabian tribe of Kuḍā'a was absurd. Obsessed with this view, he recognised the definition of the land of Katabān in Eratosthenes as only correct "in a limited sense". When J. Halévy and J. H. Mordtmann established the identity of the land named Katabān in the South Arabian inscriptions with the similar name of a land and people mentioned by the Greeks and Romans, any linguistic connection of Katabān with Kuḍā'a and the localisation of the original nucleus of the Katabān kingdom far to the east (near the Kawr range) were ruled out (see also D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Süd-arabiens*, vol. ii. [S. B. Ak. Wien, 1881, xcviij/iii.], p. 1028 sq.). Nevertheless Sprenger again at a later date in his *Bemerkungen zu Mordtmanns Anzeige von Glaser's Skizze in the Z.D.M.G.*, xlv. 505, 1, maintained a connection between the names Katabān and Kuḍā'a. Relying on the similarity in sound of the Katabān of the inscriptions to the name of the plain of Kaṭāb in the vicinity of Zaḥar (near Yarīm), the later capital of the Ḥimyars, D. H. Müller endeavoured to locate the Katabānians there, assuming that "they exercised their power in the place where traces of their existence have survived in the name of the place and where those who followed them in power had their capital" (*op. cit.*, p. 1029); cf. for this view so early a writer as Ch. Forster, *Historical Geography of Arabia*, London 1844, vol. i., p. lxxx. and 84; K. Müller in the index to his edition of Strabo, p. 769, and Sprenger, *Bemerkungen*, loc. cit.

In support of the form of the name *Καταβανῆς* against *Κατταβανῆς* of most MSS. of the passage in Strabo is the form *Καταβανία* of the name of the land, a few lines below in the majority of manuscripts in the passage from Theophrastus quoted above, the form quoted below from Pliny, the *varia lectio* in Ptolemy with single *τ*, finally also the Arabic original form. The form *Καταβανῆς* has influenced the error *Κατάβανον* in the MSS.,

an error in copying the equally erroneous Χαβά-
τατον (and Καβάτατον) of the other MSS. in the
note immediately following in Strabo on the capital
of the Chatramotitae, the name of which was first
restored by Groskurd as Σάβατα (= Shabwat of
the inscriptions) (following him Kramer, Meineke,
K. Müller, etc.). On the etymology of the name
nothing definite can be asserted. Forster's [(*op. cit.*,
vol. i., p. lxxvi., 35, 83 sq., 87, 89, 91 sq., 105, 115;
vol. ii. 154) also quoted by K. Müller (*op. cit.*)]
connection of the name with the Bani Kaḥlān and
his derivation (i. 83) from *kataba* in the sense
of *scribae* or *notarii*, according to Bochart, is
simply one of the curiosities with which his book
is filled. Even C. Landberg's (*Arabica*, Leiden
1898, v. 62) derivation from *ḡatab* (pack-saddle)
in reference to the wealth of the region of Baiḥān
al-Kaṣāb in camels, is not exactly probable.

Eratosthenes calls the capital of Ḳatabān Tamna.
That the Ḳatabānians had a monarchical constitu-
tion like the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Chatramotitae
is known from the South Arabian inscriptions.
Sprenger, who (*Geographie*, p. 160) identified Τάμνα
with Θούμνα in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 37, and (p. 268,
300) consequently sought it between the Sabaean
capital Mariaba and Sabatha, the capital of Ḥaḍ-
ramūt, had, as a result of his preconceived notions
regarding the Ḳatabānians, as he himself said (p.
268) "some difficulty in finding the bulk of the
kingdom". Of the earlier writers Glaser came nearest
to settling the question of the situation of the
capital. While, according to his opinion expressed
in the *Skizze*, ii. 18 sq. (in correction of *Skizze*,
i. 48), Tamna was identical "either with Dumnat
Ḍjabā or more probably with Dumnat Khadīr....
not very far E. S. E. of (the highest part of) the
Ḍjabal Ṣābir on the road from the Turkish frontier-
customs-station of Ṣurra (Raida) to Ta'izz", he later
(*Abessinier*, p. 112, 115) said that Tamna^c (Timna^c)
of the Ḳatabānian inscriptions was Tamna^c in the
Wādī Baiḥān al-Kaṣāb and this was not only the
Τάμνα of Eratosthenes but the Thomna and Thomala
of Pliny and also the Θούμνα of Ptolemy, thus abandon-
ing his idea that the massif of the Ḍjabal Ṣābir
was the frontier of the Ḳatabānian kingdom. Of
these attempts at identification Landberg (*Arabica*,
v. 81 sq. [on the land of Ḥarīb], especially p. 100)
said that Glaser, after looking for Tamna here and
there almost found it when in his paper *Zwei
Inskriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib* (*M.
V. A. G.*, 1897, II/vi. 58) he wrote a propos
of the name Temna^c mentioned in the Ṣirwāḥ in-
scription (Glaser 1000) "Temna^c, the former capital
Tamna or Thumna of the Ḳatabānians, is in the
Wādī Baiḥān". This identification of Glaser's, who
(*Abessinier*, p. 112) expressly stated his conviction
of the correctness of his location of the Tamna^c
of the inscriptions, was corrected by Landberg
(p. 107 sq.) when he fixed the position of the
present Timna^c, the site of the ancient capital of
the Ḳatabānians, in the land of Ḥarīb in a plain
by the Wādī Ablāḥ, a tributary on the left of the
Wādī 'Ain, which is bounded in the S. S. E. by
the hills of Rokḥama, in the S. E. by the Ḳawim
Āl Djenāḥ, in the midst of which rises the hill of
Ḥaid Waḍū; the Wādī Waḍū waters the part of
the plain called Tīn Timna^c. Following this, Hommel
(*Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten
Orients*, Munich 1904, p. 137 [656]) identified
Τάμνα and the town of the inscriptions as Timna^c,
"in a tributary Wādī of Baiḥān al-Asfal S. E. of

Mārib". M. Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 168) was wrong
in objecting to the location S. E. of Mārib "in
spite of the view expressed by Hommel with ab-
solute conviction"; he sought Tamna^c east of Yarim,
on a hypothesis which is quite without foundation.
Rhodokanakis (*Die Inskriften an der Mauer von
Kohlān-Timna^c* in the *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1924, cc/li.
8), identifies Timna^c, the capital of Ḳatabān, with
Kohlān, by combining mentions in the inscriptions
with a study of photographs taken by G. W. Bury,
who in 1900 visited Kohlān (Kaḥlān) on the left
bank of the Wādī Baiḥān and took impressions
and photographs of inscriptions there for the South
Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy and
also gave an account of the ruins. Sprenger, relying
simply on the Ptolemaic location for Thomna
(between Mariama and Sabatha) had come very
near to the identification proposed by Landberg.
It may safely be concluded that not only the royal
residence but also the original home of the Ḳata-
bānians lay not far from the frontier of Saba^c and
the gradual expansion of the tribe of Ḳatabān
— now also known from inscriptions — into the
kingdom took place towards the S. W. The equation
of Τάμνα with Thomna, which Pliny (vi. 153; xii.
63) calls a town of the Gebanitae, proposed by
D. H. Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 1028), Mordtmann (review
of Glaser, *Skizze*, vol. i., in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv. 184),
Glaser (*loc. cit.* and *Punt*, p. 57) and Landberg
(*op. cit.*, p. 109 sq.), has a certain probability in
spite of the phonetic difference in the initial dentals
of the two names, which we also have between
Θούμνα and Τάμνα, which had already been equated
by K. Müller (*op. cit.*). But it should be remembered
that Ptolemy may have referred two names of
similar sound to one place. In favour of the identi-
fication of Θούμνα and Thomna we can quote — in
addition to the form of the name — Pliny's remark
(xii. 63) on the frankincense route. Of the town-
names of similar sound in Pliny, it may here be
remarked that neither can Thomna, the capital of
the Gebanitae, be identical, as Glaser suggests, with
Thomala, which Pliny (vi. 154) expressly calls a
town of the Sabaeans, nor can Thomala be altered
to Thomna, as Mordtmann (review, p. 186) pro-
posed. The latter (*ibid.*) and Hommel (*Die alt-
israelitische Überlieferung*, Munich 1897, p. 274)
assumed that the name of the Ḳatabānian capital
and that of the Edomite tribe of Timna^c (*Gen.*,
xxxvi. 40) were connected.

Strabo's further remark that Καταβανία (var.
Καταβανία, the same form as in Stephanus By-
zantinus, s. v.) produced frankincense, has recently
been wrongly taken to mean that, according to
his authority, frankincense was not found in other
parts of South Arabia (cf. the art. SABA^c, below,
iv. 6a). Glaser's suggestion (*Skizze*, ii. 26) that
there is "obviously some confusion" in Strabo
may be met by the statement in Pliny (xii. 69),
which is based on authentic information, as well
as the corroborative statements of modern tra-
vellers, like C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Ara-
bien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 283, and Th. Bent,
Southern Arabia, London 1900, p. 77, 91, 254.
Glaser himself acknowledges the possibility "that
even by the time of Eratosthenes individual Ḳata-
bānians owned lands in the frankincense areas"
(similarly in *Abessinier*, p. 111 sq.; previously
Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 264; cf. K. Müller, *op.
cit.*; in *Punt*, p. 46 (cf. 50 sq., 57) Glaser speaks
of Ḳatabānian suzerainty over the frankincense

country. His deductions (*Abessinier*, p. 112 sq.) that Katabān perhaps also had possessions in the African frankincense area and that the whole of Azania belonged to it may be emphatically rejected.

Pliny twice mentions the Katabānians; v. 65: Catabanes (this is the better reading, not Cattabanes) Arabes and, in another form, vi. 153: Catapani, a divergence which is probably explained by the use of different sources. According to the first passage (also Solin, ed. Mommsen, Berlin 1895, § 707), they are to be regarded as the possessors of the south-west of Arabia Felix. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 291) wrongly says that by Pliny's time there was no longer a Katabānian tribe. He is possibly correct in saying that they and the Ḥaḍramōtites had inherited the southern Minaean territory and could only hold out by continually fighting the Sabaeans. Whether there still was a kingdom of Katabān, as known to Eratosthenes, in Juba's time is doubtful. Glaser (*Abessinier*, p. 114) denied that the Katabānian kingdom was still in existence at the time of Gallus and thought (*Punt*, p. 56) that it no longer existed by 81 A. D. and that the Katabānians "disappear completely from the scene as an independent people" in the first half of the first century B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 48; cf. *Abessinier*, p. 77; for the time of Gallus see D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 1030). This view must be considerably modified, if only on account of the mention of the Katabānians in Pliny and Ptolemy (see Glaser's own limitation, *Punt*, p. 48, 1). Against Hommel, who (*Grundriss*, p. 139, 142) placed the end of the kingdom of Katabān in the second century B. C. (on this chronology see Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 115), Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 164; cf. 168) said that Katabān does not disappear before 80 B. C. That the references in Ptolemy from the time of Juba refer only to the people of the Katabānians and no longer to the now weakened kingdom, cannot be asserted with certainty. But it may have been included in the Ḥimyar kingdom at the beginning of our era (on the supposed beginning of the Ḥimyar epoch see the art. SABA', below, iv. 8).

This question is bound up with that of the connection between Katabān and the Geb(b)anitae of Pliny (vi. 153, xii. 63, 68 sq., 87 sq., 93), the Gaba'an of the inscriptions, into the details of which, as they would require a special article, we cannot go here. Sprenger's view (*Geographie*, p. 256, 268, 282) that the Katabānians lived in S. W. Arabia before the Gebanitae and were driven out by them in Juba's time was supported by D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, ii. 1028 sq.) (also Glaser, *Punt*, p. 36, 48, 50). In my articles *Gabaioi*, and *Gebbanitae* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, it has been suggested that the Gebanitae, called Γαβαιοί by Eratosthenes (Strabo, xvi. 768) and therefore known to him alongside of the Katabānians, were settled in Katabān or close to its frontier (for other errors of Sprenger see *ibidem*). Glaser, *Punt*, p. 35, 60, regarded the Gebanitae as a subdivision of the Katabānian people. But it is not quite clear even for the time of Juba whether the Gebanitae are not still to be regarded as neighbours of the Katabānians. D. H. Müller's other considerations are discussed in another connection (see the *Bibliography*). The Gebanitae, like the Katabānians, also became a part of the Ḥimyar kingdom, probably not before Pliny's time. Hartmann's proposal (*op. cit.*, p. 410; cf. 22) to alter *Gebanitae* in Pliny,

xii. 63, to *Catabanitae* cannot be accepted. This unobjectionable reading is amply supported against emendation by vi. 153; and besides Pliny never uses the form of the name which Hartmann's conjecture would introduce.

That the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (cf. the art. SABA', iv. 9), presumably composed between 40 and 45 A. D., does not mention the Katabānians — a fact on which Glaser (*Abessinier*, p. 115) laid stress in support of his view that their kingdom came to an end at an early date — like the non-mention of the Minaeans, means nothing, especially as the much later Ptolemy — and Pliny also — mentions the Katabānians along with the Sabaeans, Minaeans and Chatramotites (vi. 7, 24, Κοτταβανοί [var. Κοταβανοί, vulg. Κατταβανοί]), i.e. all the four main peoples of South Arabia known to Eratosthenes. This is at any rate an argument against those who hold that the Katabānian people had entirely disappeared from history by the time of Gallus and was therefore a view at first challenged by Glaser. That the Ptolemaic map placed them between the frankincense region and the modern 'Omān is explained to mean they had also lands in the former. The Κιβισανῖται mentioned in the same passage by Ptolemy were originally considered by Glaser — who wrote their name erroneously "Kittibaner" — (*Skizze*, ii. 4, 6, 8, 268 sq.) to be the inhabitants of the Κιτῖβανα of Theophrastus, said to be situated on the Persian Gulf, and regarded them as well as the Κοταβανοί as different from the Katabānians. This was only intended to serve as a basis for his assertion that even by Pliny's time there was no longer a Katabānian tribe (see above). Later (*Abessinier*, p. 111) he abandoned his view that the Katabānians are not mentioned in Ptolemy and (p. 115) conceded the possibility at least that they are the Κιβισανῖται so that he now took up an intermediate position. On the question of the relation of the two peoples with similar names to one another no definite answer can be given. According to Mordtmann (review, p. 187), they were identical, and it is in fact not improbable that Ptolemy refers to the Katabānians under two different forms of the name, just as in one passage (vi. 7, 10) he calls the people of Ḥaḍramūt Ἀτραμίται (var. Ἀδραμίται) and in another (vi. 7, 25, 26), Χατραμουῖται. The capital of the Katabānians can be recognised in his Θούμνα (Thomna in Pliny). Mordtmann was wrong in his view that Ptolemy erroneously — as a result of different estimates of the distance — had given Thumna twice (31 and 37) in his map.

The mentions of Katabān in the later literature of the Greeks are of no value, such as Dionysius Periegetes, ed. K. Müller, verse 959, who — perhaps from the geographical didactic poem of Alexander Lychnus of Ephesus — in the phrase ἀγγίχουσι Κλεταβανοί rightly describes the Katabānians as neighbours of the Sabaeans mentioned just before. This mutated form is a misreading of ΚΑΤΑΒΗΝΟΙ of the original source; it appears also in the Latin paraphrasers of Dion. Periegetes and as Cletabis in the Geographer of Ravenna, ed. Pinder-Parthey, Berlin 1860, ii. 7.

The references to Katabān in South Arabian inscriptions were down to the last decade of the sixth century very limited, e.g. the Minaean inscription Halévy 504 (= Glaser 1087) in which a Katabānian king is mentioned as a contemporary of Minaean kings, and Fresnel 56 (= Glaser 481)

in which there is mention of a peace between Saba' and Ḳatabān. A deeper knowledge of the past of Ḳatabān was first obtained from the rich finds of inscriptions made by Glaser, who, in his fourth journey to South Arabia (1892—1894) before which no Ḳatabānian inscription had been known, brought back squeezes of about 100 Ḳatabānian inscriptions, one particularly remarkable result of his journey of exploration. Hommel's conjectural dating of these inscriptions "from about 1000 B.C. to the end of the Ḳatabānian kingdom (2nd century B.C.)" (*Grundriss*, p. 139) is too early in both its limits. The beginning is not earlier than that of the Minaean kingdom (see the art. SABA'), on the latter see above. Hommel (*ibid.*) was only able to say further that there were about 18 Ḳatabānian kings' names in these as yet unpublished texts, out of which Glaser had, however, already gathered much valuable information, and that, apart from a few passages in inscriptions which Glaser himself published (e.g. *Punt*, p. 58 [beginning of Glaser 1392]; *Zwei Inschriften über den Dambruch*, p. 105 [contents of Glaser 1693]) or Hommel utilised for his researches in the history of religions (from Glaser 1599, 1600 and 1604), some of his inscriptions were again squeezed by Arabs, one for the Greek Kallisperis (published by Hommel, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1899, liii. 98 sqq., the first Ḳatabānian inscription made generally accessible), three others for 'Aden, whence they were sent to Paris (publ. by H. Derenbourg, *Nouveaux textes yéménites inédits*, R. A., 1902, v/iv. 117 sqq. [N^o. ii., iii., iv.; new edition with emendations in the *Répertoire d'Épigr. sem.*, 1903, i., N^o. 310 sqq.]). Ditlef Nielsen in the *M. V. A. G.*, 1906, xi/iv., published in his *Neue katabanische Inschriften*, a German version of his *Studier over oldarabiske Indskrifter*, Copenhagen 1906, 5 Ḳatabānian texts (Glaser 1600, 1402, 1119, 1581 and one fragment) (which he had received from Glaser) with notes (critically reviewed by O. Weber, *Studien zur süd-arabischen Altertumskunde*, in *M. V. A. G.*, 1907, xii/ii. 1—22); at the same time Glaser in his *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, Munich 1906, p. 60 sqq. and 162 sqq., published the first of these inscriptions and Glaser 1606, of which Nielsen N^o. 5 was a fragment. The article following the above mentioned one by Weber was his *Neue süd-arabische Inschriften* (p. 23 sqq.) (Landberg 1—5) (N^o. 1 already published by H. Derenbourg in *Nouveaux envois du Yémen* [despatched in 1903] under N^o. 3; Landberg 3 is identical with the first third of Glaser 1230 [in Glaser, *Altjem. Nachr.*, p. 147 sq.]).

On the basis of the earliest publications from Glaser's papers, research was at once begun on individual problems of Ḳatabānian antiquity. Hommel, for example (*Grundriss*, p. 85 sq., 140 sq.), first proposed hypotheses regarding the religious system of the Ḳatabānians. Hartmann gave his views on the constitution, from the important inscription Glaser 1606, and on historical questions (from Glaser 1359/60, 1693 etc.; *op. cit.*, p. 430 sqq.; cf. also 164 sqq.). It is a noteworthy fact that the kingdom of Ḳatabān appears also in the inscriptions as existing contemporaneously with those of Ma'in, Saba' and Ḥaḍramūt, just as we find it in Eratosthenes. As regards language, Ḳatabānian is nearer Minaean than Sabaeen; Hommel said the Ḳatabānian dialect was practically Minaean. The traces of Sabaeen in it are due to contact with

the neighbouring people. Weber had already pointed out (*Studien*, p. 2, 63 sq.) in the epigraphy certain peculiarities from the few reproductions available to him. It is unnecessary to go further into the details of this earlier literature, especially in view of the comprehensive edition of Glaser's Ḳatabānian inscriptions which is being undertaken by Rhodokanakis (see the art. SABA', iv. 12). The latter had already published in his *Der Grundsatz der Öffentlichkeit in den süd-arabischen Urkunden* (S. B. Ak. Wien, 1915, CLXXVII/ii. 33 sq.) the Ḳatabānian inscription Glaser 1606, already discussed by Glaser (see above) and Hartmann, (*op. cit.*, p. 431), with very thorough notes; he then published some hitherto unknown inscriptions in *Ḳatabanische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft* in the S. B. Ak. Wien, 1909, CXCIV/ii., namely Glaser 1601, 1602, 1395 = 1604 = N^o. 84 of the inscriptions collected by the South Arabian expedition (S.A.E.), Glaser 1412 = 1612 = S.A.E. 81, Glaser 1413 = 1613 = S.A.E. 82; in the already mentioned second series of *Ḳatab. Texte* the three inscriptions Glaser 1396 = 1610 = S.A.E. 83, S.A.E. 48, of which the Kallisperis inscription (see above) forms one part, and Glaser 1693; lastly in the already mentioned treatise *Die Inschriften an der Mauer von Kohlān Timna* the inscription S.A.E. 77 = Glaser 1404 = 1614, S.A.E. 80, 80A = Glaser 1397 sqq. and, in elucidation of the title of Muzarrib among the Ḳatabānians, S.A.E. 94 = Glaser 1405, S.A.E. 85 + S.A.E. 60, Glaser 1410, and in the appendix S.A.E. 86; a new edition of S.A.E. 78 sq. = Glaser 1605 sq. has appeared in *W.Z.K.M.*, xxxi. 22 sqq. These publications mark an extraordinary advance not only for the accurate reproduction of the texts of the inscriptions and the very full commentary but also for the systematic investigation here attempted for the first time of problems of law, constitution and economy (see the art. SABA', iv. 12), as well as, for example à propos of the discussion of inscriptions Glaser 1601 and 1693, of details of the earlier history of Ḳatabān; for example, in *Ḳatab. Texte*, i. 26 sq., 34 sq. (supplement in *Ḳatab. Texte*, ii. 98 sq.) a chronological order is proposed for some groups of Ḳatabānian kings (cf. A. Grohmann, *Ḳatabanische Herrscherreihen* in the *Anz. Wien*, x., 1916, p. 42 sqq.; older attempts in Nielsen, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Weber, *Studien*, *op. cit.*, p. 9 sq.; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 165 sqq., 601). Our knowledge of the history of ancient South Arabia is for the first time enlarged on many points by a combination of these newly published inscriptions with those already known. We see that certain smaller countries were dependent on Ḳatabān, with which they for some time formed a great power. In Glaser 1396 there is mention of the dependence of the Ma'in tribe on the leading tribe Ḳatabān. The inscription Halévy 504 (quoted above) shows that Ma'in was dependent on Ḳatabān. On the other hand, from the Minaean inscription Glaser 485 Ma'in appears as the vassal of Saba'; Ḳatabān was for some time one of the enemies of Saba'. But in the period after the Sabaeen inscription Glaser 418/419, in which Ḳatabān is mentioned along with Ma'in among the enemies conquered by Saba', it was weakened by Saba'. At the time of the Širwāḥ inscription, Glaser 1000, which mentions a campaign of Saba' in which Ḳatabān was on its side, it had lost political control over considerable territory (cf. Glaser 1600 and

1620). A war lasting many years between Katabān and Saba² (Glaser 481 = Fresnel 56 [see above], Glaser 1693) in the course of which (according to Rhodokanakis' supposition) there was a rupture of the alliance between the two powers ended in a peace. References to Katabān being included in the kingdom of the Himyars may also be gleaned from inscriptions. None of the inscriptions concerned can be definitely dated in a known era, but it is possible to bring some of them into a chronological series relative to one another.

The publication of new material alone will show whether the unsettled problems will be cleared up or remain unsettled.

Bibliography: the books and articles of Glaser, Rhodokanakis, Hommel, Derenbourg, Hartmann, Landberg, Weber, D. H. Müller, J. H. Mordtmann, Sprenger etc. are already cited in the text; reference need only be made here to my article *Saba* (*Realenzyklopädie* s. v., esp. coll. 1425 sqq., 1448 sqq., 1457 sqq., 1492 sq.).

(J. TKATSCH)

KATĀDA B. IDRĪS, ancestor of the Sharīfs of Mekka from the beginning of the 13th century A.D. onwards. In 1201, 1202 or 1203 A.D. he overpowered the then ruling family of the Hāwāshim and established his authority in the Holy City. The last Sharīfs of the Banū Hāshim had lived in continual family strife and quarrels. Meanwhile Katāda (for his pedigree cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i., Stammtafel I between p. 24 and 25 and Stammtafel II between p. 74 and 75) had enlarged his estates from Yanbu' southward in the direction of Mekka, thus preparing his attack on this city. When the Mekkans were out of the town in order to assume the *ihram* [q.v.] for the 'umra on the 27th of Rādjāb, the commemoration day of Muḥammad's Ascension, he made use of this occasion to establish his power in the town. According to another story, however, his son Hanzala captured the town and prepared his father's entry.

Katāda, in contradistinction to the Banū Hāshim, his predecessors in the Hīdjāz, was a man of political genius, who pursued the idea of founding the independent principality of the Holy Land of Islām. He repaired the walls of the town which had fallen to ruins, captured Tā'if and brought the Thaqīf-tribes under his dominion. He continued the war with the Sharīfs of Medina, built a fortress at Yanbu' and organised his army with peculiar care.

His attitude towards the Aiyūbids, the caliph and the Zaidites of Yaman is to be viewed in the light of his central political idea. He did not suffer manifest signs of any foreign power in his territory, so that relations often became strained and sometimes even ended in open hostility. Nevertheless the caliph once invited him to visit Baghdād. It is said that Katāda started on his journey to the capital, but returned to his own country when he was met by an embassy of the caliph which had in its train fettered lions. Be this legend or fact, this much is certain, that Katāda embodied his idea of the "splendid isolation of Hīdjāz" in verses which are a typical illustration of his negative attitude towards foreign powers. Probably his encouragement of the Zaidite occupation of Yaman is to be viewed in the same light.

In his last days he undertook an expedition

against Medina. Illness, however, induced him to return to Mekka, where he was killed in 1221 by his son Ḥasan, who suspected him of favouring one of his relatives as a candidate for the throne. His descendants were ruling Sharīfs at Mekka, until in 1916 Ḥusain converted the sharīfate into a kingdom.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii. 69, 214, 260 sqq.; iii. 14, 83; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 134, 169, 261 sqq.; al-Sindjārī, *Manā'ih al-Karam*, fol. 121 sqq., in Prof. Snouck Hurgronje's MS.; Aḥmad Zēni Dahlān, *Khulāṣat al-Katām*, Cairo 1305, p. 23; do., *Umdat al-Tālib*, Bombay 1318, p. 121 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Bulāḡ 1284, iv. 104 sqq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 137; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 73 sqq.; do., *Qatadah's policy of splendid isolation of the Hijaz in A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Broune*, Cambridge 1922, p. 439—444, where Katāda's poem is discussed (= *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, iii. 355 sqq.).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KATAK (CUTTACK), a district in Orissa [q.v.].

KATANGA, a province in the Belgian Congo.

Geography and History. Katanga is the most southern, richest and least populated of the four provinces of the Belgian Congo. It lies between 5° and 13° 30' S. Lat. and 21° 30' and 30° 30' E. Long. It is bounded on the north by the eastern province and the province of Congo Kasai, on the east by Lake Tanganika which separates it from the former German East Africa (now under British mandate) and by Northern Rhodesia; in the south by Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese Angola; in the west by Angola and the province of Congo Kasai. The area is 200,000 square miles, about a quarter of that of the Belgian Congo. Its native population is about a million and a half of Southern Bantus (Balubas, Lundas, Basonge, Bangobango, Warua, Watumbwe, Babui, Baholoholo, Kanioka and Batschok), while its white population is about 4,500, of whom the great majority are Belgians, about fifty Dutch, a few English, Americans, French, Italians, Portuguese, Greeks and Scandinavians. In 1922 there were forty-nine Hindus, eight Turks and fifteen Arabs and Zanibarīs. These figures have since been considerably increased.

The province of Katanga is divided into four districts — Upper Luapula, Lomami, Lulua and Tanganika Moero. A number of towns — Elisabethville, Likasi, Albertville, Kongolo, Kabinda, Sandora and Kambove — have arisen in it as a result of the economic conditions of which we will give a general account below.

We may add that Katanga enjoys a fairly temperate climate, especially south of the tenth parallel, in which the altitude varies from 3,500 to 5,500 feet and that it is well watered by rivers and streams, such as the majestic Lualaba (upper reaches of the Congo river) which runs through it from south to north and is fed by many tributaries of which the most important are the Lubudi, Lufira, Luapula, Luvua, Lovoi and Lukuga, which flow from Lake Tanganika. If the soil of Katanga, which is covered with a forest of more or less dense brushwood, is far from having the great fertility of the immense central depression which constitutes the most extensive part of the Belgian

Congo, and if it does not offer to the fascinated eye of the traveller the imposing beauty of gigantic forests, its soil, on the other hand, possesses wealth immeasurable. It is to the exploitation of this that the economic policy of the Belgian colonisers has been primarily directed.

Deposits of tin are abundantly distributed between Lualaba and Lake Tanganika; two important coal-mines are worked at Albertville and Luena; auriferous dykes, pipes of kimberlite and alluvial diamond-bearing deposits have been discovered in various places. Since 1922 the Mining Union has been working an extremely rich deposit of uranium which was found at Shiukolobiwe. In 1923, 450 tons were exported which enabled Belgium to produce several grammes of bromure of radium.

But the principal source of the wealth of Katanga is certainly the copper found in profusion in immense deposits worked by the natives before, the Belgians came, which the earlier travellers simply could not help discovering. The richness of the ore, the density of which is 14%, and the intelligent organisation of the industry have enabled 80,000 tons of raw copper to be exported in 1924. This production, like economic development in general, will certainly make new strides ahead when "white coal", the reservoir of hydraulic energy of enormous power abundantly distributed through the province, has been controlled and put at the disposal of industry.

The first methodical exploration of Katanga dates from 1890. Famous explorers — Burton, Speke, David Livingstone, H. M. Stanley in the Cameroon, Böhn and Reichard and certain Belgian expeditions of the Association Internationale Africaine, representatives of which — Popelin, Ramakers, Storms and Becker — founded the stations of M'Toa, Karema and M'Pala on Lake Tanganika — had, of course, visited it previously. But it was only at the end of the nineteenth century, just when Cecil Rhodes was pushing his railway and British influence northwards, that the Congo Free State began to take notice of the urgent necessity of recognising and organising the most southern part of its vast territory. King Leopold II, sovereign of the new state, whose colonial plans did not meet with very great approval in Belgium, to realise this scheme had to have recourse to a private society, the Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, with which he founded the Compagnie du Katanga.

This society was essentially a body for exploration and occupation, whose duties and rights were defined by the convention of March, 1891, which imposed on it the following obligations:

The placing of a certain number of craft on the Upper Congo — the building of stations — giving assistance in the suppression of the slave-trade and the trade in spirits and prohibited arms — the organisation of a sufficient police service — the eventual exercise by its agents of the functions of the different branches of government service.

In return it received:

1) Full possession of a third of the lands belonging to the domain of the State, in the part of the valley of the Upper Congo lying to the south of the fifth parallel.

2) The right of exploitation of the soil of the ceded lands for a space of ninety-nine years.

But the division of the lands between State and Company raised serious difficulties and the neces-

sity soon appeared of putting the properties of the contracting parties under joint ownership. There was therefore created in 1900 the special Committee of Katanga to which the State and the Company entrusted the management of their affairs. The resulting agreement provided that "all the advantages or benefits to be gained from the exploitation and all expense, charges and losses would be divided by the Committee in proportion of two-thirds for the State and one-third for the Company; the Committee would further have the most extended powers of administration and alienation without exception or reserve".

A decree of 1910 deprived the special Committee of the delegation of the functions of the executive powers, but made no essential modification in its functions as regards the administration of the patrimonial rights of the State and of the Katanga company.

This is the regime that is still in control; our reason for giving at length the circumstances that brought it into being is that it is at bottom extremely original and that — contrary to what is often thought — the position of the Katanga Committee is totally different from that of great companies like the Chartered Company of Rhodesia, or the British East Africa Company, and of other distant possessions. Nowadays Katanga has made great progress, thanks to the policy of the Belgian government and the activity of private initiative. The railway, which runs from Bukama to Sakania and connects the mining region with Lualaba and with the railways of Rhodesia, has been equipped in a very up-to-date fashion and soon a new line will link it up by the Kasai river with the port of Matadi and the Atlantic Ocean.

Muhammadan penetration, the slave trade and the anti-slavery campaign.

History tells us that even before the Hidjra Arab barques were traversing the ocean between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. But it was only when the great Muslim movement had made its immense advance into North Africa and caused the migration on a huge scale of the disciples of the Prophet, that we find the Arabs devoting themselves to the methodical conquest of the lands round the Indian Ocean and building up important sultanates there, of which those of Sofala and Zanzibar have from time to time had bursts of splendour and passed through periods of power and brilliance.

But this power soon began to degenerate and assume a new character. It passed into the hands of traders and exploiters for whom, as Privelle said, "the normal state of society was the choice by them of the most convenient and most remunerative method of exploitation".

It is then that we find chiefs penetrating into the very heart of East Africa where the weak and poorly armed natives offered them no resistance and where they found vast riches, from ivory to human cattle, for whom the American planters and the Asiatic Muslims offered handsome prices.

Setting out from Zanzibar and the coast of Mozambique, the movement reached Lake Tanganika at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It reached Katanga by the bay of M'Toa and spread through the whole of the eastern province by the road from M'Toa to Kabambare and

Kasongo. A regular Arab power extending from the banks of Tanganika to Stanleyville was established by the chief Tippto-Tip and his nephew Rashid.

We know (Stanley and Livingstone have given terrible pictures of it in their works) the horrors which accompanied this invasion and the rapid disintegration of native communities which was produced by the constant wars, flights, endless migrations and continual rupture of the most sacred links of family life. Europe was moved. Cardinal de Lavigerie preached a holy war and on the initiative of Leopold II the civilized nations met in an anti-slavery conference in 1889. War was declared on the chiefs Rashid, Sefu and Kumaliza. While Dhanis was fighting them in the south of the Congo, Commandant Jacques and his lieutenants fought fierce battles with them on the banks of Lake Tanganika, at Katakai, Albertville and M'Pala, which were to liberate for ever the native population from the scourge which had fallen upon them. What influence did this activity of the Muslim world leave upon the Bantu peoples of Katanga?

From the shores of Lake Tanganika to Stanley Falls, we find at the present day negroes who profess Islām. They are called arabicised "wangwana". There is no reason to doubt that the Arabs used to make and still make serious efforts at conversion to Islām; nor is there any reason to doubt that a religion which, like Islām, preaches hatred of the *kāfir* and recommends polygamy is specially suited to attract the natives of Africa.

We must say, however, that if we consider this influence serious in the eastern province, where we have important groups of arabicised natives at Kasongo, Miangwe, Kirundu and Stanleyville, and if it is revealed as fairly considerable in the residencies of Ruanda and of Urundi (former German districts, now under Belgian mandate) it is perhaps not quite the same in Katanga. For if there are still a few arabicised negroes on the shores of Lake Tanganika and along the old Arab roads, they are really very few in number and their religious education is of the most rudimentary nature. They like to wear a white dress to show their superiority over the other negroes and sometimes perform their *ṣalāt* turned towards Mekka and fast in Ramaḍān, but for the rest they are ignorant and still believe, like their pagan kinsmen, in spirits, witchcraft, superstitions and in the power of malevolent magic.

Is an influence of this kind worthy of the attention of colonising nations? We think so, for one thing is certain, that the arabicisation of the negro very quickly gives him a contempt for the *kāfir* and for European authority and the Muslims do not hesitate to encourage these sentiments.

Alongside of the arabicised negroes there remain in Katanga a certain number of Arabs who have been joined by Muslim Indians. They devote themselves to trading with untiring industry and some of them possess substantial shops, doing a big business and have prospered exceedingly. Indeed, we are at the commencement of a powerful economic offensive, the strength and meaning of which we must try to estimate.

Economic penetration from the East.

Dār al-Salām [q.v.] and Zanzibar lying at the crossing of the routes from Europe, Africa and Asia, have become by force of circumstance depots for Asiatic merchandise of all kinds which eastern commerce intends for East Africa, into which they

penetrate as a result of the activity and business skill of the immigrant Arabs and Hindus. To give an idea of the importance of this trade, it will be sufficient to consider that in 1922 Bombay and Zanzibar sold in Tanganika Territory (under British mandate) goods worth £ 674,000, the total imports being at most £ 1,386,300 and Great Britain herself participated to the extent of £ 292,000. The goods which reach Katanga by this route are mainly cloths, articles of clothing, blankets and a certain amount of foodstuffs, soap and miscellaneous articles.

As regards textiles, the Hindu and Arab merchants import the most varied kinds, but especially the white cottons called "Americani" and "chader", which sell very well in the markets of Katanga. Not only do the importers attach a great importance to the quality and variety of their goods, but they pay special attention to the measurements of their cloths and pay careful attention to the caprices and changing tastes of a clientèle so fickle as the native population. As a result they were able to import in 1922 at the port of Albertville alone, 18,000 kilograms of chader, 27,000 kilograms of Americani and 8,000 kilograms of cotton printed and dyed, as well as a considerable quantity of blankets and other goods.

Their activity is not confined to imports alone. They also export and it will give an idea of the magnitude of this branch of their trade if we say that a single Arab house in Albertville in 1923 exported almost millions of francs worth of ivory. Several of these firms extend their activity from Zanzibar or Dār al-Salām to Albertville and from Albertville to the Stanley Falls. They have branches in the more important stations and have agents in their service and petty traders who are of great value to them, sober and active, living almost like natives, carrying on business at insignificant expense and thoroughly acquainted with the soul of the negro with its vices and weaknesses, which they can flatter when necessary even — and particularly — to the detriment of the prestige of the European; they carry into the remotest corners eastern influence with their wares.

In Katanga we can see an attempt at economic penetration which will have great developments and the figures which we have given ought in our opinion only to be regarded as stages in an increasing progression which, if European commerce does not take care, will assume considerable importance.

Is this economic influence susceptible of having a serious repercussion in other spheres? I should be premature to try to answer this question definitely. But we know that the demands raised by Orientals in the Kenya Colony in 1923 created profound uneasiness there and that the commercial strike begun at the beginning of the same year by Hindu and Arab merchants in Tanganika Territory seriously disturbed the economic and political atmosphere of this colony. And then — and this is a thing which no colonising nation can afford to neglect — we are at the present watching the evolution of a phenomenon which an American author has styled "the rising tide of colour" and which may perhaps be a subject for grave anxiety for humanity to-morrow.

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AL-KAṬAR, a peninsula on the east coast of Arabia on the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 2,000 square miles and 2,600 inhabitants. The cape at the end of the peninsula, which runs northwards, is called Rās Rikken and forms a fairly steep tongue of land surrounded by rocks; it is an obstacle not without danger to navigation. The summit is crowned by an old fortress which belongs to a village situated in an adjoining ravine. The coast of the peninsula is steep everywhere, but not high, and is dotted with fishing villages. Its appearance is rather depressing. The soil is poor, nothing but gravel and marl with sand. A few springs provide water for the wells, which have been dug with difficulty in the heavy soil. The climate is remarkably dry and the air unhealthy as a result of the stagnant sea-water along the coast. The few gardens are small and yield but little. There are no extensive cornfields or date palm groves; only here and there do we find a few palms and bare crops. For miles low, bare hills parched by the sun rise from the muddy strand covered with driftsand and seaweed. Inland beyond these eminences stretch barren dunes which are scantily covered with vegetation; behind them lie groups of low miserable huts made of earth and palm leaves. These villages are surrounded by walls to protect them from the raids of robber Beduins of the tribes of Menāšir and Āl Murra; the dunes have towers on them and here and there is a building of some size that has been fortified.

In contrast to this poverty is the almost inexhaustible wealth yielded by the bay on the Persian Gulf surrounded by al-Kaṭar, in which lie the islands of al-Baḥrain celebrated for its pearls. Food and sustenance is amply supplied by the sea, on which the inhabitants of the bay spend half the year seeking for pearls, while the other half is devoted to fishing and trading. Zabāra is the largest place on the peninsula and al-Bēdāʾ is regarded as the capital. The latter, like all the places on the peninsula, is chiefly inhabited by fishermen, but in the long narrow, dirty market place there are also a few merchants and artisans from al-Baḥrain.

The houses of the town are huddled together in narrow, dirty, irregular streets; two mosques and the ancient castle are the only buildings of any importance in al-Bēdāʾ, which may have about 6,000 inhabitants. Dawḥa, which lies north of al-Bēdāʾ, is but half as large; it lies in a deep little bay which affords a rather picturesque view through the cliffs 60—80 feet high in the background. The houses of Dawḥa are still more unprepossessing and poorer than in al-Bēdāʾ and the market place even smaller and filthier. Two forts command the town — one on a rock beside it and the other in the town itself. Al-Wakra is more pleasing and stands higher. It also shelters a number of merchants and artisans from al-Baḥrain. The town has, on the whole, a prosperous appearance.

The peninsula was of some importance even in ancient times on account of its important situation commanding the Gulf of al-Baḥrain. A. Sprenger has sought to identify the Cataraci of Pliny (*Natural History*, vi. 28, § 147) with the inhabitants of al-Kaṭar. The peninsula used to belong to the Sulṭānate of ʿOmān. From 1872 till 1914 it was under the suzerainty of the Turks, who had a garrison in al-Bēdāʾ down to October, 1914, and belonged to the province of al-Aḥsāʾ, forming the qaḍā of the same name in the sandjak of Nadjd. Since 1913 ʿAbd Allāh al-Thānī has been lord of the peninsula. But parts of it became independent earlier. For example, in 1882 Dawḥa made a treaty with England accepting her protectorate; in 1892 and in 1914 other places followed this example. Al-Kaṭar is now under the control of the ruler of Central Arabia, Ibn Saʿūd, who has thus regained the position once held by the Wahhābī kingdom to the peninsula, which the Turks had for a time usurped.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KAṬARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀʾA, the last chief of the Azraḳī Khāriḳījis (cf. above, i. 542). He belonged to a clan of the Tamim (the tribe which furnished one of the most noteworthy contingents to these rebels), the Banū Kābiya b. Ḥurkūš b. Māzin (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, i. 14). The name of his father, al-Fudjāʾa, is said to have been a surname and his real name was Djaʿwana. Like other Arab chiefs, al-Kaṭarī had a double *kunya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 267): Abū Muḥammad in peace and Abū Maʿama in war (Djāḥiz, *Bayān*¹, i. 131, ii. 126). Of his youth we only know that he took part under the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, along with several other chiefs among whom was al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, destined later to become his bitter enemy, at the submission of Sidjistān in 42 A. H. (al-Balāḍhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 396; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, Ḥaiderābād 1318, p. 405; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv. 161). He must have reached a fairly mature age when, 27 years later, he was acclaimed ʿCaliphʾ of the Azraḳīs when the latter, defeated by al-Muḥallab and his lieutenants, were passing through a very serious crisis. Kaṭarī, endowed with tremendous energy and indifferent to danger, was able to arouse the enthusiasm of his partisans, and after leading back the remnants of the army into the mountains of Kirmān, reorganised them; he then went down again into the ʿIrāk, occupied Ahwāz and threatened Baṣra. Kept for a long time in check by Muḥallab, he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position on the left bank of the Dūdjal even after the ʿIrāk, as a result of the defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair at Maskin (72 A. H.), had fallen into the hands of ʿAbd al-Malik. Finally al-Ḥadijdīdj b.

Yūsuf, appointed governor of the 'Irāk, decided to reappoint Muhallab to the command against the Azrakīs, in which he had been replaced without success by other chiefs. Muhallab soon drove the rebels across the Dūdjal and assuming the offensive, pursued them into the very centre of their power, Kirmān. Kaṭarī nevertheless was able to hold out for a long time in his lines (it is to this period that a silver coin with a legend in Pahlavi and Arabic of the year 75 struck in the name of Kaṭarī as *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, refers [Z. D. M. G., 1858, xii, 52, No. 303]). The dissensions that broke out within the Azrakī army between Arabs and Mawālī resulted in a split: Kaṭarī had to leave the town of Dīrašt which was the Azrakī head-quarters and take refuge along with the Arabs in Ṭabaristān, while the Mawālī continued to hold Dīrašt under the command of their chief, 'Abd Rabb or 'Abd Rabbihi (there are two individuals of this name among the Mawālī distinguished by the epithets *al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr* and the sources give the rank of commander sometimes to one and sometimes to the other or even distinguish two groups of the Mawālī which separated successively from al-Kaṭarī and were led by 'Abd Rabbihi the Great and the Less respectively). This division proved fatal, for Muhallab had no difficulty in routing the Mawālī and killing their chief; al-Ḥadīdīdī sent the Kalbi warrior Sufyān b. al-Abrad against Kaṭarī: or rather the latter (according to a tradition recorded by al-Ya'qūbī) as governor of Raiy received the appeal which the *isṣahbādī* (local chief; cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Pers. Fremdwörter im klass. Arabischen*, p. 784) addressed to him on behalf of the people of Ṭabaristān who were exasperated by the rigid application of the *ḍīziya* tax by Kaṭarī. The Azrakīs surprised by Sufyān's troops in a defile in the mountains suffered a decisive defeat. Kaṭarī who fell under his horse and was abandoned by his followers was discovered and killed by a native. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to Kūfa and then to Damascus to be presented to the Caliph. The remnants of the Azrakīs under 'Abīda b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī fled to Sadhawwar, a stronghold near Kūmis (Yāqūt, iii, 62) where they sustained a long siege from Sufyān; having exhausted their supplies, they made a desperate sortie and were wiped out. The chronology of these events is far from certain: the sources which say that Kaṭarī was in command for 13 or even 20 years are of no value. According to Wellhausen (cf. *Bibl.*), the election of Kaṭarī as Caliph probably took place at the end of 69 A.H. and his death in 78 or 79.

Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a represents in striking fashion the type of Khāridjī intransigent and also that of Arab *Sa'iyid*, half cavalier and half brigand. Like the other Azrakīs, as a result of his fanatical zeal, he preached and practised *isti'rād* (assassination of anyone who did not accept the Khāridjī creed) and declared the *ka'ad* (singular *ka'id*) infidels, that is to say those who, while professing the Khāridjī doctrine, refrained from taking part in the war against their adversaries. On the other hand, he was proud of his Arab blood and of his Bedouin character; like several other illustrious Khāridjīs, he had a real talent as orator and poet. One of his speeches is recorded by Dīhāzī, *Bayān*, i, 196, 197; *Idā'*, ii, 195—196 (cf. also *Fihrist*, p. 125, 15); the fragments of his poetry that have survived to us, of which the most celebrated is the fragment

Hamāza, p. 44 (frequently quoted, with numerous variations), are remarkable for the elevated style and a heroic contempt for death and place their author in the first rank of Khāridjī poets.

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KĀTH, the ancient capital of Khwārizm, the modern Khiva; according to Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 222, the name meant a wall (*ka'it*) in the desert in the language of the Khwārizmis, even if there were no buildings within this. The fullest accounts of the old town and citadel of Fil or Fir, which was gradually washed away by the Amū-Daryā (the last traces of it are said to have disappeared in 384 = 994), are given in al-Birūnī's [q.v.] *Kitāb al-Athār al-Bākiya*, p. 35, on which E. Sachau based his *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārizm* (Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist. Cl. d. K.K. Akad. der Wiss., lxxiii, Vienna 1873, esp. p. 489 sq.). On the description of the town by the geographers of the ivth (xth) century cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 446 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan in epokhu mongolskago nashestviya'* ii., St. Petersburg 1900, p. 143 sq.; the fullest information is given by al-Mukaddasī², ed. de Goeje, 1906, p. 287 sq. The town lost its political importance when the dynasty of the first Khwārizmshāh was destroyed by the prince of Gurgāndj, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, in 385 (995); cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, etc., ii, 275 sq. Kāth is mentioned by Ibn Battūta (called al-Kāt by him; cf. ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, 20) as the only inhabited place between Khwārizm and Urgenč (the ancient Gurgāndj). In the viiith (xivth) century Kāth along with Khiva before the rise of the native dynasty in Khwārizm, belonged to the kingdom of the Čaghatai (*Zafar-Nāma*, Calcutta 1887, i, 232); this is shown for example also on the Chinese map of 1331 (in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888, ii, 63). On the storming of Kāth by Timūr in 1372 cf. *Zafar-Nāma*, i, 237 sq.; for the assertion of P. Lerch, *Khiva oder Khwārizm*, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 21) that the army crossed the Amū-Daryā between Se-Pāya and Kāth, which would mean that Kāth even then was on the left bank of the river, there is no authority in the text. In the xith (xvith) century Kāth was on the bank of a dry canal; Anūsha, *Khān of Khiva* (1663—1687), therefore built a new Kāth west of the main stream on the bank of the Yarmīsh canal which he

himself had dug (W. Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 95, from the MS. of the Asiatic Museum 590 ob, History of Khiva, fol. 33a). The ruins of the old Kāth east of the Āmū-Daryā are now called after the alleged tomb of a saint of the earliest period of Islām, Shaikh 'Abbās Walī; they were visited in 1873 and described by A. Kuhn (*Materiali dlya statistiki Turk. Kraya*, iv. 252). Besides the tomb of the saint, the only building adorned with glazed bricks, there are mentioned here a half destroyed minaret and the remains of the city wall, all of baked bricks. The modern village (200 houses, 15 shops, 2 mosques with schools) occupies only a small part of the ancient site and the modern fort only a quarter of the old citadel. According to V. Masalskiy (*Turkestanskiy Kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 749), the ruins are 31 versts from Petroalexandrovsk (called Turtkul since the revolution) and 7 versts from the present right bank of the Āmū-Daryā. (W. BARTHOLD)

KATHAL, KHITĀL [See CHINA].

KATĪ'A [See KĪT'A].

KĀTIB, writer or scribe, is probably derived from the word *kitāb* (book) and from both was later formed the verb *kataba* (he wrote). The word was perhaps imported with the art from the Northern Aramaic neighbours of the Arabs. We not only find the word in the earliest poetry preserved, applied to those who wrote the Arabic script but also ancient poets speak of Ḥimyarī kātibs. In the time before Islām the art of writing, though apparently practised in all parts of Arabia, was the accomplishment of the few, and Ibn Sa'd in his *Ṭabaqāt* makes a point of mentioning each time when he states that a certain Ṣahābī could write, that the art of writing was little known at that time. Among the Companions at Medina some ten are stated to have been kātibs, and Ka'b b. Mālik in a tradition preserved by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (iii. 458) mentions that he is a kātib as a particular accomplishment. It is further recorded that several prominent men in Mekka also were kātibs and we may assume that the kātibs of the court of al-Ḥira (like 'Adi b. Zaid) were employed in drawing up the safe-conducts (mentioned by Ṭufail al-Ghanawī) or *hilf*-contracts referred to in the *Naḳā'id* and in the *Mu'allafā* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and written in Arabic. Of far greater importance from an Islāmic point of view were the men who wrote down the revelations of the Prophet; they are named *Kātib al-Wahy*. Such men were Ubayy b. Ka'b, Ibn Mas'ūd and Zaid b. Ṭhābit. These same men were also employed for writing the various letters sent by the Prophet to prominent men in Arabia inviting them to embrace Islām. The office of kātib was one of great honour and the rank, which was later occupied by the wazīr, was filled during the whole time of the first four Caliphs and the Umayyads by men who had the simple title of kātib, and it was only under Abu 'l-'Abbās that the title of wazīr was first employed. By this time, on the model of the Persian chancellery, a complicated system of government offices had developed. The chief secretary had the title of *Kātib al-Sirr* "Private secretary", others were employed to make the first drafts of official documents; these were called *Kātib al-Inshā'*. The control of the army with the payment of the troops was regulated by the *Kātib al-Djāish*, which we might equate with the "Secretary for War". Other secretaries were employed for the supervision of

the landed property of the ruler. The whole system of kātibs was the *Diwān* [q. v.]. This class of men became all-powerful and it was from them that the highest officers of state were recruited. They appear to have kept themselves apart from the other men of education, for only rarely find we any of them mentioned among the innumerable traditionists and theologians, though many are found among the men who made a mark as poets or authors in other branches of learning. As they were required to have a general knowledge of all manner of subjects, authors early began to compose books for the benefit of this class and as this office maintained its importance the works for their benefit have come down to us in many copies. The chief works on the education of the kātib are the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Qūtaiba [q. v.], the *Kitāb al-Kutūb* of Ibn Durustawaihi, the *Adab al-Kātib* of al-Ṣūlī and especially the voluminous work of al-Ḳālqashandī. While the first three works give us an insight into the requirements of a competent kātib in the earlier centuries, the *Subḥ al-A'shā* of al-Ḳālqashandī contains practically all that it is necessary to know on the subject. We can trace step by step how the kātib influenced the whole of Arabic prose literature; from the simple and clear letters of the earlier periods we come gradually to the bombastic composition of later times in which it is frequently difficult to discover the purpose of a document in the volume of sounding words. The disease was due to the zeal of the kātib to outdo his colleagues or predecessors in the imagined elegance of his diction. We may owe many useful works to their authors' desire to supply the kātib with the material for his compositions, but the whole striving for grandiose language has been the cause for making so much Oriental literature so indigestible to our taste. This is perhaps aggravated by Persian, Turkish and Indian kātibs. They were proud too when they could solve the meaning of the tangle of words and we get a glimpse at that mentality when a renowned kātib like the Ṣāḥib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād objected to a letter being sent to him, because the words were properly pointed and vocalised, as he considered it an insult to his intellect. Though the kātibs rose to high positions, they appear as a class to have been of a cowardly disposition, and could only intrigue; and I believe no one ever rose to become a ruler, which so many bold spirits succeeded in doing during the last twelve centuries.

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KĀTIB ĀLEBĪ. [See ḤĀDJDĪ KHĀLIFĀ].

KĀTIB-Ī RŪMĪ. [See 'ALĪ B. HUSAIN].

KĀTIBĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALĀH, a Persian poet, born at Taraḳ Werāwesh, a village of Turshiz in Khurāsān, studied at Nishāpūr, went to Herāt to the court of the Timūrīds, where he did not receive the welcome he expected, and lived for a long time in Shīrwān where the prince Mirzā Shaikh Ibrāhīm (d. 820 = 1417) had taken him under his patronage. He then lived in Aḡharbaidjān, where he was not appreciated by Iskandar b. Ḳara Yūsuf, and in Isfahān, where

he immersed himself in the study of mysticism, and died of the plague at Astarābād between 838 and 839 (1434—1436). It was in the last-named town that he undertook to compose a *khamsa* "a group of five poems" in imitation of Nizāmī and Amīr Khosraw but he only finished the *Gulshan-i Abrār* "Rosebush of Pious Men" and his *Lailā u-Madhnūn* of which the only known manuscript is in St. Petersburg. In the field of ethical and didactic poetry he wrote a book entitled *Dih Bāb* "The ten Chapters" or *Tad̲j̲nīsūt* "Puns"; he also left a *Diwān* of which ten ghazels were published and translated by Bland in his *Century*, p. 18—21, the *Si-Nāma* "Thirty Letters", devoted to mystic love, and among the *Mathnawī* of allegorical and epic matter the *Mad̲j̲ma'* *al-Bahrain* "Confluence of the two Seas", which has a double rhyme, and can be read in two different metres and represents the mystic love of two personages named Nāzīr and Manzūr, and the *Dilrubāi* "Ravishing of Hearts", an allegorical history of ẖobād, king of the Yemen, and of his minister, fertile in ruses. His poetical surname of Kātibī probably comes from the fact that he was a calligrapher, having received lessons in Nishāpūr from Mawlānā Simī, who later quarrelled with him. He spent the whole of his life in poverty as a result of the foolish prodigality which made him spend in a few days the sums he received from the munificence of his patrons.

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(CL. HUART)

AL-ḲAṬĪF, a seaport on the coast of the Persian Gulf in the bay of the same name. The latter, which faces due east, is about four miles broad at the entrance, and enclosed on the north by a narrow promontory, shaped like a mussel-shell, on which lies the fortress of Dārim. Its point is called Rās Tannūra. The south side of the bay is confined by a jutting horn of land, called Zahrān, from a hill on it shaped like a sugar-loaf, which forms an excellent landmark for ships entering the bay. On this side of the bay lie the fortifications of Dammān. Towards the mouth of the bay lies the island of Tārūt, four hours' journey in length from north to south, well provided with water and thickly planted with palm groves. This island lies exactly opposite al-Ḳaṭīf. The best and safest passage to the harbour of al-Ḳaṭīf is through the deep channel on the north between the island of Tārūt and Rās Tannūra; the channel south of the island is shallow and difficult to navigate. The waters of the Gulf are shallow almost everywhere in the bay, and only show a level surface of water at high tide; when the ebb sets in sandbanks appear, and little islands, shallows and bushes of sea-plants, among which wind narrow channels filled with mud. The coast is very flat; except at a few places it is almost level with the sea.

It is significant of the change in the coast-line that Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 1331) tells us that in his time Tārūt was still part of the continent and was only surrounded by the sea and became an island at high tide. As soon as the sea went back a part of the land between Tārūt and al-Ḳaṭīf appeared, so that people could pass along it to the mainland. According to him, Tārūt was half a day's journey from al-Ḳaṭīf and rich in vineyards with excellent grapes. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956) puts the distance between Tārūt and al-Ḳaṭīf at a mile. As Tārūt is now an island, the sea has swallowed up part of the coast here. On the land side al-Ḳaṭīf is surrounded by a broad girdle of gardens and orchards. The flourishing crops in the gardens far surpass those of the best watered places in the interior, e.g. at Hufhūf. The date-palm does exceedingly well here in a soil richly irrigated, partly by salt water, which the flood-tide carries far into the interior, and partly from the fresh water springs of the adjacent hills. Cereals, wheat, barley, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, figs, apricots, mangoes, pomegranates, grapes, citrons and lemons also flourish here. Through an uninterrupted succession of palm-groves, which it takes several hours to traverse in either direction, wind snake-like lines, the arches and canals of an old irrigation system, which date from the Ḳarmāṭian period, and formerly supplied al-Ḳaṭīf with better water than could be had in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. The whole length of the system, now in ruins, must have been about five miles. Al-Ḳaṭīf has walls and towers. The western gate has a high stone arch of delicate work and is flanked by towers and walls which are now in ruins. Just outside the gate are two cemeteries. The town, which is about a quarter of a mile long, is damp and filthy, and with its suburbs has about 6,000 inhabitants; the whole district, according to Sadlier, had nine walled and seven open villages, the population of which including al-Ḳaṭīf he put at 25,000. The continual fighting, of which the town has been the scene, has much affected its appearance. It now has a dismal, broken-down look. The market-place, on which the products of the country are to be amply had, is large. At the inner bend of the small bay already mentioned, stands the powerful citadel said to have been built by the Ḳarmāṭian Abū Sa'īd al-Djannābī, later used by the Portuguese, the high massive walls of brick and stone of which come down almost to the water's edge, so that only a narrow path along the shore is left, on to which opens the main gate defended by an outwork. Close to the shore there is now also the customs-house. The outer court of the citadel forms a quadrangle and is surrounded by high walls with towers at the corners, and protected on the land-side by a ditch. At the south-west corner stands the old palace of the Ḳarmāṭians, of which part has fallen in and been taken away and part has been very clumsily restored. The entrance is through a great archway in the Moorish style, supported by slender pillars, three arches deep and five long with fine cross-vaulting with arabesques in stucco, which have now for the most part fallen down. This archway leads into a long gallery, formerly covered, of which the side walls and pillars and a few arches remain. One next enters the inner court, which is surrounded by a series of chambers still fairly well preserved. A lofty room, long and

broad, served as reception room, with fine pillars in the centre and windows in the Persian style, divided into sections by little pillars. At the back of the room a raised throne still stands. Behind it follows a regular labyrinth of rooms, galleries, corridors and chambers, in three successive stories. The rich architecture of the windows, which are filled with pretty lattice work in stone in varying patterns, shows much taste. Behind the reception room is a court with large round pillars and remains of decoration.

The climate of al-Ḳatīf is very unhealthy; fever and other diseases have given the coast a bad reputation. The harbour, which was once accessible to heavily laden ships, is now for the most part silted up, and accessible only to small vessels at high tide. The sand-banks which run out on either side make entrance difficult, nay even dangerous. To the west and south the bay is well sheltered by the promontories and the islands of Tārūt and Suwaik. It is also favourably situated for trade with the islands of al-Bahrain, Būshehr and other places. Al-Ḳatīf might again attain some importance as a harbour, if it were dredged and kept in order and given better communications with the interior. The inhabitants of al-Ḳatīf are mainly engaged in pearl-fishing and in trading. Their type shows the strong Persian stamp, which dates from the pre-Muḥammadan period.

History. A. Sprenger has identified the bay with the *Sinus Capens* of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, § 147. Before the days of Islām, al-Ḳatīf, like the whole of al-Bahrain, was under Persian suzerainty. Shāpūr II about 320 A. D. conquered the whole Arabian coast beginning at al-Ḳatīf. In the early days of Islām there were still many Persians (Magians), Jews and Christians in al-Ḳatīf, as well as in the other towns of al-Bahrain. In al-Ḳatīf, however, the 'Abd al-Ḳais were predominant in those days. The whole country of al-Bahrain including al-Ḳatīf then submitted to the Prophet in al-Medina and came under the administration of al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī. But when the general rising broke out against the Muslims after Muḥammad's death, al-Bahrain was one of the first districts to proclaim its independence from the lord of al-Medina. In 11 A. H. the rebels under al-Ḥuṭam b. Dubaifa occupied al-Ḳatīf, but the rebellion soon collapsed. In 67 A. H. there was an encounter at al-Ḳatīf between the 'Abd al-Ḳais and Naḍjda b. 'Amir al-Hafnī, in which the former were decisively beaten. Naḍjda took prisoner the people of al-Ḳatīf, who had risen against him, and took up his headquarters there. Much more momentous for the town than this transitory feud was the invasion by the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī in 286 A. H. Many inhabitants perished. Abū Sa'īd had pitched his camp in the town and then undertook a bold campaign against al-Baṣra. The governor of al-Bahrain, Ibn Bānū, gave battle to the Ḳarmaṭians at al-Ḳatīf in 290 A. H.; the latter were defeated and suffered heavy losses, including Abū Sa'īd's successor designate. The town was taken by Ibn Bānū and Abū Sa'īd had to abandon his campaign against al-Baṣra and hurriedly return. Al-Ḳatīf fell again into the hands of the Ḳarmaṭians, who were now masters of almost all al-Bahrain with Ḥaḍjar, al-Aḥsā', al-Ḳatīf and al-Tā'if. When at the period of decline of Ḳarmaṭian power in 378 A. H., al-Aṣfar with a section of the Banu 'l-Mun-

tafiḳ made war on the Ḳarmaṭians, he plundered al-Ḳatīf and carried off great booty in slaves, goods and cattle to al-Baṣra. Al-Idrisī and Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the east between 1169 and 1172, describe al-Ḳatīf as a fine, large town. The latter's estimate that there were 5,000 Jews in al-Ḳatīf must be considered an exaggeration. Ibn Baṭṭūta also calls it a fine, large town. Alfonso d'Albuquerque who captured Hormūz in 1507 mentions Catifa as the harbour of Lahaḡah (al-Aḥsā') and says that the best horses are exported from here. He obtained a large quantity of provisions and supplies in al-Ḳatīf and there were many merchants there. In 1521 the lord of al-Aḥsā' (Lasah) refused to pay the Portuguese tribute for the lands of Catifa and Bahārem (al-Bahrain). Antonio Corrêa thereupon conquered al-Bahrain at the end of July, 1521, and al-Ḳatīf also fell into the hands of the Portuguese. In 1550 the citadel was taken by the Turks, whereupon Dom Antão de Noronaa conducted a bold campaign against the Turks of al-Baṣra and al-Ḳatīf. Not till 1622 were the Portuguese driven out of al-Bahrain by Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia, and the Dutch were now able as a result to establish their factories in the Persian Gulf. At the end of the xviiith century the Wahhābīs succeeded in entering upon the heritage of the Ḳarmaṭians. Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in 1792 defeated the ruler of al-Ḥasa (al-Aḥsā') and thus obtained al-Ḳatīf, but the Turkish governor, Sulaimān Pasha, obtained the assistance of the head chief of the Muntafiḳ, Thwēnī b. 'Abd Allāh Āl Sa'dūn; the latter advanced against al-Ḥasa in 1796 with an army of Turkish soldiers and volunteers and transformed al-Ḳatīf into a fortress. But the campaign took an unexpected favourable turn for Sa'ūd when Thwēnī was murdered in 1798. After the overthrow of the Wahhābīs in Central Arabia by Ibrāhīm, al-Ḳatīf also was again occupied by the Turks in 1819, but had to be abandoned again in 1823. In 1838 the Turks once more invaded the coast of the Persian Gulf; the governor of Djidda, Khurshid Pasha, occupied al-Hufhūf and was threatening al-Ḳatīf, when a protest from England postponed the Turkish conquest of al-Bahrain. The increased power of the Wahhābīs enabled Faiṣal as early as 1844 to conquer the whole district of al-Ḥasa including al-Ḳatīf, which now remained in the hands of the Wahhābīs. It was only when hostilities broke out in 1871 between 'Abd Allāh b. Faiṣal and Sa'ūd b. Faiṣal that Midhat Pasha, governor of Baghdad, obtained an opportunity to assert the old claims of Turkey. He occupied al-Ḳatīf, which now became a ḳaḍā of the sandjak of Naḍjd and received a garrison. Turkey occupied this territory down to May, 1913, when 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ūd at the head of his warriors occupied al-Ḥasa and drove the Turkish garrison out of al-Ḳatīf also.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KATĪN, KADĪN (T.), [see **KHATUN**].

KATL (A.), killing, putting to death, used in the two principal meanings of the word — the crime of murder and the punishment of execution.

I. **Katīl** as a crime.

1). In the *Qur'ān* unlawful slaying is forbidden in a series of verses, which date from the second Mekkan period to nearly the end of the Medina period. The passages may be arranged chronologically as follows (cf. Th. Nöldeke—Fr. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, vol. i., and H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. ii.; when the exact order in the particular periods cannot be ascertained, the passages are here arranged in the order of the *Sūras* and verses): — xvii. 33, 35 (second Mekkan period; according to O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache*, p. 74, note 4, later than vi. 152): "Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; We will provide for them and for you; verily the killing them is a great sin.... Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden you to slay unless for a just cause; but whosoever shall be slain unjustly, We have given his next of kin (*walī*) power (to demand satisfaction) but let him not exceed the bounds of moderation in the killing; indeed he is protected"; xxv. 68 *sqq.* (second Mekkan period): — (and the servants of the Merciful are those) "who slay not the soul, which God hath forbidden to be slain unless for a just cause.... for he who does this commits sins (or: will bring retribution upon himself); his punishment will be doubled on the day of the Resurrection and he shall remain in it covered with ignominy for ever; except him who repents and believes and performs good works; for them God will change their evil deeds into good".... (here killing and unbelief

are considered together so that the question, what happens to a believer who kills unlawfully, is left quite out of the question); vi. 152 (third Mekkan period; similar to xvii. 33, 35); iv. 94 *sq.* (about the years 3—5; according to Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 80, to be dated between the treaty of al-Ḥudaiḇiya and the capture of Mekka): "it is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer unless by mistake (by *ḥiṭa*"); but if anyone kill a believer by mistake he shall set free a slave who is a believer and pay a *diya* to the next of kin of the dead man, unless they waive it....; but if the person slain belong to a people hostile to you, but a believer, a slave who is a believer shall be released; but if he belong to a people with whom ye have a treaty, a *diya* must be paid to his relatives and a slave who is a believer set free; if anyone cannot afford to do this, he must fast for two successive months so that Allāh may look upon him again....; but if anyone kill a believer deliberately (with *'amd*) his reward is hell in which he shall remain for ever and Allāh wrathful against him and curse him and shall prepare a great punishment for him" (the true interpretation is undoubtedly this, that every Muslim who kills another Muslim with *'amd* is condemned to eternal hell-fire and that Allāh will not accept his repentance, a view which is ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Mas'ūd, Zaid b. Ṭhābit and al-Ḍaḥḥāk; the view held by 'Ikrima and others that the verse refers to the particular case of a *murtadd* who has killed a believer is not to be accepted; this is already a transition to the view that has finally prevailed, which tones down the literal wording of the passage, either by adding with Muḏjahid "unless he repents" or by holding, as has become usual, that Allāh will not leave a Muslim eternally in hell, and can even remit entirely the threatened punishment of hell-fire; but this is only the result of speculation and combination with other passages in the *Qur'ān* [e.g. xi. 108—110; xxxix. 54] and is therefore to be rejected; iv. 33 *sq.* (from about the same time; similar to iv. 95); lx. 12 (probably dates from soon after the treaty of al-Ḥudaiḇiya; similar to xvii. 33).

There are further two passages, in which it is asserted that Allāh forbade the Jews to kill: ii. 78 *sqq.* (from about the first half of the year 2 A.H.) and v. 35 (probably of the year 6 or 7; according to Grimme, to be dated before the battle of Badr).

There are also a number of verses in which killing is not exactly forbidden but is more or less strongly deprecated and represented as a mark of the unbeliever, just as committing no murder is a sign of the believer, e.g. lxxxi. 8 *sq.* (first Mekkan period); ii. 28 (probably third Mekkan period; according to Grimme, Medinese, before the battle of Badr); vi. 138, 141; xvi. 61; xl. 26 (same time); viii. 30 (after the battle of Badr); v. 33 (shortly before the capture of Khaibar). In numerous passages in this connection the unbelievers are reproached with the slaying of prophets, e.g. ii. 58, 81, 85 (from the first half of the year 2); iv. 154 (after the outbreak of open war with the Jews of Medina); iii. 177, 180 (probably soon after the battle of Uḥud); xx. 108 (shortly before the war with the Banu 'l-Naḍīr); v. 74 (later Medina period).

2) Supplements to the *Qur'ān* passages from the *Sira*, accounts of the life of Muḥammad.

In the so-called ordinance of the community, which dates from the first Medina period, it is laid down that no believer may kill a believer on account of an unbeliever; in another passage it is said: "If anyone kill a believer and is convicted, then vengeance for bloodshed must be done, unless the *walī* of the man slain waive it". In all probability Muḥammad had in mind in the murderer a non-Muslim member of the community (Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 71): this agrees with the development given above. In the *ba'ā*, the initiation into the community, the initiate had to pledge himself, among other things, not to commit an unlawful act of slaying (cf. *Qur'ān*, lv. 12). Once Muḥammad cursed a murderer (cf. the art. *ḲIṢĀṢ*). In the so-called first temple-speech (of the year 630), the genuineness of which is not absolutely certain, however, on every point and seems doubtful on this particular point, there appears the by no means exactly defined conception of *Ḳatl shabah 'amd* (see below, sub 5c); Muḥammad is also said to have declared there that all blood-guilt attached to a Muslim dating from the period of paganism was to be cast off, which extends the corresponding passage of the ordinance of the community. Finally it is to be mentioned that the *Sira* knows of several cases of deliberate and of unpremeditated slaying; so far as they are liable to be punished, they are dealt with in the article *ḲIṢĀṢ*.

3) Comparison of the views of authoritative circles in the Muslim community in the older period as preserved in *Ḥadīth* (tradition). It is obvious that in the *Ḥadīth* also the slaying of a Muslim is strictly forbidden; by the adoption of *Islām* (and of monotheism at all) life and property are protected. The life and property of a Muslim are as inviolable (*ḥarām*) as the day of sacrifice in *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjā* in the sacred territory of Mekka (al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 8, etc.). All blood-guilt, which has weighed a man down from an earlier period, is thus wiped out by the adoption of *Islām*, even if the crime was committed just before conversion to *Islām*. Only if a Muslim kills another, or, to be more exact, if he commits a crime worthy of death, can he be slain. Everyone is perfectly agreed that killing with *'amd* is one of the deadliest sins (*kabā'ir*); it is usually considered the gravest sin, along with the *shirk* (polytheism; e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 1, 2), whether it is asserted of killing with *'amd* in general or of the killing of new-born girls usual among the heathens. Therefore many *Ḥadīth*'s express disgust at killing; e.g. "the slaying of a Muslim is to Allāh like the cessation of the world", or "the cessation of the world is even less to Allāh than this"; "if someone is killed in the east and another in the west approves of it, he is guilty of the person's blood"; "man is a work of Allāh; cursed be he who destroys Allāh's work". The first murder which introduced killing into the world is the subject of special condemnation: Cain is accessory to every later murder. Murder is punished in the next world as well as on earth; on the Day of Judgment cases of the shedding of innocent blood will be judged first. As to the punishment itself, a whole stratum of *ḥadīth*s reflects the already mentioned view of Ibn 'Abbās and others regarding the eternalness of punishment in hell for slaying with *'amd*; e.g. "whosoever sheds blood in an unlawful way, for him there exists no way of escape"; "whosoever contributes though only by a word to the slaying

of a Muslim must despair of the mercy of Allāh". In several passages the deliberate murder of a Muslim is considered equivalent to unbelief (*ḥadīth*s in which a warning is simply uttered against murder being a sign of the unbeliever are, of course, not dealt with here). It is even said: "if two Muslims attack one another with swords and one kills the other, both go to hell (unless it was a case of legitimate self-defence), the slayer for his deed and the slain because he wished to kill the other" (cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 2); and: "if all the inhabitants of heaven and earth together had killed someone they would all go to hell". In these two passages it is not exactly demonstrable that eternal punishment in hell is meant but it is very probable. In several of the traditions mentioned, Ibn 'Abbās appears as the authority. Such *ḥadīth*s were naturally rendered harmless by "interpretation" by the representatives of the other view, if they were not entirely suppressed, which did happen to not a few. Thus the description of deliberate murder as unbelief is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is a very grievous sin and sometimes taken as a reference to the refusal of the protection of *Islāmic* law, which occurs in both cases, to the life of the slayer or of the unbeliever. This was not found sufficient, however, but traditions were put into currency to prove the contrary, namely that Allāh would accept the repentance of a murderer, even if he had committed several murders; one of these traditions is provided with a grotesque story, the object of which is quite apparent, as corroboration. In one tradition the *kaffāra*, especially the liberation of a slave, is represented as a means to save the murderer from the merited punishment of hell, obviously by someone who demanded it even in case of *ḳatl* with *'amd* (see below sub 6a). It is even asserted in public controversy against the views of the other side that after the Day of Judgment no Muslim will go to hell and that, on the contrary, all sins will be forgiven them. — The killing of a *mu'āḥad*, a non-Muslim under the protection of the *Islāmic* state, is threatened with punishment in the next world (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 30; al-Dārimī, *Siyar*, bāb 60; the *Qur'ān* is silent on the question); but, as might be expected, the view is very rarely expressed that this punishment is eternal. — The prohibition of suicide, which we do not find laid down in the *Qur'ān*, is given in the *Ḥadīth* and the suicide is threatened with eternal punishment in the next world.

As an appendix to the above we may briefly mention the connection of several kinds of animals with *ḳatl*, which is also dealt with in tradition. Muḥammad had, as is related, recommended the slaughter of dogs but later withdrew the order, although the dog always remained subject to certain exceptional regulations (cf. the art. *KALB*); the *sunna* further orders the killing of the *wazagh*, a kind of lizard, but if possible it should be done with one blow: on the other hand the killing of ants and of cats is forbidden (among the authorities for this last tradition is Abū Huraira); on the killing of snakes cf. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 116 sq.

As regards the value of the traditions just quoted, the genuineness of none of them can be proved; while the falsity of those, which seek to save the murderer of a Muslim from hell, is

apparent, it is also probable of those which hold the contrary view.

4). The controversy regarding the punishment of the murderer of a Muslim centres round a passage in the *Qur'ān*, which in itself could and must form a foundation for it, and is in part at least independent and original. This controversy and the conception of *Ḳatl* in general are, however, very closely connected with the disputes aroused by the *Khāridjīs*, *Qadarīs* and *Mu'tazilīs*; for details see these articles; here it is sufficient to recall the following questions: — "is the committing of deadly sins — and killing with 'amd' is certainly one of them — unbelief?" "Does man create his own actions, including sins, himself, or do they happen through *qadar*?" "Can man by his intervention interfere with Allāh's decision, for example by killing another shorten the period predestined for the latter's life?" We have more than one example of these questions being applied to *ḳatl*, and they have been cited in discussing *ḳatl* (cf. e.g. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*¹, p. 98 sq.; sec. ed., p. 92 sq.). But the *Mu'tazilī* view of the eternalness of hell-punishment for him who commits a deadly sin and does not repent, is specially important in this connection; al-Zamakhsharī gives an explanation of the verse of the *Qur'ān* in question from this point of view. Finally the consensus of orthodox opinion agreed that the deliberate killing of a Muslim is certainly a deadly sin, but the slayer, on the other hand, if he repents and voluntarily submits to the punishment prescribed, will not be further punished in the next world and, even if he does not repent, will in no case remain in hell eternally (agreement was reached on this point even before the rise of the *Fiqh*-schools; therefore there is no *ikhtilāf* of the *madhāhib* on this question); this view has found its way into all text-books of *Fiqh* and of doctrine.

5) A statement of the prevailing *Ḥanafī* views on killing. *Ḳatl* in the *Fiqh* is the act of a man whereby the life of a fellow-man is brought to a close (the death need not immediately follow the act). It may be qualified by any of the five "legal categories": — duty or necessity (*wādjib*), e.g. the killing of the *murtadd*; recommended (*mandūb*), e.g. when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen if they insult Allāh or his Prophet; permitted (*mubāh*), e.g. when the *Imām* kills the unbelieving prisoner of war, in the case when the reasons for killing him exactly balance those for granting his life; killing in self-defence is also allowed i.e. in defending oneself against an illegal attack on one's life, person or property, in defending oneself or some one who comes to help, if the attack cannot otherwise be averted (on further questions there is *ikhtilāf*, also on the question whether a man who surprises another in adultery with his wife or endeavouring to see into his harem, and kills or mutilates him, is acting legitimately or not; one tradition on the subject is interpreted in different ways); disapproved (*makrūh*), e.g. when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen without their having insulted Allāh or his Prophet; illegal and therefore forbidden (*ḥarām*).

Illegal killing as the result of actions in themselves legal may take place in five ways:

a) as 'amd, i.e. someone wilfully makes an-

other the direct object of an action in general fatal so that the other dies as a result; according to one view, the intention of killing is necessary for the conception of 'amd, which, however, is always presumed in the case of any act generally fatal in its result, which is illegally inflicted on another; so that, for example, any one, who strikes a blow at the hand of another with an instrument adapted in general for killing, but inadvertently hits his neck and kills him, *ceteris paribus* is unanimously regarded as equally guilty with the man who strikes another in the neck with the same instrument, wilfully intending to kill him and slays him: this killing is a sin (*ma'ṭham*) and in general is punished by *ḥisās*, or else the slayer is bound to pay the heavier *diyya* and to lose any possible legacy from the deceased to himself;

b) as *khafā'* (or *khafā'*), i.e. there is no intention of committing an act illegally on the other as in the case of a), while the action itself is premeditated: two kinds are distinguished, according as the *khafā'* (mistake or misadventure) which shows that the killing is not wilful, is in the intention of the doer (*fi 'l-ḥaṣḍ*) or in the carrying out of the action (*fi 'l-f'ṣl*). The former is the case when someone treats another as a wild beast or a *ḥarbī*, (an infidel not enjoying the protection of the Islamic state, against whom the *djihad* is to be waged) the killing of whom is not illegal, and kills him; the latter when someone unluckily hits another, while shooting at a target or at a *ḥarbī*, so that he dies, or strikes at the hand of another person but inadvertently hits the neck of a third person and kills him; this killing is not sin but brings with it (without *ḥisās*) the obligation upon the *ʿāqila* of the killer to pay the smaller *diyya* and to lose any claims to any inheritance from the deceased as in a); besides the obligation of the killer to perform the *kaffāra*;

c) as *shabah* (or *shibh*) 'amd = similar to 'amd, i.e. someone intentionally makes another the direct object of some action, not always but sometimes fatal, and death results. Actions which experience has shown not to be fatal at all are thus quite excluded, such as striking the hand with a reed pen; if anyone dies as a result of such an action as this, it is an unfortunate accident, which is not followed by any penal consequences. This killing is a sin and brings with it (without *ḥisās*) the obligation upon the *ʿāqila* of the slayer to pay the heavier *diyya* and to lose any possible inheritance from the deceased as in a), and in addition the slayer is bound to perform the *kaffāra*. This category only exists in cases where death actually results; in cases of bodily injury, which, by the way, are similarly classified, the action is regarded as 'amd;

d) as *djārī maḍjra 'l-khafā'* (or *mudjirā maḍjra 'l-khafā'* or *ḥā'im maḳām al-khafā'*) "equivalent to *khafā'*," i.e. the factor of deliberation is lacking in the action (and also the intention of directing the action illegally against another) in the circumstance of b) and c), for example: someone falls upon another in his sleep or falls from a roof upon him and kills him; the legal results are the same as in b);

e) as *ḳatl bi-sabab* "indirect killing", i.e. someone brings about the death of another without doing anything directly against him; e.g. he digs a well and someone falls into it and dies as the result; sometimes this category is treated as a subdivision

of *d*); but it is a matter of indifference, whether the act, which indirectly results in the death of another, is deliberate or not, intentional or unintentional; even if the action has been planned in some very cunning way such as setting a savage beast on another person with the intention of causing his death, it does not alter the situation. The legal consequences are in any case limited to the obligation upon the *‘aḳīla* of the doer to pay the lighter *diya*; larger works on *Fīḥ* usually discuss very fully the question what acts are to be considered direct causes of death and which are *ḳatl bi-sabab* and in which there can be no question of a causing of death so that no legal consequences result.

Two cases are especially dealt with in the *Fīḥ* books: *α*) The causing of a premature birth or abortion and *β*) killing through giving false evidence.

α) If in causing an abortion or premature birth, the embryo — which must be sufficiently developed to be of human form — is brought into the world dead or dies after the birth or the mother dies, it is not a case for the application of *ḳiṣās*; there is in any case no *ḳatl ‘amd* in the mother whose killing is dealt with under the above rules and the embryo before completion of birth is legally not in full possession of its powers but is usually regarded as a limb of the mother. [Hence we have the following law: if the head of a child appears out of the mother's womb at birth and the child cries (and is therefore certainly alive) and then someone cuts off its head, it is not a case for *ḳiṣās* and only the punishment prescribed for producing an abortion is to be inflicted]. Different amounts are to be paid for the embryo according to the different cases and if it comes alive into the world and then dies the person who causes its death is liable to *kaffāra*; he also loses any inheritance that might have come to him.

β) If anyone is killed on evidence which shows that a crime deserving death has been committed and then the witnesses recall their evidence or in other ways it is proved that their testimony was false, *ḳiṣās* cannot be executed on the witness; the *diya* must be paid, the heavier if the false evidence was deliberately given, the lighter if otherwise.

6) We may add the following — taking only the most important points — to the above exposition of the Ḥanafī system, with reference to *ikhṭilāf* (difference of opinion among the schools).

a) On *‘amd*: the difference of opinion within the Ḥanafī school already mentioned, regarding the part of the intention to kill in *‘amd* is also found outside the Ḥanafī school; among the Shāfi‘is the view which does not demand the existence of the intention to kill has become predominant, and the evidence for the other views is sometimes interpreted as meaning a presumption of intention. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī, in agreement with Mālik, al-Shāfi‘i and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, assume *‘amd* if the action is as a rule fatal; Abū Ḥanifa, on the other hand, limits it to the use of a weapon or of a thing which can be used like a weapon to cut off limbs; among such he includes fire; deliberate killing, for example with a large unsharpened stone, or a big stick, which in the ordinary way would kill, or by drowning in water, which would be generally regarded as of sufficient depth to do so, is therefore considered by the former as *‘amd*, but by Abū Ḥanifa as

shabah ‘amd, relying on a passage in the so-called first temple speech of Muḥammad, which the champions of the other view naturally interpret otherwise, and this view was later considered the better by the Ḥanafis. The qualification of the various actions generally differs sometimes considerably and the Ḥanafis often make use of *istiḥsān*, exercise of discretion. In the Mālikī and Ḥanafī view no *kaffāra* is to be performed for *‘amd*; al-Shāfi‘i, on the other hand, demands it if the *ḳiṣās* is not executed and both views are given on the authority of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.

b) On *Ḳhaṭ’*: that *Ḳhaṭ’* is not a sin is more exactly explained to mean that it is neither permitted nor forbidden but that this killing is rather *fi’l al-ghāfil*, “action of a thoughtless person”, and is to be judged in the same way as the act of a mentally defective person or of an animal. Except in the Ḥanafī madhhab, categories *d*) and *e*) [sub 5] are not distinguished from *Ḳhaṭ’*, which also was the earliest Ḥanafī view (*Z.D.M.G.*, lviii. 338) and *ḳatl bi-sabab* has generally the same legal consequences as *Ḳhaṭ’*; we thus have three kinds of *ḳatl*: *‘amd*, *shabah ‘amd* and *Ḳhaṭ’*, of which *shabah ‘amd* is considered to be composed of *‘amd* and *Ḳhaṭ’*.

c) On *shabah ‘amd*: this category is also called *‘amd Ḳhaṭ’*, *Ḳhaṭ’ ‘amd* or *Ḳhaṭ’ shabah ‘amd*; in contrast to it, *‘amd* is also called *‘amd maḥḍ* and *Ḳhaṭ’* also *Ḳhaṭ’ maḥḍ* (pure *‘amd* or *Ḳhaṭ’*); the application of *ḳiṣās* is said to be permissible by al-Shāfi‘i if the killer, for example, repeats the blow with an instrument not normally adapted for killing so frequently that the person attacked dies; the act is then considered *‘amd*; one of the two opinions handed down on the authority of Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī is to the same effect while the view that became predominant in the school was to the contrary. Mālik allows *ḳiṣās* in *shabah ‘amd* in general.

d) On *ḳatl bi-sabab*: Mālik, al-Shāfi‘i and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal demand *kaffāra* in addition, if the placing of the cause of the death was illegal.

e) Different views also prevail as to the amount to be paid for the killing of an embryo.

f) On causing death through false witness: if the false evidence was deliberately given, according to al-Shāfi‘i and the better known opinion of Mālik, *ḳiṣās* can be executed on the witnesses.

7) Notes on the question of permission, request, compulsion and assistance in illegal killing. *a*) If someone kills another by his request or with his permission there is neither *ḳiṣās* nor obligation to pay *diya*.

b) No definite punishment is laid down for the case of a request to kill someone; such a request does not mean the exculpation of the slayer; only if the person requested is a minor or a slave claims may be made from the *‘aḳīla* of the minor, or from the proprietor of the slave.

c) A forces B to kill C; then, according to Abū Ḥanifa, the *ḳiṣās* is executed on A, according to Mālik and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal on B; as to al-Shāfi‘i's view, there is no doubt that A is liable to *ḳiṣās*; as regards B both possible views are transmitted, of which the one that ultimately became predominant in the school makes him also liable to *ḳiṣās*. Mālik further makes A also liable to *ḳiṣās* if the compulsion comes from a person having authority, or from a master to a slave.

d) A holds B and C kills him while he is held; in this case Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī make C liable to *ḥiṣāṣ* and A to *taʿzīr*, which is more definitely defined as imprisonment. According to Mālik, both are to be regarded as culprits and therefore liable to *ḥiṣāṣ* if the holding was necessary to facilitate the slaying and B was not able to escape after being held. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's opinion is given in two versions; according to the one, *ḥiṣāṣ* is executed on C and A is punished with imprisonment for life, according to the second opinion, A and C are both liable to *ḥiṣāṣ*.

II. *Ḳatl* as punishment.

The punishment of death may be described quite generally as *ḳatl*; in the following account cases in which it is applied are given seriatim; in contrast to *raḍīm* and *ṣalb* (cf. below) *ḳatl* is also used in the narrower sense of execution with the sword.

1) In the cases of illegal killing described in detail above, the nearest relative of the dead man, who in this capacity is called *walī al-dam*, is entitled to kill the culprit in retribution if certain definite conditions are fulfilled. This punishment is called *ḥiṣāṣ* or *ḳawad*, names which also cover retribution exacted for wounds which are not fatal; for further information see the article *ḲIṢĀṢ*.

2) There are special regulations regarding sorcerers (*sāḥir*), about whom there are also various traditions. Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal recognise sorcery (*siḥr*) as an actual force. Abū Ḥanīfa disputes this, but there is a consensus of opinion that it is forbidden to study it; it is even described as unbelief (*kufṛ*) almost as a general rule. Mālik and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal say that the sorcerer is to be killed with the sword simply for studying, teaching and practising magic; al-Shāfiʿī limits this punishment to the case in which someone has been killed by sorcery (i.e. he makes it a case for *ḥiṣāṣ*, which in practice is only justified by the confession (*ikrār*) of the guilty person; while the punishment in Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is regarded as *ḥadd*); two different, more lenient views are credited to Abū Ḥanīfa. Opinions differ on particular questions, such as whether the conversion of the sorcerer effects a remission of the punishment, whether a woman is to be punished equally with a man, how sorcerers of the *Ahl al-Kitaḅ* are to be treated, how far soothsaying is to be considered sorcery.

3) The punishment of death by stoning (*raḍīm*) — in certain circumstances also by the sword (*ḳatl*) — occurs as *ḥadd* in certain cases of immorality; on this see the article *ZINĀ*.

4) Highway robbery (*ḳaṭʿ al-tariq*) may also in certain circumstances be punished with death. The authority for this is *Qurʾān*, v. 37 sq. (from about the year 6 or 7, before the capture of Khaibar; Grimme puts the verse before the battle of Badr): "The punishment of those who fight against Allāh and His prophet and create ruin upon the earth is that they shall be slain or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on the opposite sides or be banished from the country. This is their humiliation in this world and in the next world they shall be severely punished — unless they repent before ye have them in your power" It can be asserted with certainty that this refers to the unbelievers, very probably to the Jews; ruthless war is ordered to be waged on them and their repentance is the adoption of Islām. There are still traces of this

interpretation in the commentaries. But in general this passage is connected with Muḥammad's attitude to certain *murtadd*'s which will be dealt with in section 5); this cannot be correct, if only because the procedure there practised does not entirely conform to these rules, so that they were forced to restore harmony in a different fashion. Those *murtadd*'s were considered as highway robbers, from the point of view of the later definition rightly and only in this way could a law for the punishment of highway robbers be found in the *Qurʾān*.

The more important laws of the *Sharʿa* are the following. Only such persons as are adults in full possession of their faculties and who are able to be dangerous to travellers are to be considered highway robbers. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, highway robbery can only take place in the open country, according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in the town also. Mālik gives the Imām — and this is certainly the correct interpretation of the passage in the *Qurʾān*, which is also found in the commentaries — absolute freedom in the choice of punishment, even in the contingency of a cumulative application, whatever form the robbery may have taken; but if the person concerned has killed someone (in this connection killing implies a murder to which *ḥiṣāṣ* might be applied), he must at least be executed with the sword. The three other Imāms grade the punishment to fit the different forms of robbery on the highway; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the criminal is put to death if he has caused the death of his victim; if he has also robbed him (and in such a way, it must always be understood, that the *ḥadd* for theft can be carried out; cf. the art. *SĀRIK*), he may be further punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides and with crucifixion (*ṣalb*) which in that case takes the place of killing with the sword; if he has only committed a robbery, we have only the cutting off of hands and feet on alternate sides; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is killed, if he has killed his victim; if he has also committed a robbery, he is crucified after being put to death; if he has only committed a murder, he is punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides; if he has only made the neighbourhood unsafe, then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is put in prison; whether this must be done in another place is a debated point. In Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik (also in some Shāfiʿī's but their view is rejected by the school) crucifixion consists in the criminal being tied alive to a cross or a tree and his body ripped up with a spear so that he dies, and this is certainly the more original form; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is first killed with a sword and then his corpse is ignominiously exposed on a tree or cross. All these punishments are *ḥadd* and a right of Allāh; therefore any renunciation by the *walī al-dam* of the *ḥiṣāṣ* is of no avail even though it is he who has the right to carry out the *ḳatl*. If the criminal repents before he falls into the hands of the authorities (what exactly is meant by repentance is disputed) these *ḥadd* punishments are dropped; but claims by individuals to *ḥiṣāṣ* etc. can still be enforced against him.

5) The *murtadd*, that is the renegade from Islām, is liable to the death-penalty if his apostasy is proved. If we leave out the passages dealing with the *munāfiq*'s [q.v.] who are separately dealt with — their execution is, however, described under

certain conditions in Qurʾān, iv. 91 — there is no such law in the Qurʾān referring specially to the *murtadd*, although xvi. 108 (third Mekkan period), ii. 214 (of the year 2), iii. 80—84 (Medina; placed by Grimme shortly before or after the battle of Uhud), 102 (soon after the battle of Uhud), iv. 136 (of the same period) threaten the eternal punishment of hell for all those who apostacise from Islām and do not repent, as well as for all unbelievers, and in iii. 95 sq., 142, and ix. 67, a warning against apostacy is uttered. Among the traditions we find in various forms the story that Muḥammad, contrary to the rules of the Sharʿa, cruelly mutilated and killed some *murtadd*'s, who had killed one or more of his herdsman and driven away the camels, but the tradition is probably correct just for this reason. This contradiction was felt and an endeavour was made in the ḥadīth's to justify the cruelty of the punishment, and even the text was altered. Of ʿAlī also a cruel act, of another kind, however, is recorded in a similar case, but Ibn ʿAbbās is said to have protested against it. Two *murtadd*'s, each of whom had killed a Muslim, were executed by Muḥammad's orders after the capture of Mekka; a third man, against whom there was nothing but his apostacy, was also placed on the list of the proscribed; his foster-brother ʿUṭhmān, however, obtained security (*amān*) for him although Muḥammad would gladly have seen someone kill him before immunity was granted; he later became a Muslim again. There is also a saying of Muḥammad's: "Slay anyone, who changes his religion" or "He who secedes from you shall die", and others similar, e.g. that the blood of a Muslim could only be shed for apostacy, *zinā* and *kaṭl ʿamd*; there is also a story that Muʿadh b. Dījal killed a *murtadd* because Allāh and His Prophet had so ordained; Muḥammad is also said to have ordered that conversion should first of all be attempted and a period of three days allowed for this; but all this can hardly be genuine. There are also the traditions regarding the *Ahl al-Ridda* (cf. the art. RIDDA) who refused the *zakāt* and were treated as apostates by Abū Bakr. The tradition "He who is a good Muslim will not be punished for his sins from the pagan period but he who is a bad Muslim will have them counted against him" does not refer to the *murtadd*, as it is usually said to do.

The punishment of death laid down by the *sharʿa* for the *murtadd* is sometimes described as *ḥadd*, sometimes not; in the latter view he is simply killed as an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and the punishment need not be carried out in every individual case. Only an adult in full possession of his faculties and not acting under compulsion can become an apostate from Islām; opinions are divided regarding a man who apostacises while intoxicated or a minor (on the verge of his majority) capable of discernment (*nurāḥik, mumaiyis*). There is also difference of opinion regarding the attempt at conversion and the granting of a period, usually fixed at three days, for reflection. If the *murtadd* does not repent, he is to be beheaded with the sword; torture and cruel methods of execution are forbidden. According to al-Shāfiʿī, his punishment is left to his owner, if he is a slave. Abū Ḥanifa and his school limit the punishment of death to male apostates and the consensus of opinion excludes the minor; a woman (and

also a minor) is imprisoned and beaten every three days till she repents; according to Abū Ḥanifa (contrary to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī) she may also be made a slave and this is recognised as right by the school. Anyone who puts to death a *murtadd* of whatever kind without powers granted by the authority, is generally liable not to *khiṣāṣ*, but only to *taʿzīr*. The same rules generally hold for repeated apostacy.

Similar to the punishment of the *murtadd* is that of the *zindīk*, i. e. anyone who, professing to be a Muslim, is really an unbeliever or any who belongs to no religion (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, i. 186 sq.). The conversion of a non-Muslim to another non-Muslim religion is similarly dealt with, although such an one is not called *murtadd*. He can only escape punishment by adopting Islām; on the whole of this cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 215 sq.

How exactly one becomes an unbeliever and therefore a *murtadd* is disputed in particulars, especially the question how far this is the case with irreverent utterances regarding Allāh or one of His prophets; there are various special enactments regarding the latter, which threaten the death penalty to non-Muslims and in part allow a Muslim no remission of punishment if he recalls the words.

For further information see the article MURTADD.

(6) There is no law in the Qurʾān for dealing with a man who omits the *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer) (*tārik al-ṣalāt*), where its performance is, on the other hand, often strictly enjoined, and not a single unequivocal ḥadīth on the subject can be found — quite apart from any question of genuineness. The *Sharʿa* lays down the law as follows: — Anyone who does not perform the *ṣalāt*, as in duty bound, without denying its obligatoriness (anyone who does this is *murtadd*) and has no — even invalid — excuse for this, according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and the more popular of the two views credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, if he does not atone, i. e. makes good his omission and says he will never commit the fault again, is to be executed with the sword. This punishment is also sometimes described as *ḥadd*. According to Abū Ḥanifa, the culprit is imprisoned till he again performs the *ṣalāt*. In all these views he is considered a Muslim, while the other view attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal deals with him entirely as an unbeliever, i. e. a *murtadd*; but these regulations are modelled on those for apostacy (cf. the remarks on the *Ahl al-Ridda* above).

There are two more cases in which the suppression (*kitāl*) of the enemies of orthodox Islām is prescribed; killing, of course, plays the main part and therefore we must discuss this aspect of the process here.

(7) Firstly, the fighting of the *bughāt* is prescribed. It is said in Qurʾān, xlix. 9 (late Medina period): "If two parties of the believers contend with one another, make peace between them; but if one oppresses the other (*baghat* — from which *bughāt* is the plural of the participle), fight against the party which oppresses until they again obey Allāh's command; and if they do this, make peace between them with equity and act with justice" (this refers to a quarrel among the *anṣār*). Oppression is often forbidden and disapproved of elsewhere. But Muḥammad at any rate did not know the later conception of *bughāt*, although

its development begins at a point closely connected with this. Some traditions on the *bughāt* are in agreement with the legal enactments.

The *Shari'a* understands by *bughāt* sectarianising Muslims who reject the authority of the Imām, are able-bodied, so that they might offer resistance, and justify their attitude, although erroneously, with their dogmatic conviction (they are to be distinguished from highway robbers, for example — individual *bughāt*, who are guilty of breaches of the law are punished like them —, on the one hand, and unbelievers on the other). If they do not attack the orthodox community, they need not be attacked; otherwise their suppression is a duty of the Imām (the head of the Islāmic community) and a *fard al-kifāya* for the Muslims (cf. the art. *FARD*). This punishment is also sometimes called *ḥadd*. In general the rule is that only participants in the actual battle can be killed during the fighting. Fugitives, wounded, those who surrender and prisoners, as well as women and children, cannot be put to death. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the Imām may kill a prisoner if he knows that he would again join the *bughāt* if spared; according to him, a captured slave who has been fighting by the side of his master can also be killed.

(8) Regarding the *Djihād* see that article; there are also traditions regarding the following regulations. If the unbelievers with whom war is being waged are not among those from whom the *djizya* can be taken — who exactly those are is a matter in dispute — the men are killed, if they do not adopt Islām and the women and children enslaved. If, on the other hand, they refuse Islām and will not pay the *djizya*, they are to be fought. All able-bodied men can be killed so long as they are not taken prisoners; men incapable of bearing arms, as well as women and children, cannot in general be so dealt with unless they take part in the fighting or assist in it in some way; they are to be taken prisoners and enslaved. The free, able-bodied prisoners may be (a) executed with the sword if they will not now adopt Islām; (b) made slaves; (c) exchanged for Muslim prisoners; (d) ransomed; (e) or set free without a ransom being paid (in all these cases by the Imām). Anyone who kills a prisoner without authority is only punished with *ta'zir*.

Every unbeliever who does not pay the *djizya* or does not belong to a people which has a treaty with the Muslim community or is not a *musta'min* (on these cf. the art. *KIŞAŞ*) is *ḥalāl al-dam* (to be killed with impunity) and may at any time be killed by any Muslim without his being liable to *kişāş* or to pay any *diya* or perform *kaffāra*. This enactment is only the natural consequence of the *djihād* law and Muḥammad himself not infrequently made use of it.

(9) The views of the *Shi'is* on all the points dealt with above agree almost entirely with one or other of the *Sunni* views. It would take up too much space to deal with them in a similar fashion.

(10) The infliction and execution of the death penalty was in practice very often in strong contradiction to the regulations laid down in the *Shari'a* (cf. the art. *ADHĀB*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 200, etc.). The historians afford many examples for the actual practice and so do accounts of European travellers; on the conditions in the empire of the caliphs in the tenth

century see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 347 sqq., also Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, i., especially p. 220 sqq., 292 sqq.; on those in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century see Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, end of the chapter on *Religion and Law*; on those in Persia in the same period see Polak, *Persien*, i. 328 sq.; on those in the Ottoman empire of the eighteenth century see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, especially vol. vi. (1824), p. 244 sqq.; for Turkey the *Kānūnnāme's* are also useful (cf. *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, i. 13 sqq.); among the published sources quoted there are of special importance: Digeon, ii. 245, 262; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 125, 133, 143—150; *T. O. E. M.*, iii. (1328), Appendix i. 27 sq., ii. 1—4, 7, 9; *M. T. M.*, i./ii. 341 sq.) and from the *Kānūnnāme* itself (edited there; p. 19—21, 32—34).

Bibliography: The *Fikḥ*-books, the works given in the article *ADHĀB*, especially Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 284—309, and the literature there given; the articles *MURDER* and *EXECUTION* in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. Besides the articles already referred to, the article *ADHĀB* and those dealing with the Arabic expressions not explained above should be consulted. (J. SCHACHT)

KAṬRĀN B. MANŠÜR, a Persian poet. 'Awfī calls him Kaṭrān al-'Aqūdī al-Tabrizī; according to Dawlatshāh, he was born in Tirmidh. Others say he was born in Djabal-i Dailam; Djabal-i is also found as his *nisba*. Dawlatshāh says that he spent some time in Balkh and later lived in the 'Irāk. The period of his literary activity lies about the middle of the eleventh century A. D. Nāsir-i Khusrāw mentions in the *Safarnāma* that he met Kaṭrān in Tabriz in 438 (1046); a well-known poem by Kaṭrān commemorates the earthquake in Tabriz in 434 (1042/43). According to a *tadhkira* quoted in Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 140, our poet died in 465 (1072). He was the panegyrist of the rulers of Dailam and of Ādharbaidjān; among his patrons are mentioned the Amirs Faḍlūn, Wahsūdān, Abū Naṣr Mamlān b. Wahsūdān, who was appointed over a part of Ādharbaidjān by the Saldjūk Sultān in 450, and Muḥammad b. Kumādī (according to Dawlatshāh, governor of Balkh and Sandjar; if this is correct he long survived the poet) and further the Būyid 'Aqūd al-Dawla, as is indicated by the epithet 'Aqūdī given by 'Awfī.

Works. Kaṭrān left a *Diwān* (manuscripts of which are found in European collections) and a *mathnawī* called *Kāws-nāma*. The poems of Kaṭrān are sometimes wrongly attributed to Rūdāgi in manuscripts; the confusion is caused by the similarity of names of their respective patrons (Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid in the case of Rūdāgi and Abū Naṣr Mamlān in the case of Kaṭrān). On this question cf. Rūdāgi and Pseudo-Rūdāgi by E. Denison Ross in *J.A.R.S.*, 1924, p. 609 sqq. Criticisms on the poetry of Kaṭrān are given by Nāsir-i Khusrāw and Waṭwāt. The former says, curiously enough, that Kaṭrān did not know Persian well but otherwise was a good poet; Waṭwāt (in *Dawlatshāh*) places him very high and allots him a special position with regard to the other poets. 'Awfī's verdict on Kaṭrān means very little for us, as this author regularly introduces each of his biographies of poets (if we may so call his inflated empty prose) with a rhetorical eulogy of the person

in question. But he is at least to the point when he says that Kaṭrān was fond of rhetorical artifices and particularly of the kind called *taḍjīs* (cf. Ibn Kaïs al-Rāzī (*Mu'djam*, Gibb Mem. Ser., x. 309 sqq.). The only quotation from Kaṭrān given in Ibn Kaïs's manual of poetics (p. 312) is quoted to illustrate one of the varieties of *taḍjīs* (*taḍjīs-i nāḳīs*). On Kaṭrān's skill in managing the more difficult poetic forms cf. also Dawlatshāh, p. 67, 14 sq.

Although the *Diwān* is not yet published one can form a fair opinion of the skill of the poet from what is in print. A few *qaṣīda*'s and fragments of *qaṣīda*'s are given in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 240 sqq.; others in Browne's edition of 'Awfī's *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ii. 214 sqq.). All that is given in Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 67 sq.) is also found in 'Awfī, only Dawlatshāh gives much less and has a few unimportant variants. The oft occurring substitution of Arabic terms for the rarer Persian words is also found in him; thus the less well known *shamar* (= pond; 'Awfī, ii. 215, 10) becomes in Dawlatshāh (p. 68, 1) *thamar* and the verse is, of course, nonsense (or it may be that we have simply a copyist's mistake). It may be assumed that Dawlatshāh, as far as the poems are concerned, simply copied 'Awfī.

In the poems printed in Schefer, rhetorical artifices are not more used than in the other panegyricists, for example Minūčihri or Azrakī; we find among other figures *Tabyīn wa-Tafsīr*, p. 245 paenult., p. 246, 6 sq., *muwāzana*, p. 246, 1. These poems have something in common with the old panegyrics; the three fragments of *qaṣīda*'s describing spring, autumn and winter, contain themes already known from Minūčihri, such as the comparison of winegrapes with persons, namely negroes and Rūmī's, while Minūčihri compares them with little girls.

Kaṭrān gives more prominence to the epic element in his panegyrics than do his predecessors. The first poem in Schefer (ii. 240) is noteworthy in this respect; its *madḥ* commemorates a victory of the Amīrs Wahsūdān and Mamlān, and the often quoted song (p. 243) to Mamlān, the *tashībīb* of which contains the description of the earthquake which demolished the town of Tabriz in 434 (1042), is equally noteworthy; this description is in this case the main thing. The fragments in 'Awfī are obviously chosen to illustrate the use of *taḍjīs* by the poet, which is discussed in the prose notice of Kaṭrān by this author. The *taḍjīs* found here is almost exclusively the *taḍjīs-i musdawidj* (Ibn Kaïs, p. 313); the *taḍjīs-i nāḳīs* (cf. Ibn Kaïs, p. 312) is also found (p. 214, 14: *gilzār gulzār*) and *takrīr* (cf. Ibn Kaïs, p. 315) in the second part of the distich ('Awfī, ii. 214, 21). The rhetorical effect achieved by means of homonyms (*taḍjīs-i tāmm*; cf. Ibn Kaïs, p. 309), of course, occurs, e. g. 'Awfī, ii. 216, 9-11, where the word *tīr* is repeated four times each time with a different meaning. In contents these fragments offer nothing new or noteworthy.

The prominence deliberately given to the narrative element in the court-lyric may be an innovation of Kaṭrān's own. That his lead was followed is shown by Dawlatshāh, who not only calls Anwārī a pupil of Kaṭrān's but also mentions others (Rashīdī, Rūhī, etc.) and "most poets of Balkh and Transoxiana".

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Literary History of Persia from the earliest times until Firdawsī (1902), p. 86, 462; do., *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Sa'dī* (1906), p. 222, 271, 399; Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 72, 76, 82, 138, 232; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii., French text, p. 240-242. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-KATTĀNĪ, MUHAMMAD B. DĪ' FAR B. IDRIS, a member of the important family of the Kattāniyān and Sharīf in origin, a contemporary Moroccan writer (he was still writing in 1314 A.H.). He is the author of a number of works including a book in honour of his ancestor Idris (*al-Ashhār al-Āṭirat al-Anfās bi-dhikr ba'd Maḥāsīn Kutb al-Maghrib*, Fās 1314 A.H.). The most important is his *Salwat al-Anfās wa-Muḥādathat al-Aḳyās minman uḳbira fi 'l-'Ulamā' wa-'l-Sulḥā' bi-Fās* (3 vols., Fās 1316 = 1898-99). The first part of this book is devoted to showing the merit which is acquired by visiting *zāwiya*'s and tombs of saints. He then proceeds to give, quarter by quarter, the illustrious men who have lived in Fās or are buried there and this part of the book contains valuable information on the historical topography of the town. He consulted a considerable number of books a list of which he gives at the end of the third volume. We know no details of his life, not even the date of his birth.

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(RENÉ BASSET)

KAWĀLA (also Cavalla), a seaport on the Aegean Sea, opposite the island of Thasos on the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace. In ancient times Neapolis lay here, the port of the town of Philippi, just as Kawāla is now the harbour for the district of Drama. The town is partly built on a promontory which is still surrounded by walls which date from the middle ages; there is a harbour on both sides. An aqueduct has also survived from the middle ages. Kawāla was captured by the Turks from the Byzantines in the reign of Murād I, who conquered Thrace. Murād had sent the sandjak-bey Deli Balban to besiege Seres; soon afterwards he sent Lala Shāhīn to assist him; the latter then captured Kawāla, Drama and Seres. This event is usually placed in the year 775 (1373/74) (Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 91, and von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 181, whose statements are inaccurate in other respects); the anonymous chronicler, ed. Giese, p. 26, on the other hand, gives the date 787 (1385/86). He adds that nomads from Sarukhan were then settled here and in the Vardar plain. Not much more is heard of Kawāla in Turkish history; Sulaimān I fortified it before beginning his campaign against Rhodes. The population probably always remained predominantly Greek. Muḥammad 'Alī, the Egyptian Khedive, was probably born here; at any rate he lived here in his youth (born about 1769; Dj. Zaidān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḥ*, Cairo 1910, i. 1). Muḥammad 'Alī later endowed the town with a school (Mühendis-khāne) and other foundations, for the upkeep of which he set aside the revenues of the island of Thasos.

In the sixteenth century Kāwāla attained great importance as an exporting harbour and the main depot for the tobacco grown in the neighbourhood and in the whole hinterland (Drama, Seres and Xanthi). In the years before 1912 this brought the Turkish Tobacco Regie an annual profit of over 10 million francs; the tobacco is for the most part manufactured in Kāwāla and every year 5,000—6,000 people from the surrounding country come into the town for five months for this work. This is probably why the figures given for the population differ so much (cf. e.g. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'ām*, v. 3704). According to an accurate calculation, before the Balkan war there were 17,000 Greeks, 13,000 Turks, 1800 Jews and 800 Bulgarians in Kāwāla (Nicolaidēs, *Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen*, Vienna and Leipzig 1914, p. 222). The town at that time was the capital of a *qaḍā* of the same name in the sandjak of Drama in the wilāyet of Salonika.

The treaty of San Stefano (March 13, 1878) had already given Kāwāla to Bulgaria. In the first Balkan war the town fell into the hands of the Bulgarians (Nov., 1912) but in the second Balkan war it was taken by the Greek fleet (July, 1913) and finally incorporated in Greece by the peace of Bucharest (Aug. 10, 1913) in spite of Bulgaria's protests (Nicolaidēs, *op. cit.*, p. 367 *sqq.*). Since then many Greeks have migrated thither from Xanthi and the number of Turks in the population must have been considerably reduced.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KAWĀR, a group of oases situated in the Sahara (Bilma, the most southern oasis, is in 18° 41' N. Lat. and 13° E. Long.), to the west of the massif of Tibesti on the caravan route from Tripoli to the country round Tchad via Fezzān [q.v.]. On this route Kawār is nearly halfway between Fezzān and Kanem, separated from the former by a *ḥammāda* and from the latter by a region of sand-dunes. It owes its formation to a continuous chain of cliffs running from north to south, which bounding it on the east shelters it from the dreaded winds from the north-east. It is a couloir of oases, about 50 miles long from north to south and never more than 2 to 3 miles broad. The water is at no depth and fairly abundant but usually brackish. In all the oases together there are about 100,000 palm-trees; the inhabitants, whose number does not exceed 3 or 4,000, are Tubu by race, considerably mixed with Kanūrī blood (the common language is Kanūrī); they are sedentary and peace-loving, unlike their kinsmen who live in Tibesti. They are scattered up and down in a dozen villages of which the chief are Anai, Ashnuma, Dirku and Bilma; these villages consist of wretched huts but beside each one on a cliff inaccessible except by ladders a place of refuge is prepared, a precaution which until quite recently was far from being unnecessary. The inhabitants live on the produce of their palm-trees, the poor crops which they raise and particularly by trading. The caravan route from Tripoli to Tchad via Fezzān, although hard, is the shortest of those that cross the Sahara; it was at one time very busy and Kawār was the place where it was joined by the roads from Zinder and Agadēs; its inhabitants were destined to become caravan-men. But their principal revenue came from their salt-pans. Those of Bilma are especially famous. The salt which the waters

bring to the surface of the soil is treated by evaporation and pressed into cakes of great purity. Some is sold to the Tuaregs who come to buy it on the spot along with dates; the remainder is exported to all quarters of the Sūdān from the Niger to Dārūr. The salt-pans of Kawār are of the same importance for the country as those of Taodeni for the region of Timbuktu and the western Sahara.

The history of Kawār is very obscure. The caravan route on which it lies was already in use in ancient times although we have no formal evidence of this. In any case this group of oases was already in existence at the time of the conquest of North Africa, if we may rely on the stories of the Arab historians who attribute its conquest to the legendary hero of the conquest, 'Uḡba b. Nāfi'. He is said to have taken the castles of Kawār one after the other. Al-Idrisī, in the twelfth century, several times mentions the importance of the trade through these regions. He mentions inexhaustible mines of alum; there must be some confusion with the salt-deposits. It seems that at this time Kawār was under independent local chiefs. Later when the kings of Kanem extended their authority over Fezzān, they certainly held Kawār; this is the situation described by Ibn Khaldūn following Ibn Sa'īd; for the rest, local traditions seem to preserve the memory of migrations from the south. It is certain that a strong power at one or other extremity of the caravan route would try to control the whole route.

In the sixteenth century, Kawār was visited by several European travellers; first in January, 1823, by the Denham, Clapperton and Oudney expedition and then by Vogel, Barth, Rohlf and Nachtigal and lastly by Monteil. In the closing years of last century Kawār was in a somewhat wretched condition. It was under the nominal authority of a chief (*maï*) elected by the notables; in reality each village ruled itself. Kawār had been seriously affected by the general decline of trade in the Sahara; it was still more affected when the French occupation of the Tchad region put an end to the slave-trade, the principal source of business. The inhabitants paid tribute, apparently to the Tuaregs; they were nevertheless plundered and blackmailed by them and raided by the Tubu and Awlād Slimān. The Kawār then became the centre of political aspirations. The Sanūsīya had had a *zāwiya* there for quite a long time; it was a necessary station for them when they were endeavouring to extend their influence in the countries of Central Africa and when the Sanūsī *Shāikh* dreamed of creating a regular principality bounded by the two sides of the Sahara. The Turks also tried to make their authority recognised in the Kawār as they tried to do at Djanet and in Tibesti. The occupation of the Kawār by French troops from the Tchad region in July, 1906, and the establishment of a permanent post there put an end to these efforts, at the same time giving the inhabitants of this group of oases effective protection from the exactions of their turbulent neighbours.

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in *Northern and Central Africa*, London 1826; Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1851, i. 504, v. 424—430; G. Nachtigal, *Sahārā und Sūdān*, Berlin 1879, iii., Index, p. 524; Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris, n. d. (1895); Gadel, *Notes sur Bilma et les oasis environnantes*, in the *Revue Coloniale*, June, 1907; H. Carbou, *La région du Tchad et du Ouadai*, i., Paris 1912; E. F. Gautier, *Le Sahara*, Paris 1923; Prévost and Mayet, *L'oasis du Kaouar et la préhistoire du Sahara oriental in La Nature*, March 14, 1925, p. 161—168. On the Kanūri language see P. Noel, *Petit Manuel français-Kanouri*, Paris 1923 (collected at Bilma).

(HENRI BASSET)

KĀWĪN (P.), marriage, dowry, see

MAHR, NIKĀH.

KAWKAB, star, in Arabic astronomy the general term for a luminous heavenly body. The five planets known to the Arabs (Mercury to Saturn) were called *al-kawākib al-khamsa* (*al-mutaḥayyira*). The general term for the sun, moon and the five planets is *al-kawākib al-djāriya* or *al-kawākib al-saiyāra* (i.e. the moving stars), in contrast to the fixed stars (*al-kawākib al-thābita*). The name *kawkab* *shamālī* is applied to the star α of the Little Bear, which is nearest the north pole of the heavens. In al-Bīrūnī it is called *tarf al-dhanab wa-huwa djady al-kibla* (= tip of the tail, i.e. the little goat [for ascertaining] the *kibla*). This presupposes that from a knowledge of the north pole (direction of north) one can ascertain the diametrically opposite south, which is identical with the direction of the *kibla* (*samt al-kibla*). This method of ascertaining the *kibla* is only correct in regions which lie approximately north of Mekka (cf. Reinaud's note in his introduction to *Geographie d'Aboulfēda*, p. cxcv: „Or, la Mecque est au midi de la Syrie ainsi que d'une partie de la Mesopotamie et de l'Égypte (!), le mot *Kiblah* est devenue pour les musulmans de ces contrées, le synonyme de midi et il a été employé ailleurs avec la même acception"). Finally it may be mentioned that the stars α, β and γ of Cepheus were, according to Ulugh Beg, also called *kawākib al-firk*, i.e. stars of the flock (of sheep).

A catalogue of fixed stars, of which the Arab astronomers had several, is called *Djadal al-kawākib*.

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(C. SCHOY)

KAWKABĀN, the name of several places in South Arabia.

1) The name of a sanctum mentioned in the inscription Halévy N^o. 686, 3—4, copied from ■ building in 'Aden by J. Halévy (*mūhrābān Kawkabān*). Cf. also F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii., Leipzig 1925, p. 707.

2) The name of a castle near Zafār north of Nā'at. It was called Kawkabān, the two stars, i.e. star-castle, because it was adorned with silver stripes outside, the roof was covered with white slabs of stone, the interior panelled with cypress wood and paved with mosaic, different gems, onyx and corundum, which shone like stars at night. This marvellous building was naturally ascribed to the Djinn. This castle is perhaps also mentioned in the inscription Glaser N^o. 238, 3 (*Bait wa-Kawkabān*), which comes from Bait Ghufir in the vicinity. The castle is said to be still standing.

3) A little village on a great cliff on the right side of the Wādī Salāma, N. E. of Ḥadja and called Kawkabān-Ḥadja to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

4) Capital of the province of the same name, N.W. of Saṇ'ā. The town of Kawkabān lies at a height of 8,750 feet above sea-level in 15° 31' 42" N. Lat. on the southern part of the ridge which begins about half a mile S.E. of the town of Kawkabān at the left towards Tawila and runs S.E. to N.W. for several hours' journey. It is part of the great Maṣāna' plateau and is called Djabal Dula'. The south-eastern part of the range, the especially precipitous part, is separated from the main massif by an almost straight ravine, the Wādī Nabhān, which runs from Shibām past the one gate of the town of Kawkabān (Bāb al-Ḥadīd) to the Wādī Na'im west of the Djabal Kawkabān. Two roads run over this mountain, cut off only by the ravine of the Wādī Nabhān, the one through the town of Shibām, following the very deep ravine of Nabhān which is bridged over, an old winding narrow path of steps hewn out of the rock, and the second, an easier one, running in the Kā'a Dula' and crossing a bridge over the Wādī Nabhān just before reaching the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The town of Kawkabān stretches from the Bāb al-Ḥadīd to the S.E. and runs quite close to the eastern slope of the cliff all along that side. This part seems to be the oldest. Not very far from the gate on the great open square in the centre of the town (in the northern part) is a double wall for the most part now in ruins. Between the two walls a great number of skillfully walled pits have been cut out of the ground, which served as granaries for the old inhabitants. Similar granaries, but of more recent date, are to be found in the southern part and outside the town. The town itself consists of a large number of excellently built houses of red stone the architectural effect of which is often striking; the doors of the houses are often ornamented with fine iron work. The houses of the former Imāms now for the most part decayed or shot to pieces are particularly striking with their splendid façades. Besides the principal mosque with minaret, the only one in the town, there are seven small mosques. The water supply is provided from two huge and finely built reservoirs; the one, called Muṣallā, lies in the south, exceedingly deep and enclosed on the west side by a wall 60 to 80 feet high. The second, to the east of it, begun but not quite finished by Saiyid 'Abd al-Karīm about 1840, is called Barik al-Ziyādī. There are also four smaller cisterns. This water-supply would suffice for a town three times the size of Kawkabān. The Jewish quarter lies E.S.E. outside the town but consists almost entirely of low stone houses with little windows and doors.

A stone bridge with huge arches led across the Wādī Nabḥān to the Bāb al-Ḥadīd but it was blown up by the Arabs in 1872.

Kawkabān is an ancient city dating from the Himyar period, as inscriptions found there show. Al-Hamdānī mentions a stronghold of Kawkabān on the summit of the *Djabal Dhukhār* which is certainly identical with the old town of the modern Kawkabān. In troubled times its strength made it a desirable place of refuge — in 1569 the Turks besieged the stronghold in vain — and for centuries Kawkabān has been important as a capital and residence of the Imāms of the principality of the same name. The latter comprised in addition to Kawkabān the towns of Shibām, Ḥaḍja, Tawila, the *Khāb* Mirwāḥ (between Kawkabān and Ḥarrāz), the lands of Miswar, Sārī, Ḥofās, Mīlḥān, Aḥḍjir, 'Arūs, Banū *Khayyāt*, al-*Shahdhiya* Lā'a, a part of the Banū Ḥubāish, the Banū Nāshir and of al-Aḥmar. The old dynasty of the country, which traced its descent from the Imām Ḥādī of Ṣāda, was able to retain its imāmate even during Turkish rule and to maintain its independence from the imāms of Ṣan'ā' after the Turks were driven out in 1630. C. Niebuhr (*op. cit.*, p. 256; see the *Bibliography*) has given a genealogical survey of the princes of Kawkabān. When the Turks again invaded Yaman in 1872 and subjected the country, Kawkabān after a seven months' severe siege also passed to the Turks but only after capitulation. The last ruler of Kawkabān, Saiyid Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who had bravely defended the town against the Turks, afterwards lived in Ṣan'ā' on a pension given to him by the Sublime Porte. At Glaser's visit in 1883 his brother Saiyid Yaḥyā still lived in the old ancestral home in Kawkabān, which is remarkable for the splendid stucco-work of the interior and the rich ornamentation of its façade. The windows and doors had all sorts of varied shapes, colours and ornaments.

Kawkabān is now almost depopulated; although the houses, which in spite of much destruction are still imposing, afford accommodation for some 30,000 people, there are barely 100 now in the town; from the town one gets a splendid view over the fertile fields and valleys of the country around, especially the plain of Shibām, a part of the plain of Ṣan'ā' and the surrounding hills.

5) Kawkabān al-Sbā'a is in Maḥwīd, west of the town of Kawkabān 4), but belongs to Ṭawila, a small place of no special importance.

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2): D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iktīl des Hamdānī*, i., *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1879, xciv. 354, note 1, 369 and note 4, 370, 410, 411; Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 422, iv. 327 (the castle is here and in the following work wrongly located on the *Djabal Kawkabān* near Ṣan'ā'); *Marāsid al-Iṭtilā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, ii., Leiden 1853, p. 523; E. Osiander, *Zur himjarischen Alterthums- und Sprachkunde*, *Z.D. M.G.*, 1856, x. 25, 26; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 71^a (manuscript).

3): C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 252; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 85^b (manuscript).

4): al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djaḥīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891, p. 107, 195; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i. 352, note 2, 353, 355, 356; Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 437; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 190, 191, 196, 197, 252, 255; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/i., Part xii., Book 3, Berlin 1846, p. 711, 728, 734; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii/iii., Leipzig 1864, p. 136, 153; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 73; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, *J.R.G.S.*, 1874, xlv. 123; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 8^a, 51^a—55^b, 124^b (manuscript); do., *Meine Reise durch Arabien und Hāschid in Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1884, xxx. 173; do., *Von Hodeida nach Ṣan'ā vom 24. April bis 1. Mai 1885*, *ibid.*, 1886, xxxii. 43; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, p. 68—72; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii., Berlin 1890, p. 151; W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, Edinburgh 1893, p. 20, 21; H. Burchardt, *Reise-skizzen aus dem Yemen in the Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1902, p. 603; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, ii., *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 545; H. Krumpholtz, *Eduard Glaser's astronomische Beobachtungen im Yemen im Jahre 1883 in the S. B. Ak. Wien (math.-naturw. Klasse)*, 1911, cxx., Part iia, p. 1921, 1922; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England, Hamburgische Forschungen*, i., Brunswick 1916, p. 71; Aḥmad Rāshid, *Ta'rikh-i Yaman wa-Ṣan'ā*, Constantinople 1291.

5): E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 54^a (manuscript).

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KĀWM (A.), plural *aḳwām*, *aḳāwim*, *aḳāyim*, people. The word occurs also in Nabataean, Palmyrene and Ṣafaitic inscriptions in the name of the deity *Shai'* al-Kāwm "support of the people", see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i., Index s. v. — According to some lexicographers the word applies in the first place to men; evidence for this opinion is afforded by passages from literature where *Ḳ*. is used in opposition to *nisā'* (women). The term does not primarily suggest the meaning of nation. A man's *Ḳ*. are his *shī'a* and his '*ashira* (*Lisān*). In this limited sense the word occurs also in the well known tradition: "Who clings to a *Ḳ*. without the permission of his *mawālī* (*patron*), is cursed by Allāh, the angels and the prophets" (Bukḥārī, *Faḍā'il al-Madīna*, bāb 1). — Used without article it has the same meaning as English "people", French "gens" and German "Leute", e. g. *sūra* 5, 63: "People who do not understand"; cf. 8, 66; 9, 61 (also with the article 12, 87). The plural has the same meaning. In a tradition it is said: "There will be people (*aḳwām*) in my community, who will proclaim licentiousness regarding women and wine" (Bukḥārī, *Ashrība*, bāb 6).

In the *Qur'ān* the term is chiefly used in connection with the prophets, Muḥammad's predecessors: the people of Ibrāhīm, Lūṭ, Nūḥ (e. g. 7, 146; 11, 91; 22, 43; 26, 105, 160; 38, 11), i. e. their unbelieving contemporaries. In this sense it

is also used in connection with Muḥammad himself: "Thy people declare Him a lie, though He is the Truth" (sūra 6, 66). The same use of the term is to be found in Ḥadīth, e. g. Bukhārī, *Anbyāʾ*, bāb 19, 31, 54 etc.

Ḳ. is, however, also used in a sense that comes nearer to the modern conception of "people", e. g. in the tradition referring to one of the festivals: "Every Ḳ. has its festival, and this is ours" (Bukhārī, *Idūn*, bāb 3). Al-Ḳawm with the article has sometimes an emphatic meaning, e. g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 72, where Ṭufail, one of 'A'ishā's brothers, relates a dream which he had. He dreamt that he passed by some Jews and said to them: "Verily, ye would be the people, ye not that ye pretend that 'Uzair (Ezra) is the son of Allāh". They answered: "And ye would be the people, were it not that ye say: *Mā shāʾ Allāh wa-mā shāʾ Muḥammad*", etc.

In Atchin (Atjeh) the term has acquired a peculiar form and use: *kawōm* has here the genealogical meaning of "all those who descend from one man in the male line", see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Index s.v. *kawōm*.

For special meanings of the word see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-KAWS = the bow; in Arabic geometry the arc of the circle; in astronomy the constellation of Sagittarius, the ninth sign of the Zodiac (Greek *τοξότης*, Latin *Arcitenens* or *Sagittarius*). (H. SUTER)

KAWS KUZAH (A.), the rainbow. The ancient Arabian deity *Ḳuzah* [q.v.] who is described as *shaiṭān* (devil) was a thundergod who shot hail-arrows from his bow and then hung the latter on the clouds. He is found in the combination *Ḳaws Ḳuzah*, rainbow. *Ḳuzah* is also in popular belief the angel who looks after the clouds. Other names of the rainbow are: Allāh's bow, the bow of the prophet of God, bow of the heavens, bow of the clouds (*ghamām, nuẓn*), signs of heaven (*ʿalāʾim al-samāʾ*). It is also called *ḳaws ḳazīʿ* (*ḳazaʿ* are the separated parts of a cloud). Quite different in origin are the names *ḳustān* (dust), *ḳustānī*, *ḳustālānī* and *ḳustālāniya*. Muslim scholars include the rainbow among the *āthār al-ʿulwiya*, the upper phenomena. The rainbow is usually opposite the spectator, while the sun is at his back and there is a dark cloud or wall behind drops of water; the drops may be in a cloud or formed at springs, water-wheels, in turbulent rivers where spray is formed, in the steam of baths or in water which is ejected from the mouth in a spray (see *Beitr. V.*, loc. cit.). Frequent reference is made to a description by Ibn Sīnā (see E. Wiedemann and M. Horten, loc. cit., among others) who was on the top of a very high hill at the foot of which lay a vast bank of mist. The sun was above the hill and Ibn Sīnā saw a rainbow on the mist below him.

Numerous descriptions of rainbows occur in literature e. g. in the *Ḥamāsa* (F. Tuch, *Z. D. M. G.*, iii. 200 sqq.), also by the Ḥamdānīd Saif al-Dawla (333—356 = 944—967) and by the poet Waʿwāʾ († 390 = 999; see F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbi und Saif al-Dawla aus der Edelperle des Thaʿlibi dargestellt*, Leipzig 1847, p. 129 and 175).

The more or less strictly scientific studies of the rainbow are also numerous. Ḥādjdjī Khalifa (*Kashf al-Zunūn*, iv., N^o. 9,640) quotes a special *ʿilm Ḳaws Ḳuzah* (science of the rainbow) he

deals with all questions that can arise. According to him, "it investigates how the rainbow is formed, the reason why it is formed and why it is circular; further the reason for the difference in its colours, why it appears after rain at the end of a day and why it is often seen by day but only rarely at night by moonlight. It further investigates the astrological significance (*al-aḥkām*) of its appearance". Descriptions on similar lines are found, for example, in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 98; *Kosmographie*, transl. Ethé, p. 201), in the *Rasāʾil Iḳhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, ii. 52 sqq. (cf. F. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung der Araber*, Berlin 1861, p. 87); also by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḳarāfi († 684 = 1285/1286) in his *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu ʿl-Abṣār*; and in the *Risāla fī Ḳaws Ḳuzah* of Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Taḳāṭī (about 850 = 1446; see Berlin Catalogue by Ahlwardt, N^o. 5691); two anonymous catalogues are published by Cheikho (*al-Machriq*, 1912, xv. 736—744). A considerable section in a meteorological work (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, N^o. 6054) and no doubt many other passages deal with our phenomenon. The most important and most comprehensive work, however, is from the pen of Ibn Sīnā in his *Shifāʾ* (see the *Bibl.*).

The descriptions of the rainbow are in general very accurate. Not only the simple rainbow but also the double and even triple are described. The first is said to be produced by the sun's rays themselves, the second by the rays shining through the rays from the first and the third by the rays from the first two; the bows therefore are successively weaker. It is emphasised that the rainbow is not always composed of the same colours, a phenomenon which has recently been fully investigated by M. Pernter. It is also mentioned that the rainbow is particularly beautiful when the sun is on the horizon.

The older treatment of the theory of the rainbow goes back to Aristotle, with whose meteorological works the Arabs were acquainted. Thābit b. Ḳurra is said to have translated a commentary by Athārūdiṭus = Epaphroditos(?) on Aristotle's essay on the rainbow (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 59). Aristotle is followed by Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Haiṭham, al-Ḳarāfi etc., although in many details they make additions and corrections to his views. It is always assumed that the rainbow is produced by beams of light or visual rays which are regularly reflected on the raindrops, on very minute reflecting surfaces. Later Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q. v.] gave a brilliant exposition of the correct explanation, as far as was possible in the general state of knowledge in his day, when the dispersion of light was unknown. Like us he says that the light is once or twice reflected in the interior of the globe of water and then radiates out from it; thus we have the main and secondary rainbow. He also endeavours to investigate the cause of the colours although, of course, not satisfactorily. By experiments he proves the correctness of his results, which are on a much higher level than those of Theodoricus of Freiberg (about 1300).

From *ḳuzah* comes a word *taḳāʾiḥ* (the word is not *taḳāʾiḡh*, as I said in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturw. und Technik*, 1902, iii. 9). It means "showing the colours of the rainbow" or briefly "the colours of the rainbow". It is defined by Kamāl al-Dīn as "different graduated

colours in the region between blue, green, yellow, red, smoke-coloured white, that is, as regards sensual perception".

The rainbow is also given an astrological significance according to the zodiacal sign in which it appears. In the ram it means plague and death (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 5906, *al-Kawl 'alā Tūl Kaws Kuzah*). In another MS. (No. 5915, 2) it is said that in September a rainbow indicates great tyranny and oppression.

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KAWSARA, a small volcanic island in the Mediterranean Sea between Sicily and Tunis (60 miles south of Cape Granitola and 45 miles east of Cape Bon [Ras Addar]; area 40 sq. miles), now called Pantellaria. The name Kawsara (variously written in the MSS.) goes back to the classical Cossyra (cf. Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie der klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 1503). The island, famous for its antiquities (cf. Orsi, *Pantellaria in Monumenti dei Lincei*, 1899, ix. 450—539), was already important in ancient times for intercourse between Sicily and the African coast and played an important part during the conquest and rule of the Arabs in Sicily, which was always attacked from Africa. The first conquest of Kawsara by the Arabs as well as their expedition to Sicily under Mu'awiya b. Khudaidj in the time of the Caliph Mu'awiya (Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-'Ibar*, i. 211; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 200, according to the Aghlabid Ibn al-Kattāc; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 235, does not mention the island) was only transitory; the Byzantines soon recaptured it (al-Bakrī, *K. al-Masālik*, *Bibl. Arabo-Sicula*, p. 13). According to Ibn Taghribirdi (ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1885, i. 136) 'Alī's murderer, Ibn Muljam, was banished to Kawsara. 'Abd al-Malik b. Kaṭan, the general of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, recaptured the island from the Rūm (al-Tidjāni,

Rihla, *Bibl. Ar.-Sic.*, p. 375) but Muslim rule was only firmly established under the Aghlabid Ziyādāt Allāh whose representative, Asad b. al-Furāt, captured Sicily (210—213 = 825—828) and Kawsara (Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*). In 220 (835) an expedition against the island was once again necessary (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vi. 239). In the two following centuries Kawsara was partly converted to Islām. Its harbour was a naval base for the Arabs. Their ships were often wrecked in its vicinity. When the power of the Muslims began to decline, Kawsara was again exposed to raids by Christian states (e.g. 481 = 1088 by the Pisans and Genoese; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 110). When Sicily had entirely passed out of Muslim hands, the island was taken in 516 (1122/23) by George of Antioch, Roger II of Sicily's admiral, on his first campaign against the Zirid al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī [q. v.] in Mahdiyya; the island served him as a base for the capture of this town in 543 (1148) (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi. 82).

The Arab geographers tell us very little about Kawsara. The distance from Sicily and the African coast is usually given as a day's journey; the harbour is celebrated (al-Idrīsī). The production of figs, cotton and mastic is often mentioned (Abu 'l-Fidā'). The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the Norman conquest as *dhimmī*'s of the Franks (al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*; al-Andalusī). Down to the xviiith century the Arabic language was spoken on the island of Pantellaria; it has exercised a considerable influence on the local Italian dialect (above, i. 419; Gregorio and Seybold in *Studi glottologici italiani*, ii. [1901], 225—238). Amari has published a tomb inscription from Pantellaria (*Le epigrafi Arabe di Sicilia*, Palermo 1879, p. 118 sqq.).

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KAWTHAR, a word used in Sūra cviii. 1 after which this Sūra is called *Sūrat al-Kawthar*. *Kawthar* is a *faw'al* form from *kathara*, of which other examples occur in Arabic (e.g. *nawfal*; further examples in Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i. 344). The word, which also occurs in the old poetry (e.g. the examples in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i. 92), means "abundance" and a whole series of Muslim authorities therefore explain al-Kawthar in Sūra cviii. 1 as *al-khair al-kathir* (see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 180 sq.). But this quite correct explanation has not been able to prevail in the *Tafsīr*. It has been thrust into the background by traditions according to which the Prophet himself explained Kawthar to be a river in Paradise (see so early as Ibn Hishām, p. 261 below, and notably al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 179) or Muḥammad says that it was a water-basin intended for him personally and shown to him on his ascension to Paradise (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 180), which latter view al-Ṭabarī considers the most authentic. Even the earliest Sūra's (lxxvii. 41; lxxviii. 12 etc.) know of rivers that flow through Paradise, but it is not till the Medīna period that they are more minutely described, notably in Sūra xlvii. 11: "there are rivers of water which does not smell foul; rivers of milk the taste whereof does not change;

and rivers of wine, a pleasure for those that drink, and rivers of clarified honey." These rivers correspond to the rivers of oil, milk, wine and honey, which had already been placed in Paradise by Jewish and Christian eschatology; the only difference is that Muḥammad replaced oil by water; in Arabia pure water was not to be taken for granted and besides it was necessary to mix with the wine of Paradise (see Horovitz, *Das koranische Paradies*, p. 9). When, after the Prophet's death, eschatological explanations of the "abundance" of Sūra cviii. 1 began to be made, al-Kawthar was identified as one of the rivers of Paradise and when we find in one of the versions quoted in al-Tabari's *Tafsīr* that "its water is whiter than snow and sweeter than honey" or "and its water is wine", etc. we have obviously an echo of Sūra xlvii. 11. But they did not stop at simply transferring these Qur'anic descriptions to the Kawthar but the imagination of later writers gave the river of Paradise a bed of pearls and rubies and golden banks and all sorts of similar embellishments. According to a later view (see *Aḥwāl al-Kiyāma*, ed. Wolff, p. 107), all the rivers of Paradise flow into the *Hawḍ al-Kawthar* which is also called *Nahr Muḥammad*, because, as we have seen above, it is the Prophet's own.

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(J. HOROVITZ)

KAWUKLU, "the man with the *ḥawuk*", a character in the Orta Oynu.

The Turkish word *ḥawuk* means the inner cap-shaped part of a certain kind of headgear, a rather high cap around which the headdress proper, the *şarık*, is wound; a cap like this could be of different shapes; it either culminated in a rounded top or in a flat surface; sometimes also it was wider at the top than on the bottom. It was usually made of wadded felt in perpendicular strips narrowing towards the top. These *ḥawuk*'s were worn by officers of different ranks in the Janissaries. They varied in form, colour and name according to rank. For further details see Maḥmūd Shawket, *Osmanlı Teshkilāt ve-Kiyāfet-i askeriyesi*, Istanbul 1325, i. 29 sqq. Other professions also had particular *ḥawuk*'s; thus there were *molla*, *kātib* and *pashalık ḥawughu* or, from the shape, one talked of *tepelik ḥawuk*, while *dal ḥawuk* acquired the special meaning of parasite. The word *ḥawuk* (plur. *ḥawāwuk*) has even penetrated into Arabic.

Kawuklu, "the man with the *ḥawuk*", has acquired a special significance as one of the two principal characters in the Turkish folkplay of Orta Oynu. It is not till last century that we are at all minutely acquainted with the Orta-play and the names Orta and Kawuklu do not seem to be any older. According to a tradition, the character of the Kawuklu was first introduced by a certain otherwise unknown Şükri, in place of a character called Nekre whose main feature is said to have been a fondness for opium. Kawuklu is the real comic figure in the Orta-play and plays a part like that of Karagöz [q. v.] in the shadow-play. Peshekār, the other principal character in the Orta Oynu, is, on the other hand, the real director of the piece, a kind of stage manager, who always appears first on the stage and corresponds roughly to the *Hadiwad* of the shadow-play.

The costume of the Kawuklu is sometimes de-

scribed in the pieces themselves. Its chief feature is a high *ḥawuk* on his head. This is usually flattened above, red in colour and made of strips (*dilimli*) sewn together, almost like a top-hat without the lower brim. The *ḥawuk* is jokingly compared to a *tandır*, the Turkish stove of similar shape. A shawl called *agabani*, made of wool and silk, is wound round the *ḥawuk*. The kaftan (*djübbe*) of the Kawuklu and his trousers are also of red cloth while his under-garment (*entari*) is of striped woollen cloth or silk (*şam şetarisi* or *allı parmak*). An ordinary shawl is used as girdle. The Kawuklu wears yellow Turkish saffron leather slippers (*cedik papuş*) usually with heels, over the leather stockings called *mest*. He usually carries an umbrella made of different coloured parts. In modern times more and more of the old dress has been lost and even the *ḥawuk* has had to give place to a fez with a long tassel.

In the play the Kawuklu is usually a shopkeeper, artisan or a servant. Like Karagöz he is responsible for the grotesque and comic element. He misunderstands the remarks of the other players, especially the Peshekār, in substance as well as language, carries out orders in a stupid fashion, coarsens sentiments or twists them into the obscene. He is tactless and stupid, especially when he has to be on good behaviour among high class people, but in his turn demands exaggerated respect even from his friend, whom he treats badly, and is very capricious. If he describes his experiences, he exaggerates tremendously but unmercifully disparages any presents that have been given to him etc. If he is caught in a trick he usually succeeds in escaping by some of his thousand shifts. A further favourite source of humour is the imitation of foreign voices and dialects, *taḥlīd* (Ewliyā, i. 645 sqq., gives the name to Orta-like plays of his time), sometimes with the addition of disguises. It seems that the players were originally foreigners and non-Muslims and in the older period the business was still considered unseemly and it is regretted when a Muslim earns his livelihood in this way.

All his pranks have to be improvised by the player, only a rough outline of the piece being given. The part of the Kawuklu makes the greatest demand upon the player and only a few really great actors have succeeded in playing the part to the general satisfaction. The most famous was a certain Hamdī at the end of last century and in most of the texts known to us from that period the Kawuklu is often addressed simply as Hamdī.

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(WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

KĀWURD B. DĀ'UD ĆAGHRIBEG, sometimes also called *Karā Arslān*beg, the founder of the line of Saldjūks of Kirmān. The first year of his reign is usually given as 433 (1041). Perhaps it was he and not Ibrāhīm Ināl (cf. Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ed. Tornberg, ix. 349) who led the Ghuzz, who came to Kirmān in 434, but he did not succeed in establishing himself there then, for the lord of this province, the Būyid Abū Kalīdjār [q. v.], was informed of the raid and sent troops who put the Ghuzz to

flight. It was not till some years later (440 = 1048) after the death of Abū Kālīdjār, that the capital of the country, Bardasir, where Bahrām b. Lashkarsitān commanded for the Būyids, was taken and henceforth the land belonged to Kāwurd. By a stratagem he was able to subjugate the rude tribes of the Kufş and Kufadj, who dwelled in the Garmsir (the hot region). He also waged war in Sistān and in Fārs, in the latter country with the chief of the *Shabānkāra* Faḍloya — on him cf. Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, p. 166 — and with the assistance of the Amir of Hormuz even sent troops across the Gulf to the coast of Arabia who conquered 'Omān so that his successors ruled there till 537 (1142—43). He was an energetic ruler in every respect and maintained order in the land and acquired merit by making wells and building towers to serve as landmarks in the desert. One of these towers still stands between Gurg and Fahradj (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia or Eight Years in Irān*, p. 418). But in the end his ambition proved his downfall. Even during the reign of his brother Alp Arslān, he could scarcely bring himself to acknowledge his suzerainty but when the latter came twice to Kirmān (456 = 1064 and 459 = 1067) he did not dare throw down the gauntlet but showed himself submissive. But as soon as he heard that his brother had fallen (1072) and that his son Malik-shāh had succeeded him he collected his forces and marched against him. The two armies met near Hamadhān. Kāwurd's troops were put to flight, he was taken prisoner and strangled. The best account of this battle, which was fought on Djumādā I 26, 466 = Jan. 27, 1074 (according to Ibn al-Athīr, x. 53, in *Shahān* = April), is contained in the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh*, B. M. MS., fol. 33. The victor, however, left the sons of Kāwurd in possession of Kirmān.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted in the article: *Recuril de textes rel. à l'histoire des Seldj.*, i. 2 sqq.; cf. in addition Houtsma in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxix. 367 sqq.

KAWWĀS, an Arabic word meaning originally archer, then arquebusier, finally, like the French *archer*, came to mean military police. The form *kawwās* (with *şād*) is found in the *1001 Nights* (Dozy, *Suppl.*). The word is applied in the Levant specially to the military police, called in French *cawas* or sometimes *janissaires* (because before the abolition of the latter, they were chosen from their ranks), detached to act as guards to embassies and consulates. They go in front of the head of the embassy or consulate when he goes into the town, whether officially or not, and make way for him in the crowded streets and bazaars. In Turkish they are called *yasağ-îi*. In terms of articles 45 and 50 of the renewal in 1740 of the treaty between France and the Ottoman Empire, known as the capitulations, the ambassadors and consuls may employ such janissaries as they please without their being forced to use any who do not suit them (T. X. Bianchi, *Nouveau Guide de la Conversation*, Paris 1852, p. 273—274). The regulations of Şafar 23, 1280, fixed the number of natives that the consulates could employ, on account of their privileges, at 4 *yasağ-îi* for consulates general and consulates in the chief towns of provinces, 3 for ordinary consulates and 2 for vice-consulates or consulate agencies. Their appointment is notified to the governor-general of the province

who keeps a register of the names of those employed (Aristarchi-bey, *Législation Ottomane*, Constantinople 1873—1888, iv. 15 sqq.).

Bibliography: *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Paris 1822, xviii. 1, 326—327. (CL. HUART)

KAYA. [See KETKHUḌĀ].

KAYĪ, the name of one of the 24 tribes of the Ghuzz [q.v.] or Oghuz from which the Ottoman ruling house is descended. Cf. the pertinent text of the *Tawārikh-i Āl-i Seldjūk* and the *Kitāb-i Dede Korkūd* in the *Zap.*, xix. 077. Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*Diwān lughāt al-Turk*, i. 56) still has the old form Kayigh, which refutes the identification proposed by J. Marquart (*Abh. Ges. W. Göttingen, Neue Folge*, xiii./i. 39 sqq.) with the Kāi mentioned by al-Birūnī and al-Awfi in the extreme east. The Kāi are regarded by Marquart as turkicised Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 88) which also (he says, *op. cit.*, p. 191) explains "the rôle which the blood-stained and fratricidal race of Osman and Ottoman people have played in history". That the Kāi were Mongols is very probable. They are cited by Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*op. cit.*, i. 30) with the Tātār and others among the peoples who speak a language of their own, although they also knew Turkish; but the Oghuz tribe of Kayigh or Kayi had certainly nothing to do with the Kāi.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KĀZ (t.), goose, occurs also in geographical names such as Kāz Dagh, the Caucasus [see KĀBK].

KAZA. [See KADĀ'].

KAZAK (T.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xvth) century. During the civil turmoils under the Timūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *kazak*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *kazak* years (*kazaklık*) of Sultān Ḥusain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173 b, infra. The name *kazak* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Tārikh-i Rashīdī* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Özbek, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Khair (cf. the article), are called Özbek-Kazak or simply Kazak; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGIZ). In Russia the word *kazak* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xvth century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *kazak* even although they did not lead a wandering or marauding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *kazak* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasog* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473 = 965 is preserved in Kazak, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KAZAN, also written *Kāzān*, in the xvth and xvith centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xixth century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Bātū. In 1391 *Kāzān* was destroyed by Russian freebooters from Novgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewiĉ. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muhammad and his son Maĥmūdek (in Russian works *Makhmutek*) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muhammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, *Kāzān*, where a prince called 'Alī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maĥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muhammad was killed by Maĥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muhammad, *Kāsim* and Ya'qūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where *Kāsim* founded a local dynasty in *Kasimov* [q.v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, *Kāsim* took part on the Russian side in the wars against *Kāzān*. Maĥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first *Khalil*, then *Ibrāhīm*. In 1468 even *Wiabka* had to submit to *Khān Ibrāhīm* but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; *Ibrāhīm* had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in *Kāzān*. *Ibrāhīm's* successor was his son *Ilhām*; in 1487 his brother *Muhammad Amin* appeared before *Kāzān* with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks *Ilhām* had to surrender and was sent with his wife to *Wologda*; *Muhammad Amin* was installed as *Khān* in his place. In 1496 the *Khān* and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under *Mamuk*; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of *Kāzān* — it was not *Muhammad Amin* but his brother 'Abd al-Latif that was installed as *Khān* but by 1502 'Abd al-Latif was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to *Khān Muhammad Amin*. In 1505 the *Khān* rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in *Kāzān*; the Tatars advanced as far as *Nijni-Novgorod*. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. *Muhammad Amin* died in 1518, 'Abd al-Latif had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muhammad became extinct.

The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers *Shāh 'Alī* (so on his tomb in *Kasimov*, not *Shaiḫh 'Alī*) and *Djān 'Alī*, who had come from *Astrakhan* to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the *Noghai*. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; *Shāh 'Alī* was driven out by prince *Šāhib Girāi* who came from the Crimea; the brothers *Muhammad Girāi* from the Crimea and *Šāhib Girāi* from *Kāzān* advanced up to *Moscow*; the Grand Duke *Wasiliy* abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince *Peter*, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the *Khān* of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in *Kafa* and by the people of *Kāzān* in *Astrakhan*. In 1524 *Šāhib Girāi* went

to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son *Šafā Girāi* in *Kāzān*. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of *Kāzān* dates from the brief reign of *Šāhib Girāi*: it is a decree dated *Šafar* 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarkhān's*, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, *Šafā Girāi* was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not *Shāh 'Alī* but *Djān 'Alī* that was elected *Khān*; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, *Šafā Girāi* recalled and supported by his father *Šāhib Girāi*, then *Khān* of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that *Šafā Girāi* was driven out and *Shāh 'Alī* put in his place; but *Šafā Girāi* returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son *Ötemish*, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of *Alexander* and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of *Shāh 'Alī* ended with his banishment. *Yādiyār Muhammad*, a prince born in *Astrakhan*, was summoned from the land of the *Noghai* to *Kāzān* as *Khān*. The Grand Duke *Iwan* who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against *Kāzān* now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting *Kāzān* was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at *Nijni-Novgorod*; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at *Kāzān*. Christianity was industriously preached. *Kāzān* was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess *Süyünbigi*, wife of *Šafā Girāi* (she was previously married to *Djān 'Alī* and later to *Shāh 'Alī*). Under the influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviiith century *Kāzān* had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by *Pugačev* in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date *Kāzān* was of much greater importance than *Nijni-Novgorod* as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

of history and philology). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, instruction in Oriental languages in the university of Kāzān was stopped and the library and other accessories for the most part brought to St. Petersburg.

Instruction in Muḥammadan languages was resumed in the university of Kāzān in 1861. According to the census of 1897, Kāzān had 131,508 inhabitants, in 1911 182,477, of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

KĀZBĒGĪ. A Persian copper coin worth, according to Chardin, the tenth part of a *shāhī*. It is now obsolete. Chardin says, iv. 279 (Rouen, 1723), the name means "the King's money", but see the titles *Gosbeck* and *Cosbeague* in *Hobson-Jobson* (revised ed.). Another form of the word seems to be Kāzbīnī from Kāzbīn where they were coined.

(H. BEVERIDGE.)

KĀZERŪN, a town in Persia in the province of Fārs, between the sea and Shirāz and 55 miles from the latter at a height of 3,000 feet. It is supplied with water from wells and pipes as the district has no river. Its industries used to be flourishing; it manufactured a kind of cotton called *shaṭawī* (Yāqūt, iii. 288); it had a rich trade carried on by merchants for whom 'Aḍud al-Dawla the Būyid had built a bourse and who had luxurious dwellings and pleasure-houses in the town and vicinity. A kind of date called *ajīlān* was gathered there. At the present day it is surrounded by tobacco-fields; there is a horse-market there frequented by the nomad tribes. The principal mosque was built on a hill commanding the bāzār. Among the tombs of saints venerated there, mention is made of that of Shaikh Abū Ishāḥ Ibrāhīm b. Shahrīyār Kāzerūnī, patron of the sailors in Indian and Chinese seas, their protector from storms and pirates, a capacity which brought his *zāwiya* abundance of *ex-voto*'s (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii. 89). Twenty miles to the north are the ruins of Sābūr; Kāzerūn began to rise in importance from the time Sābūr fell into ruins. The district was called *Shul*, a name that survives in the modern name *Shūlistān*. In the vicinity there is a very salt lake full of fish which in the fourth (tenth) century was called Buḥairat Muz (or Mūrak).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 225; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 472 and note 1; G. le Strange, *The*

Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 266; J. P. Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818; E. S. Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, p. 22.

(CL. HUART)

KĀZĪ-ASKER (A.T.), military judge, one of the highest offices in the judicial system of the Ottoman empire; its holders took precedence immediately after the Shaikh al-Islām, the chief of the *ulamā*; they are entitled *Şadr* [q.v., iv. 50]; they are equal in rank to the vizier and *mushīr*. They are entitled in written petitions to be addressed as *semāhet-lū* "your benevolence". There are two Kāzī-Asker, one of Rūm-ili and the other of Anatolia. Before the reforms, the first was inspector-general of all the dedicated properties (*wakf*) except those of the two holy cities, when they become vacant (*maḥlūl*) by the decease of their administrators (*mutawallī*); since the *tanzīmāt* this duty has fallen upon the Minister of the Awkāf.

The title Kāzī-Asker was created in 763 (1362) by Sulṭān Murād I in favour of the Kaḍī Kara Khalil Djendere-li; this judge followed the Sulṭān in the army and exercised his functions in camp. After the capture of Constantinople, Meḥmed II in 885 (1480) duplicated the post on the advice of the Grand Vizier Karamānī Meḥmed Paşa [q.v., ii. 745], jealous of the credit enjoyed by Mānisā Çelebesi; Muşlih al-Din Kaştallānī and Hādjdī Hasanāde were the first holders of these new offices. The Shaikh al-Islām or Grand Mufti did not have precedence over them until the reign of Sulṭān Sulaimān al-Kānūnī. They had the right to appoint all the kaḍī's and *mudarris*'s (professors of theology) except those of Constantinople, Brusa and Adrianople, the three successive capitals of the empire; these nominations were reserved for the Grand Vizier.

The Kāzī-Asker of Rūm-ili dealt with the cases of Muslims in questions belonging to the capital while those of non-Muslims were left to the Kāzī-Asker of Anatolia. The importance of the first of these posts put the second to the background. His competence extended to cases relating to estates, to debts of the state and interests of the treasury; down to the reign of Maḥmūd I his sphere of jurisdiction included the three Barbary regencies; his authority over the kaḍī's of the Crimea was recognised by the treaty of Kainardje (1775) and the convention of Aineli-Kawaḳ (March 21, 1779).

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, ii. 548; iv. 531; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'emp. ottoman*, iii. 309.

(CL. HUART)

KAZI KUMUKH. [See KÜMÜK].

KĀZIMAIN, a town near Baghdād, one of the most celebrated of Shi'a places of pilgrimage. It is a little over a thousand yards from the right bank of the Tigris, which there describes a loop. It is separated from the river by a girdle of gardens. Kāzīmāin itself is prettily situated among palm-groves; there are also gardens almost without interruption in the direction of Baghdād. It is connected by a horse-tramway with the west side of Baghdād (Karshiyakā; see the art. AL-KARKH) about three miles away, which was laid down by the governor Midḥat Paşa, who did a great deal for Baghdād (1869—72; cf. i. 568a). Quite recently Kāzīmāin has also become a station on the Baghdād-Sāmarrā railway, which runs along the right bank of the Tigris. Down to the World

War Kāzimain was the seat of a *kā'im-makām* and the capital of a *qaḍā* of the sandjak of Baghdād with a population of 25,000 (of whom 5,000 are *Shi'is*); see Cuinet, *op. cit.* The number of inhabitants of the town itself Cuinet estimated at 6,000, Aubin (1907) at 7—8,000, of whom two-thirds were Persians. They are very fanatical; access to the sanctuaries is strictly forbidden to Christians. The Arab Beduin tribe of al-Mad̲jama' encamps along the Tigris as far as Kāzimain (see M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 71).

The name Kāzimain, a so-called *dualis a potiori* (cf. Wright, *Grammar of the Arabic Language*³, i. 190), means "the two Kāzim's". The reference is to the two 'Alids buried here, Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 186 = 802) and Muḥammad al-Djāwād (d. 219 = 834), the seventh and ninth Imāms of the *Shi'a* sect of the "Twelvers"; [cf. *ITHNA'ASHARIYA*, ii. p. 563]. The place is often briefly called Kāzim (also Ghadim in books of travel) or Kāzimiye (Kāzmiye); the name Imām Mūsā is also found. There is evidence of pilgrimage to these 'Alid tombs as early as the seventh (thirteenth) century (in Ibn Khallikān). At the present day Kāzimain is one of the four greatest sanctuaries of the *Shi'a*. Its favourable position at the junction of the roads to the three other *Shi'a* places of pilgrimage, Samarrā in the north and Kerbelā and Nadjaf in the south, accounts for the fact that many thousands of pilgrims pass through it annually. Frequently 25—30,000 believers assemble here on one day. The throng is greatest during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram, which are specially dedicated to the memory of Ḥusain and the 'Alids generally. One of the four Muḍtahids, the principal spiritual leaders of the *Shi'a*, lives in Kāzimain.

The sanctuary of Kāzimain is one of those exceedingly splendid and rich temples which the 'Irāk owes to the *Shi'a* and for which Persia and *Shi'a* India supplied the necessary millions. With its domes covered with gold, the drums and the spires of its minarets it is visible to the traveller a long way off. Its present form faience covered, is due to the Ṣafawid Ismā'il I (908—930 = 1502—1524), whose family claimed descent from the Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim (cf. above, ii. 544^b). The inscription published by Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 99, of the year 926 (1519) refers to the complete transformation of the old building by the Shāh. The restoration not quite completed by Ismā'il was finished by the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān I, who visited Baghdād in 941 (1534). The covering of the domes with golden tiles was done — according to the inscription in 1211 (1796) — by command and at the expense of Shāh Agha Muḥammad Khān [q. v.], the founder of the Qājār dynasty. On the occasion of his pilgrimage (1870) Shāh Naṣr al-Dīn had the gold plating on the principal dome and on the roofs of the minarets renewed; cf. Cuinet, *op. cit.* The double cupola flanked by four minarets shows that two saints are buried beneath it. Close to this mausoleum stands an isolated pavilion under which are shown the graves of Dja'far (formerly supposed to be that of Ismā'il) and Ibrāhīm, sons of the Imām Mūsā. The cupola of this building is modern and a gift of the general of division Salīm Paṣha; cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 100. It may be noted here that there is also at Ḥadītha on the Euphrates (between 'Ana

and Hīt) a small sanctuary which is said to contain the tomb of Muḥammad, son of Mūsā al-Kāzim; see Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 321. On the tomb of a certain Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzim in Qaryat al-Bāshiya (in the 'Irāk) cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 60. In the vicinity of Astarābādh [q. v.] there is also an Imām-zāde (tomb-chapel) where a descendant of the Imām Mūsā called Imām Kāzim is said to be buried; cf. Melgunof in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxi. 235, and in *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, p. 119—120.

Like the sepulchral mosques of other great places of pilgrimage that of Kāzimain also is surrounded by a very broad court-yard (*ṣahn*) enclosed by a wall. This latter was rebuilt in 1298 (1880), with the permission of the Turkish government, by a wealthy Persian named Farḥād Mirzā and adorned with ceramic work and inscriptions containing whole sūras; cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 110. In the great court, in course of time, extensive buildings for the housing of numerous pilgrims have grown up, especially along the enclosing wall. In 1907 Aubin estimated the number of bazaars and caravanserais within the area of the sanctuary at forty-five. There are also a number of pretty coffee-houses.

Adjoining the wall of the court-yard is a Sunni mosque with the tomb of the famous Ḥanafī lawyer Abū Yūsuf (q. v., d. 182 = 798); cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 57, 100. It is a mistake, as Le Strange (*Baghdad*, p. 161 sq., 350 sq.) does, to locate the grave of Zubaida, wife of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, in or near this Kāzimain; cf. against this Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 110 sq., and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. III, and also the article *AL-KARKEH*.

In the time of the Caliphs, extensive cemeteries lay on the west side of Baghdād above the Ḥarbiya quarter. The two 'Alid graves were in the cemetery of the Kuraish (*Maḳābir al-Kuraish*); the names Shūniziya and cemetery of the Bāb al-Tibn are also found for it. When Yāqūt wrote (623 = 1226), Maḳābir al-Kuraish was a fairly populous suburb surrounded by a wall. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī about a century later found that this place, formerly reckoned a suburb of Baghdād, was now an independent little town. Who first built the 'Alid sanctuary at Kāzimain is unknown. We know that princes of *Shi'a* tendencies, like the Būyids, frequently bestowed gifts upon it. But in the course of time, especially during the frequent fighting in the capital between *Shi'is* and Sunnis, it was repeatedly burned and plundered, notably in the years 443 (1051) and 622 (1225). At the conquest of Baghdād by Hülāgū in 656 (1258) it was again laid in ashes. It may be mentioned that in 1801 on the occasion of the Wahhabī invasion the treasures of the sanctuary were removed from Kerbelā to Kāzimain; see Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 48, note 1.

Opposite Kāzimain, on the left bank of the Tigris, connected with it by a bridge of boats, is the suburb of al-Mu'azzam (see above, i. 568^b—569^a), a stronghold of the Sunnis and a kind of national sanctuary of the Turks. In this place of about two thousand inhabitants is the highly venerated sepulchral mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of one of the four orthodox schools of Muḥammadan law (q. v., d. 150 = 767). On this tomb cf. M. von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 241; Streck, *op. cit.*, i. 162; Le Strange; *Baghdad*,

p. 190—192; Langenegger, *op. cit.*, p. 61—62; Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 78—79. It is from the epithet of Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Imām al-A'zam or al-Mu'azzam (= the highly venerated Imām) that this suburb of Baghdad takes its name.

Bibliography: B. G. A., passim; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 443 (Bāb al-Tibn), iv. 79, 10 (al-Kuraish), and 587 (Maḳābir al-Kuraish); Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Paris, ii. 108; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii. 35; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, i., Leiden 1900, p. 156—157, 160; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, p. 158—165, 350—352; [Rousseau], *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, p. 17—18; Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep* (1808), ed. L. Poinssot, Paris 1899, p. 7—9; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii. 280—281; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 773, 777, 795; O. de Rivoyre, *Les vrais Arabes et leur pays*, Paris 1884, p. 85—91; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p. 587—591; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii., Paris 1894, p. 142—145; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 239, 241—242, 263, 281; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 29—31 (the picture on p. 30 is not the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa, but Kāzimain!); Chiha, *La province de Bagdad*, Cairo 1908, p. 169, 174—175, 177, 179; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 361—365; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbela*, Berlin 1909, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi. 28, 33, 48, 58; F. Langenegger, *Durch verlorene Lande. Von Bagdad nach Damaskus*, Berlin 1911, p. 4, 61—62, 70—71; do., *Die Baukunst des Irāq*, Dresden 1911, p. 93, 106, 109, 114, 121 (and title-page!); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, ii., Paris 1912, p. 57, 67, 99—100; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii., Berlin 1919, p. 102—103, 145—146 (see also Index in vol. iv. 42); above, i. 568. (M. STRECK)

KĀZIMĪ, the name given by Tipū Sultān of Mysore (1197—1213 = 1782—1799) to the 1/16 rupee (1 anna) in silver; it commemorates Musā al-Kāzim, the seventh Imām. (J. ALLAN)

KAZIMOF. [See KASIMOW].

KĀZWĪN (formerly Kash-wīn), a town in Persia in the province of 'Irāq 'Adjamī 100 miles from Teherān at the foot, on the south, of Mount Alburz [q. v.] at a height of 4,000 feet above sea-level; present population about 25,000.

The etymology of the name is uncertain. Al-Balādhuri (p. 321; cf. Ibn al-Faḳih and Ḳudāma) says that *Kash-wīn* means "the boundary which one watches", i. e. "well guarded"; it may also be explained as "the one who watches the corner", but this seems to be a popular etymology. It has been connected with *Caspian* (Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde*, i. 74, note 1).

Founded by Shāpūr I (Ibn al-Faḳih) and called Shād Shāpūr by him, it was besieged by al-Barā' b. 'Adīb in 24 (644) and surrendered to him. The people adopted Islām to escape the imposition of the *ajizya* (poll-tax). This strong place, which in Persian times had served as a barrier against the inroads of the mountaineers of Dailam, was used by the Muslims as the starting point

for their campaigns against the latter. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajdjadj b. Yūsuf built a mosque there called Masjdīd al-Thawr "mosque of the bull". The Caliph Musā al-Ḥādī built a new town opposite the old one, called Madīna Musā. Mubārak al-Turkī, a freedman of al-Ma'mūn or al-Mu'tasim, built a fortress there called Mubārakiya in which he put a garrison. When Hārūn al-Rashid passed through the town on his way to Hamadhān the inhabitants of Kāzwīn asked and obtained a relief from their tithes, alleging that, living on the frontier, they had to fight for the faith. Hārūn built a mosque there and began to restore the ramparts which work was continued by the Amīr Abū 'Alī al-Djāfari in 411 and finished by Šadr al-Dīn al-Marāghī, minister of Sultān Arslān, in 572. Ruined by the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the viith (xiiith) century Kāzwīn revived again under the Šafawīs. Tahmāsp I lived there for long and 'Abbās I adorned it with fine buildings. In 1723 its inhabitants drove back the Afghāns. Kāzwīn has retained a certain importance as the roads from Tabriz and from Resht to Teherān meet there; the latter is fit for carriage traffic and is used by motors. Kāzwīn is a depot for the silks of Gilān and Shirwān and manufactures carpets.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. 196, 197, 200—201, 211, 214; ii. 258, 265, 269, 274; iii. 392a; v. 254, 279—284; vi. 244, 250, 261; vii. 169, 271; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 321—323; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, ix. 8 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 88 sqq., 454, 455; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xxiii. 56—59 (transl. p. 62—64); do., *Ta'rikhi Guzida*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xiv. 829 sqq., ii. 227 sqq.; transl. Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. As.*, 1857, Series 5, vol. x. 257 sqq.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 218 sqq.; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1811, ii. 387—401; J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 203—204; Mrs. J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887, p. 100 sqq.; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New-York 1906, p. 443—444. (CL. HUART)

AL-KĀZWĪNĪ, ABŪ ḤATIM MAḤMŪD b. AL-HASAN AL-TABARĪ, a Šāfi'ī jurist, teacher of al-Shirāzi. He belonged to Āmul in Tabaristān where he began his studies. In Baghdād he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'īnī († 406), the law of inheritance under Ibn al-Labbān († 402) and the *Uṣūl* under Ibn al-Bāḳillānī († 403). He taught in Baghdād and Āmul in 440 (1048/49). Al-Shirāzi describes him as his best teacher. Of his works the following are mentioned: 1) *Kitāb Tadjrīd al-Tadjrīd*, a synopsis of the legal work of the same name by al-Mahāmīlī († 415); 2) *Rawnaq*, a synopsis of the *Lubāb al-Fiḳh* of al-Mahāmīlī (Ḥājjdji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, No. 5702); 3) the *Kitāb al-Hiyāl fi'l-Fiḳh* (ed. Jos. Schacht, Hanover 1924), the only one that has survived and one of the oldest works of the scanty Šāfi'ī literature on legal quibbles (*hiyal*). The book, unlike the Ḥanafī works of the same name by al-Shaibānī, al-Khaṣṣāf etc., was very little used for the practical purpose of getting round the Šarī'a, but was rather primarily intended to point out legal quibbles which were forbidden or disapproved of, in keeping with the stricter Šāfi'ī standpoint, which regards the *hiyal* used by the Ḥanafīs as contemptible.

Bibliography: al-Shirāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahāʾ*, in al-Nawawī, *Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 688; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iv. 12; Wüstenfeld, *Schafīʿiten*, N^o. 371 (= *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1891, xxxvii.).

(HEFFENING)

AL-ĶAZWĪNĪ, ZAKĀRIYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD ABŪ YAḤYĀ. For his genealogy, prae-nomina, etc., regarding which tradition varies (e.g. as early as Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, iv. 189), cf. S. de Sacy, *Chrestom. Arabi*², iii. 445 sq.; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, i., Paris 1848, p. cxlviii. sq.; Wüstenfeld in the *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 347, and in his edition of al-Ķazwīnī, vol. ii., p. iii.; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. d. arab. Hss. d. kgl. Biblioth. zu Berlin*, v. 453.

We learn very little about his life from the Arabic biographical works and the brief references in his two main works. Al-Ķazwīnī was born about 600 (1203) at Kazwin [q.v.]. He belonged to a pure Arab family which had, however, been long settled in the east. He left his native town at some date not exactly known, apparently not entirely of his own free will. In 630 (1233) he was living in Damascus where he made the acquaintance of the celebrated mystic Ibn al-Arabī [q.v.]. In the reign of the last ʿAbbāsīd Caliph al-Mustaʿsim (640—656 = 1241—1258) al-Ķazwīnī was living in the Irāk where he filled the office of ḳāḍī of Wāsiṭ and Ḥilla. He died in 682 (1283). On the biography of al-Ķazwīnī cf. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, p. 448 sq.; Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i. p. cxliii. sq., and Wüstenfeld, *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 349 sq.

We possess two works by al-Ķazwīnī of approximately the same size, a cosmography and a geography which are two quite independent books. They both have something of the character of compilations but nevertheless reveal a very varied training not only in the various branches of natural science but also in political and literary history. Al-Ķazwīnī's essential merit lies in the fidelity with which he reproduces the results of his reading while his own observations and researches are not nearly so valuable. In spite of much that is fabulous that is contained in it, his *Cosmography* must be deemed a work of fundamental importance and is quite the most valuable book that the Arab middle ages have given us on this field. Of all the Arab geographers, al-Ķazwīnī best deserves the name of the mediaeval Herodotus or of the Arab Pliny, whom, however, he does not surpass in method or critical powers. The great prestige enjoyed especially by the *Cosmography* in the East down to modern times is shown not only by the large number of manuscripts in existence, but also by the Persian and Turkish translations and the very numerous quotations in al-Damīrī's [q.v.] *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*.

Al-Ķazwīnī's style differs considerably from the classical language; it is swarming with solecisms. This style is perhaps to be explained from the fact that Arabic was not al-Ķazwīnī's mother-tongue.

I. The *Cosmography*. It bears the title '*Adjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawdūdāt*'. '*Adjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*' was the name of a cosmographical work in Persian used by al-Ķazwīnī compiled a hundred years earlier by Aḥmad of Tūs. There are a number of other books with this title in Arabic literature; but the most famous of all and at the same time the only one whose title has the addition *wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawdūdāt* is that

of al-Ķazwīnī; cf. Pertsch, *Verzeichn. d. türk. Hss. in Berlin*, 1889, p. 197, note 2.

The *Cosmography* consists of two parts the first of which deals with heavenly things and the second with terrestrial. After a very full introduction the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars etc.) are described; next the inhabitants of heaven (the angels) are dealt with; the first part concludes with a chapter on chronology. The second section discusses sub-lunar phenomena and the elements in general, especially the sphere of fire, air and water, natural history in the three kingdoms (minerals, vegetable and animal) and lastly man. The *Cosmography* also contains a great deal that is purely geographical as it describes the more important mountains, islands, seas, rivers and springs; in the *Geography* to some extent the same things are again dealt with, usually in the same words.

The manuscripts of the *Cosmography* differ very much from one another. There are longer and shorter versions and further abbreviated editions or more or less modified versions, sometimes published under another title. References to the manuscripts of the *Cosmography* are given by Pertsch, *Die arab. Hss. der Bibl. zu Gotha*, iii. 126—127; supplementary information in the *Cat. codic. Arab. Bibl. Lugdun. Batav.*, ii. 14. The oldest copy of the text is Cod. Monac. 464, which, according to Seybold, was written in 678 (1280) i. e. three years before the death of al-Ķazwīnī (cf. *Isl.*, iv. 260). Almost identical with it is the Cod. Sarre prepared about 1420 (see Taeschner, *Die Psychologie des Ķazwīnī*, 1912, p. 6; Saxlin *Isl.*, iii. 152).

Wüstenfeld (see his edition of al-Ķazwīnī, vol. i., p. iii. sq.) distinguishes three different editions of the *Cosmography* all of which he believes to have been prepared by al-Ķazwīnī himself: the first of the year 661 (1263), the second of 674 (1176), much enlarged and considerably rewritten, and a third which is represented only by a single codex the latter part of which is incomplete (Gotha, N^o. 1508). The third edition on which Wüstenfeld based his edition of the text has two titles, an earlier, *Tuhfat al-Kāʾināt*, and a later, *Mirʾāt al-Kāʾināt*. In it, apart from other minor additions, we have two entirely new sections (on the different races of mankind and the various arts).

This idea of Wüstenfeld's is, however, untenable, as Ruska has shown in his important *Ķazwīnī-Studien in Islam*, 1913, iv. 14—66, 236—262 (a summary of his researches was given in his article *Über den falschen und echten Ķazwīnī in the Mitteil. zur Gesch. der Medizin und Naturwissenschaft.*, 1914, xiii. 183—188). As a result of his analysis of the structure of the text of the anthropological and mineralogical chapters (especially of the section on the rain-stone) of the *Cosmography* based on a number of Arabic MSS. and Persian translations of the text Ruska comes to the conclusion that we must distinguish not three but four recensions of the *Cosmography*. Of these I (= Wüstenfeld's II) is so far known only from two Gotha MSS.; II (Wüstenfeld's I) is represented in many — some very old — MSS. and in the text of the *Cosmography* given on the margin of the printed edition of al-Damīrī. To this second recension also belongs the already mentioned oldest MS. of al-Ķazwīnī (Monac. 464) and the Codex Sarre. The Arabic original of Rec. III is lost; it is not certain what its relation was to the two preceding.

Its characteristic feature is the addition of chapters 7 and 8 on the races of men and on the arts. The Arabic original of Rec. III — of which the date and compiler are unknown — must also have been the original of the Persian translations as well as the basis for the version preserved in Rec. IV. The idea of a Persian version without an Arabic basis, i. e. of a retranslation of Rec. IV from the Persian, may be set aside as quite improbable. Rec. V, which is only represented in the already mentioned Cod. Gothanus 1508 defective at the end, represents a version of Rec. III. It is quite different from the text of the Persian translations in contrast to which it has marked interpolations; many chapters are amplified by considerable additions. It alone contains the extracts regarding the Turkish hordes of the tenth century from the journal of Mi'sar b. al-Muhalhil [q. v.] and Ibn Faḍlān's [q. v.] notes on the Slavs, Khazars, Russians, etc., as well as the excerpts on jewels from al-Khāzini's book. This Rec. IV (= Wüstenfeld's III) cannot be from the pen of al-Ḳazwīnī himself. Gotha 1508, besides, as has already been mentioned, has a different title from the other three recensions and, indeed, expressly describes itself as a commentary (*sharḥ*) on al-Ḳazwīnī. Gotha 1508 is perhaps original; at any rate it was compiled by someone with a thorough knowledge of the old literature.

Wüstenfeld's edition of the text of the Cosmography therefore does not contain the genuine text of al-Ḳazwīnī but a much later recension of the xviiith century. Almost the whole of Wüstenfeld's volume (p. 73—368) follows the text of the recension o. Cod. Goth. 1508. But portions are omitted from this and replaced by portions from other manuscripts, which have also been used to fill up other gaps. Wüstenfeld's procedure has therefore given us an entirely arbitrary edition of the text. To obtain the true text of al-Ḳazwīnī's Cosmography it would be best to choose the older, shorter Rec. II (= Wüstenfeld's I) which also seems to have been the most widely disseminated. Among the numerous manuscripts of this recension the oldest Cod. Monac. 464 should be taken as a basis.

Extracts from the Cosmography also exist. One with the title *Kitāb al-Durar muntakāt min 'Adjā'ib al-Buldān* is in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale; cf. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 449 sq., and de Slane, *Cat. des Mss. arabes de la Bibl. Nat.*, N^o. 2183. A similar abbreviation *ibid.*, N^o. 2419(3). The anonymous work '*Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt al-Ṣuḡhrā*, i. e. "the little Cosmography" (also in Paris; de Slane, N^o. 2181) has much in common with the Cosmography.

On account of its relatively succinct form yet containing all essential information generally popular at the close of the middle ages, al-Ḳazwīnī's Cosmography was translated into various foreign languages, notably Persian and Turkish. As to the Persian translations their relation to the Arabic original has already been briefly discussed. But two or more recensions or paraphrases have to be distinguished among the Persian versions, the relation of which to each other and to the Arabic original requires still to be more closely investigated. One of them is called *Tuhfat al-Gharā'ib* (Vienna MS., N^o. 1438; see Flügel, ii. 506 sq., and cf. thereon Pertsch, *Vers. der pers. Hss.*, zu Berlin, p. 367). On the Persian translations cf.

de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 436; Wüstenfeld's edition of al-Ḳazwīnī, vol. i., p. xi., and Ruska in *Isl.*, N^o. 17, 260. There are also abbreviations e. g. London, British Mus. (Rieu, 1883, p. 463, N^o. 7). In Cambridge is a manuscript which also contains excerpts from the Geography of al-Ḳazwīnī; see Browne, *Catal. of the Persian Mss.*, 1896, p. 208 sq., N^o. 126. Ḥamza Ādhurī Asfarā'ini Djalāl al-Dīn (d. 866 = 1461) composed a poetical synopsis of the second part of the Cosmography entitled *Gharā'ib al-Dunyā*. Of this the Bodleian in Oxford (Catalogue by Sachau-Ethé, col. 401—403) and the India Office in London (Ethé, *Cat.*, 79 and 191) have each 2 MSS. This synopsis forms the second part of a much more comprehensive poetical cosmology in four chapters which Ādhurī published under the title *Mir'āt*.

There are also various Turkish translations; on them cf. Taeschner in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvii. 35. There is one by Aiyūb b. Khalīl finished in 977 (1570) in MS. in Vienna (Flügel, *Katal. der Hofbibl.*, ii. 508); it is entitled *Tadhkira al-'Adjā'ib wa-Tardjamat al-Gharā'ib*. Another translation was made by the famous theologian al-Surūrī (d. 969 = 1561); there are manuscripts of it in London, British Mus. (Rieu, p. 107—109; Add. 7894 and Add. 24,954). The anonymous Turkish translation in the Berlin Library N^o. 177 (see Pertsch's Catalogue, p. 197—198) is probably different; its author has dealt very freely and arbitrarily with the Arabic original, has omitted many articles and added others in their place. The original work has been much abbreviated throughout and the arrangement of the matter is different. Another Turkish translation made by Ismā'īl Pasha and dating from the year 1109 (1697) is only known from Ḥājjdī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel), vii. 154, N^o. 14,608. The Berlin and London translations (Brit. Mus., Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 206—209) also differ from the Arabic original and from almost all the Persian translations in that they include a book of countries, a synopsis of the Geography, as in the Cambridge Persian Codex mentioned above. Aḥmad Bīdjān Yāzidjī-Oghlu's work, '*Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*', is probably only a free version of al-Ḳazwīnī's Cosmography; cf. Pertsch, *Katal. der arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 127, and Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der türk. Hss.*, zu Berlin, p. 199.

There is apparently a Čaghataī version of the Cosmography in the St. Petersburg Library (Chanykow, N^o. 108); see Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 127.

2. The Geography. The Geography exists in two editions with different titles; the older is called '*Adjā'ib al-Buldān*' and the later *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akḥbār al-'Ibād*. The first recension represented by MSS. in Berlin (see Ahlwardt's Catalogue, v. 370) and Paris (de Slane, p. 392) dates from the year 661 (1263). The second, much enlarged and on some points completely altered edition dates from the year 674 (1275). On the two recensions and their relationship to each other see Wüstenfeld in his edition of the Geography, p. viii. sq.; he based his edition on the second recension which exists in numerous manuscripts. On the MSS. see the references in Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. iv. sq., and Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 152 sq.

In this work al-Ḳazwīnī gives a description of the earth following the Ptolemaic division into

seven climes or longitudinal zones (see the art. *IKLĪM* and cf. also Taeschner in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxvii. 51 sq.). Within the seven climes the separate countries, towns, mountains, islands, lakes, rivers etc. are arranged in alphabetical order. Their remarkable features are described and many historical events connected with them are given. Considerable space is taken up by the sections on the life and work of famous men born in the various places. The book is therefore, like Yāqūt's Geographical Dictionary, loaded with historical and biographical material. In arrangement it is a geographical lexicon, like Yāqūt; only, as a result of the division into seven sections, it is less easy to consult. Many articles such as those on various mountains, lakes, rivers etc., are also found in the Cosmography usually with identical text.

There are also Persian translations of the Geography; manuscripts of them exist, for example, in St. Petersburg (Chanykow, No. 107; see Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 153) and in Oxford (Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of Pers. MSS.*, col. 401, No. 401). It has already been mentioned that a synopsis of the Geography of al-Ķazwīnī exists in a Persian translation (MS. in Cambridge) and seems to have been inserted in several MSS. of a Turkish version of the Cosmography.

A synopsis of the Geography of al-Ķazwīnī was made about 806 (1403) by al-Bākuwī 'Abd al-Rashīd b. Šālīh b. Nūrī, entitled *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār wa-ʿAdjāib al-Malīk al-Ķahhār*. The inconvenient alphabetical arrangement of the names within the seven climes is retained; on al-Bākuwī and his book see Hādjdjī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, ii. 399, No. 3529; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i., p. clxi.—ii.; Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Erdkunde*, i. 1841, p. 59, and in his edition of al-Ķazwīnī, ii., p. viii.; Aumer, *Katal. der arab. Hss. zu München*, p. 402; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 481, ii. 213. A translation of this book based on a Paris MS. was given by de Guignes in the *N.E.*, ii. 386—545. On the relationship of al-Bākuwī's synopsis to al-Ķazwīnī's original see especially Juynboll, *Lexic. Geograph. Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, vol. iv., p. lxxvii.—xcii. Al-Bākuwī usually adds the latitude and longitude to the places mentioned, which are lacking in al-Ķazwīnī. He is also of use in correcting wrong readings in al-Ķazwīnī and coming to a correct opinion on doubtful ones.

We may here say a little about the illustrations found in many MSS. of al-Ķazwīnī's works, astronomical figures and tables, etc. Painted pictures are, it appears, only found in MSS. of the Cosmography. We may assume with certainty that the originals of al-Ķazwīnī were full of such pictorial embellishments and of tables. Indeed, almost all the larger MSS. of the Cosmography are embellished in this way. Manuscripts which show gaps deliberately left for the insertion of pictures must also have been copied from illustrated originals; such are Gotha No. 1508 (cf. Ruska in *Isl.*, iv. 261) and London, India Office (*Catal.* by Roth, p. 209 sq., No. 725). Rude pictures are contained e.g. in Gotha 1507, Munich 463 and Vienna 1436; better Gotha 1506 and Vienna 1437; numerous fine illustrations in Munich 464 and Cod. Sarre (see supra); cf. thereon the Catalogue of Aumer (Munich), p. 192 sq.; Flügel (Vienna), ii. 505 sq., and Pertsch (Gotha), iii. 128 sq. The

Persian versions of the Cosmography also are usually adorned with miniatures e.g. the two Berlin Codd. 345 and 346 (see *Catal.* by Pertsch, p. 367 sq.) and London, Brit. Mus., No. 8 (*Catal.* by Rieu, col. 464), the latter with illustrations in the Indian style. Although these pictures with their illustrations of plants, animals, marvels of the sea etc. are very often quite fantastic in character and not infrequently pure invention, they ought not to be simply ignored in any future new edition of the Cosmography, as Wüstenfeld did, who has only reproduced the astronomical and other figures and tables in his editions of the Cosmography and Geography (cf. thereon Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie*, p. iv. sq.). So far only a few facsimiles have been published by Möller in the old Gotha Catalogue, vol. i., from Gotha No. 1507. The miniatures in al-Ķazwīnī's Cosmography have, however, been used in the discussion of important problems, e.g. by Saxl in his investigations into the history of the representation of the planets (in *Islam*, iii. 151 sq.). There he discusses the seven pictures of planets of Codex Monac. 464, which he also reproduces (Pl. 4, fig. 1—4 and 5, 6—8). Sarre in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, i. 18 sq., discusses the somewhat different figures of the Cod. Sarre.

In criticising al-Ķazwīnī's two works, it is also important to know what sources were used for them. A list of the authorities quoted in the Cosmography was compiled by Möller and there are two MS. copies of it in the Gotha Library; see Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 131, No. 1509—1510. Wüstenfeld in the *G. A.*, 1848, i. 351—353, briefly discusses the sources known to have been used for the Geography (practically the same as for the Cosmography). According to him, about 50 authors are quoted in the Geography, including the more important geographers and historians. The following are specially cited for the geography of Spain: al-Ķharnafī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahīm (d. 563 = 1168; on him see Wüstenfeld in Lüdde, *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Erdk.*, i. 43) and al-Udhri Aḥmad b. 'Umar (d. between 476 and 478 = 1083—1085; on him see Jacob, *op. cit.*, i. 3 sq.). Abū Ḥamid al-Andalusī, d. 565 (1169), the author of a Cosmography entitled *Tuhfat al-Aibāb* (on it see Jacob, *op. cit.*, iii. 69—94), is often quoted. The already mentioned Persian Cosmography of Aḥmad al-Tūsī (on it see Reinaud, *Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, vol. i., p. xlvi., and Pertsch, *Die pers. Hss. zu Berlin*, p. 366) is also found among the sources. Further may be mentioned the works of Avicenna, the so called *Petrology of Aristotle* wrongly ascribed to Aristotle (cf. the two works by Ruska; see *Bibl.*) and the *Kitāb al-Hayawān* of al-Djāhīz. Ibn Faḍlān and Mi'sar al-Muhalhil have already been mentioned. Many of al-Ķazwīnī's sources e.g. the African travels of al-Djāhīnān are now lost to us. Al-Ķazwīnī also utilised oral information from foreigners e.g. al-Multānī Abu 'l-Rabī Sulaimān who had travelled in the interior of Africa. The remarkable information regarding various French and German towns which al-Ķazwīnī owed to the Spaniard Ibrāhīm al-Tartūshī (d. 477 = 1085) was also probably communicated orally and not taken from a book; on this cf. Jacob, *op. cit.*, i. (third edition entitled *Ein arabischer Berichterstatter aus dem 10. Jahrh. über Fulda* etc., Berlin 1896) iv. 137 sq.

As to the printed editions of the two works of al-Ķazwīnī, the first and only complete European edition is that of Wüstenfeld. The Geography (published as the second part of al-Ķazwīnī) appeared in Göttingen in 1849 and the Cosmography (= Part i.) in 1848. The value of the latter has already been discussed above. In the east the Cosmography has been repeatedly printed on the margin of al-Damīrī's *Kitāb al-Ĥayāt al-Ĥayawān*, e.g. in Cairo 1305, 1309 and 1330. An edition of al-Ķazwīnī printed in 1331 in Cairo (only the Cosmography) is mentioned in Harrassowitz, *Bericht über neue Erwerbung*, No. 2337. On earlier editions and translations of parts of the two works of al-Ķazwīnī cf. the references in de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 431, 435, 450; Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Erdk.*, i., 1842, p. 49, and in his edition of the Cosmography, i. p. vi.; Pertsch, *Katal. der arab. Hss. . . zu Gotha*, iii., 1881, p. 126. Of earlier editions of parts of the Cosmography we may mention: de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 385—516, with Arabic text, p. 168—207 (sections on minerals, plants, men, with translation and full notes); L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 373—406 (the text of the description of the stars with annotations); Volck, *Calendarium Syriacum Arabice Latinumque edidit et notis instruxit*, Leipzig 1859 (dealing with the chapter on the Syriac months).

Of translations alone we may also note: Ethé's translations of the Cosmography, part i., Leipzig 1896; this only covers about the first half of the Cosmography (Wüstenfeld, i. 1—208); of especial value is the very full appendix of notes (with many textual emendations by Fleischer); J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmogr. des Ķazwīnī*, Heidelberg (*Progr. der Oberrealschule*), 1896 (translation of Wüstenfeld, i. 208—245); cf. with this also J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, p. 81 sq.; J. Ansbacher, *Der Abschnitt über die Geister und wunderbaren Geschöpfe . . .*, transl. and annot., Erlangen (dissert.), 1905 (transl. of Wüstenfeld, i. 368—374, 448—451); Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Ķazwīnī's*, Tübingen dissert., Kiel 1912 (transl. of Wüstenfeld, i. 301—322).

Valuable material for a commentary on al-Ķazwīnī is further given by the works of G. Jacob and E. Wiedemann, who have translated and elucidated various shorter articles from the works of al-Ķazwīnī. Special mention should be made of Jacob's *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, part I—4, Berlin 1891—1892 (of which part 1 appeared in a third enlarged edition in 1896); E. Wiedemann has made many contributions on the subject to the *Mitteil. zur Gesch. der Medizin und Naturw.*, S.B.P.M.S. Erl., and to other periodicals; cf., for example, the references by Ruska in *Isl.*, iv. 336 (No. 303), xii. 270 (No. 76) and 277 (No. 129).

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to the fact that in preparing a new edition of al-Ķazwīnī's works Fleischer's own copy of Wüstenfeld's edition of the text, containing numerous emendations, which is preserved in the MSS. Dept. of the Berlin Library, should be utilised.

Bibliography: Besides works already quoted above: Ḥādjdī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, i. 154, No. 71; 188, No. 8072; iv., No. 8061; vii. 1259, No. 9340; Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. für vergl. Erdk.*, 1842, i. 49; Wüs-

tenfeld in the *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 345—355; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i., Paris 1848, p. cxliii.—ix.; Rieu, *Catal. Codd. . . in Museo Britannico*, ii., London 1871, p. 463, and *Suppl.*, London 1894, p. 473; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, i. 481—482.

(M. STRECK)

AL-ĶAZWĪNĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR B. AḤMAD B. NAṢR AL-MUSTAWFĪ AL-ĶAZWĪNĪ, a Persian geographer and historian. He belonged to an old family of Ķazwin of which he himself (*Tārīkh-i Ķuzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 839—842, 848) gives a full account. It was a Shī'ī family, which traced its descent from Hurr b. Yazid al-Riyāhī who fought at Karbalā' and had held the governorship of Ķazwin since the time of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim with only a brief interruption under the Sāmānids. In the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna this office was taken from them. Ḥamd Allāh's great-grandfather was accountant (*mustawfī*) of the 'Irāq, hence the family name. The author himself was appointed financial supervisor of the districts of Ķazwin, Abhar, Zandjān and Tārimāin (*Tārīkh-i Ķuzīda*, p. 598; cf. *Nuḥḥat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 27; Engl. transl., p. 33) by the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn. In 677 (1278/79) another Mustawfī, Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad, was once more governor of Ķazwin, but jointly with a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.

The year of al-Ķazwīnī's death is not given. The date of his birth can be easily calculated from the following data. We know that he finished his *Zafarnāma* in 735 (1334/35), worked at it for 15 years and began the book when he was 40 years of age (Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 173). This work was interrupted by the composition of the *Tārīkh-i Ķuzīda* (Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 173; *Tārīkh-i Ķuzīda*, p. 5); the time spent on this is probably included in the 15 years. He was therefore 55 years of age in 735 and was born in 680 (1281/82).

Works. His intercourse with the celebrated vizier and historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh († 718 = 1318), to whose entourage he belonged (his brother Zayn al-Dīn was *Nā'ib-i Diwān-i Wizārat* under the same vizier; see Rieu, *Cat.*, i. 81), aroused in al-Ķazwīnī a desire for historical studies (*Tārīkh-i Ķuzīda*, p. 4). About 720 therefore he began a great historical epic, the *Zafarnāma*, finished in 735, which was intended as a continuation of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*. Further details are given in the description of the unique MS. of the work in the Brit. Mus. in Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 172 sqq. The poem contains 75,000 *baits* and deals in three sections with the life of Muḥammad and the history of the Caliphate, the history of the Persian dynasties, and the history of the Mongols. The author gives no literary sources; according to Rieu, his statements regarding historical facts are very accurate and the Mongol part gives valuable information, which the author owes in part to his great-grandfather Amin Naṣr al-Mustawfī. The last event which is mentioned is of the year 734 (1333/34). From the few specimens in Rieu it is not possible to pass judgment on the language and style. We are therefore grateful to Browne for giving in his *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 96 sq., a passage in 24 distichs dealing with the devastation of Ķazwin by the Mongols. We can see the slavish copying of Firdawsī's style (a rhyme like *kushā shud-bargashā shud* is not without its parallel in Firdawsī's text as we

have it). Mention must also be made of the critical work which al-Ḳazwīnī (probably before he began work on the *Zafarnāma*) did on Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*. The London MS. of the *Zafarnāma* has the text of Firdawsī edited by our author on the margin (Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 172). Work on the *Zafarnāma* was interrupted by the compilation of a compendium of universal history, the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (finished 730 = 1330). This work comprises the history of the Muḥammadan world from the creation to 729 (1329) and is written in a very simple, indeed arid style, except for the preface which contains a dedication to Ghīyāth al-Dīn, son of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn. The preface is followed by an introduction (*fātiḥa*) dealing with the creation of the world and then come six sections (*bāb*) dealing 1) with the prophets, 2) the old Persian kings, 3) Muḥammad and the Caliphs, 4) the dynasties of the Muslim period in Persia and adjoining lands, 5) scholars and poets, and 6) history and topography of Ḳazwīn. A *khātima* follows containing genealogical data and genealogies, which latter, however, are wanting in most MSS., according to Browne. Some of these manuscripts, like Brit. Mus. Add. 22,693 and that published by Browne in facsimile, have between *bāb* 4 and 5 a synopsis of the history of the Muzaffarid dynasty which is not by al-Ḳazwīnī (Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 82; Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/ii. 151 *sqq.*). The compendium must have enjoyed great popularity on account of its wealth of matter, for it has often been copied in the East and is therefore of frequent occurrence in European collections also. Browne, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 725, gives a list of the most important manuscripts; the one published in facsimile by him is not included; it was written in 875 (1453) and comes from a private Persian collection (Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/i. p. xv.). The sources on which the book is based are given by the author (ed. Browne, p. 8). On this cf. Browne in the Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/ii. 1 *sq.*, and *Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 87 *sqq.* They include the celebrated historians al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ḥamza al-Isfahānī etc., also Persian authors of a later period, like Djuwainī, Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, also the *Shāhnāma* and a *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*, which, according to Browne, is the well-known work of the same name by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. The main source seems to have been Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmī al-Tawārīkh*, with the second part of which the *Guzīda* agrees in arrangement (ed. Browne, p. xiii. *sq.*). Another work now lost, the *Salḡūknāma* of Ḳāhūrī of Nishāpūr was used by al-Ḳazwīnī and by Rāwandī also in his *Rahat al-Ṣudūr*; on the relation of the *Rahat* to the *Guzīda* cf. Muḥammad Iḳbāl in his introduction to the edition of the first mentioned work (Gibb Mem. Ser., New Ser., ii. 30 *sq.*). The *Guzīda* itself is five times quoted in Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*, among other things for the well-known story of the Sāmānid vizier Naṣr and Rūdāgī (Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 31, = *Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 382). Dawlatshāh once (p. 105) expressly quotes as his authority the *tadhkira* of poets preserved in the *Guzīda*. On the relation between Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkira* and the *Guzīda* see also Browne in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 39 *sq.* Lastly it may be mentioned that the *Guzīda* itself is one of the sources of Mir-ḵwānd's *Rawḡat al-Safā*.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's last work, the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, completed in 740 (Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 419), is mainly geographical. It is divided into an introduction (*fātiḥa*), which deals with cosmography, and three sections (*maqāla*), which deal with natural history, anthropology and geography. Then follows a concluding section (*khātima* or *kitāb al-khawātim*) on wonderful things and curiosities in Īrān and other lands. As in the case of the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* there is a large number of MSS. of this work (a survey of them is given in Le Strange's preface to his edition in the Gibb Mem. Series, xxiii/i., p. xiv. and xx.). On the sources of the *Nuzhat* cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 418; Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 99. They include, as might be expected, the famous geographer Yāqūt, the older Ḳazwīnī, Ibn Ḳhurdādhbih and others not so well known. The statements regarding Fārs are taken from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārsnāma*. That he, as Le Strange supposes, made use of official documents, taxation lists, as is to be expected from his position as finance officer, is very probable.

Bibliography: On his life see *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 3 *sqq.*; Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 80 *sq.*; *Supplement*, p. 172—174; the prefaces by Browne and Le Strange to their editions of the *Guzīda* and the *Nuzhat*; Browne, *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 87 *sqq.*

Tārīkh-i Guzīda: edition by Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/i (facsimile of a manuscript), xiv/ii. (very full synopsis of contents in English and Index by R. A. Nicholson). Separate parts had been previously published: the greater part of the description of Ḳazwīn by Barbier de Meynard in the *J. A.*, 1857 (Ser. 5, vol. x. 257 *sqq.*); the section on the poets of Persia by Browne, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 721 *sqq.*, and *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 1 *sqq.*; the history of the Islāmic dynasties of Īrān and the adjoining lands in J. Gantin, *Tārīkh-e Gozīdē*, i. (1903; no more publ.), text and French transl. Two portions from a St. Petersburg MS. (Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and sayings of Buzurjdmihr) in Salemann-Zukowski, *Persische Grammatik*, p. 3 *sqq.*, 41 *sqq.*

Nuzhat-i Ḳulūb: editions: Bombay 1311 (1894; I have not seen this, an edition of the whole work); *The geographical part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb* . . . , ed. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii/i. (text), ii. (Engl. transl.) 1915 and 1919. A part of the text had been previously published by Schefer, *Siasatnamēh*, *Supplément*, 1897, p. 141—235 (not accessible to me).

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-KEF (الكاف), a town in Tunisia, 110 miles S. W. of Tunis and about 20 from the Algerian frontier, situated in 36° 11' N. Lat. and 8° 30' E. Long. The population in 1911 was 6,312, including 1,200 Europeans and 300 Jews. Many of the latter are descended from the Jews who used to live among the Beduins, whose customs and dress they had adopted.

The word *kef* means "rock". It is given on account of the situation of the town on a spur of the Djabal Dyr at a height varying from 2,486 feet in the S.W. to 2,853 in the N.E. Before the establishment of the French protectorate, it was surrounded by a wall now in part destroyed. The area circumscribed by the wall contains many

buildings now in ruins and empty spaces; in compensation a European town is in process of formation on the plain near the station on the railway now connecting al-Kef with Tunis. At the foot of the wall rises an abundant spring, the 'Ain al-Kef, an object of veneration to the inhabitants and regarded by them as "marabout". Commanding the principal roads from Algeria to Tunisia, al-Kef was for long one of the busiest markets of the Regency; in economic importance the town ranked next to Tunis and Sfax. This is no longer the case since the building of the Tunis-Constantine railway to the towns in the valley of the Medjerda. Nevertheless the mineral resources of the adjoining country assure to al-Kef the elements of its future prosperity. The town was, and still is, a religious centre. The two most popular brotherhoods in the Regency, the Qādiriya and the Rāhmāniya, have each a much frequented *zāwiya* there.

Al-Kef is the ancient Sicca Veneria, a Punic town which became a Roman colony under Augustus. Very prosperous during the early centuries of the Christian era, it was in the Byzantine period one of the strongest places in Africa. There still survive many ruins, columns, capitals, fragments of statues, inscriptions, remains of temples, baths and Christian basilicas. The cult of Tanis, identified with Venus, whose name is found in that of the ancient town, may even have left some traces in local superstitions.

Sicca survived the Arab invasion of the seventh century A. D. The ancient name of the town continued in existence in the form *Shikka Banāriya*. This is the name used by al-Bakri (ed. de Slane, p. 33; transl. p. 82) in the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* and even in Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 220, 256, ii. 20; transl. ii. 42, 98, iii. 209). We know very little of the history of the town till the seventeenth century. Ibn Khaldūn, however, tells us that it was governed at the beginning of the sixth (twelfth) century by a certain 'Iyād b. Naṣr Allāh, who succeeded in protecting it against the incursions of the Hilālīs and whose son submitted to 'Abd al-Mu'min in 554 (1159—1160). In the following century the Sulaim settled in this region and incorporated the Howāra Berbers, who had been settled there since the beginning of the second century A. H. In the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D., al-Kef and the surrounding country were occupied by the Ūlād Ṣūla, a section of the Banū Shennūf, who attached themselves to the Muhalhil, one of the two great families into which the Sulaimī Ku'ūb were divided.

Under Turkish domination, the region of al-Kef played an important part in the fighting between Algerians and Tunisians, especially in 1628, 1685, 1694, 1705, 1746 and 1756. The rulers of Tunis during this period tried to make al-Kef strong enough to bar the invader's road to the capital. Muḥammad Bey scattered the Banū Shennūf, put in their place a *makḥzen* formed by the Ūlād Ya'ḥyā, and stationed a *smala* of spahis near the town. The Bey 'Alī built a *kaṣba* in 1675, so strong that the place was able to repulse an Algerian attack four years later. In 1739—1740 'Alī Pasha built a wall round the town and placed forts on the cliff which commanded the *kaṣba*. In spite of these precautions, al-Kef, which had been unsuccessfully attacked by the Algerians in 1746, was taken by the Dey's troops in 1756 after a siege of thirteen days. In

the beginning of the nineteenth century a new *kaṣba* was built (1813) by Ḥamūda Pasha, who said that "if his body was at Tunis, his head was at al-Kef". The garrison was put under the command of an *agha* independent of the *kā'id* or civil governor. The taking of Constantine in 1837 by the French, by ridding the Regency of the dangerous proximity of the Turks, lessened the military importance of al-Kef, the fortifications of which were now only used to protect the town against Beduin raids. During the Tunisian expedition, the French troops entered the town without striking a blow on April 25, 1881.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 51—52; transl. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale*, Constantine, p. 94—95; *Récit d'un voyage de Tunis au Kef exécuté en 1744*, ed. by G. Dupont; Peyssonnel and Desfontaines, *Voyages dans les Régences de Tunis et d'Alger*, ed. by Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838; Berbrügger, *Itinéraires archéologiques en Tunisie*, Rev. Africaine, 1857; Guérin, *Voyage archéol. dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii. 53—72; G. Musset, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, 1888; A. de la Berve, *En Tunisie*, Paris 1881, p. 41—44; Espérandieu, *Étude sur le Kef*, Paris 1889; Cagnat and Saladin, *Voyage en Tunisie*, Paris 1894; C. Monchicourt, *La Région du Haut-Tell en Tunisie*, Paris 1913. — See also the *Bibliography* to the article TUNISIA. (G. YVER)

KELĀT. [See KALĀT].

KELEK (P.), a raft consisting of beams bound together with rope and placed upon inflated sheepskins. These rafts are chiefly used on the Tigris where this river is not navigable for ships. They are described as early as Herodotus (i. 194) and Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i. 5, 10; iii. 5, 9 sqq.). They are still used at the present day and are mentioned by nearly all travellers in Mesopotamia.

Bibliography: Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, ii. 103 sq.; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, ii. 87; Ker Porter, *Travels*, London 1821—1822, ii. 259; v. Moltke, *Gesammelte Schriften*, viii., Berlin 1893, Index; H. Ritter in *Isl.*, ix. 14 sqq.

KEMĀKH (KAMAKH, KAMKH, Greek Κάμαχα), a fortress situated on the southern bank of the Euphrates (Kara Şu) in its course North-East to South-West, before it takes a sharp turn to the South. The river is here confined between high rocks to such a degree that there is no longer room for the highway that has hitherto accompanied its course. The town, which till late in the sixth century was one of the fortified places of Asia Minor, is situated on the mountain-slope and surrounded by gardens and orchards. In spring the many mulberry trees attract myriads of quails, a phenomenon which is looked upon as something miraculous. The river is still utilized by the natives for floating down-stream timber which is cut in the forests in the neighbourhood. The salt, cheese and linen manufactured at Kamakh had a high reputation.

Higher up the mountain is situated the fortress which, chiefly on account of its natural position, was considered to be impregnable. It is said to have borne the name of Ani and to have been one of the chief places of the Armenian kings as well as of the Arsacids who had here their temples, treasury, state-prison and who were also buried in

this place. The descriptions of Ani as a royal residence have some resemblance to those of the other place of the same name (see the art. ANI) situated on the Arpa Çai.

Kemākh was taken by 'Umar b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in the year 59 A.H. It has, however, from that time onwards often changed its master. In 133 (751/52) it was besieged by the Emperor Constantine. The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr tried to strengthen his hold on it by a restoration of the citadel; it is said that he intended to use it chiefly as a bulwark against the invasions of the Khazars. In 177 (793/94) it was besieged by the Byzantines. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (born 680 = 1281/1282) mentions it as a small town. The Ottoman Emperors Bāyazid and Selim took it after a siege, the former, at the hands of his general Timurtash, in 1396, the latter in 1515. Timūr beleaguere it for seven months, without being able to take it. According to J. Brant, who visited the town about 1830, its population consisted at that time of 400 Turkish and 30 Armenian families; it was the residence of one of the last Derebeys [q.v.]. Kemākh is the chief place of the Qazā of the same name, Sandjak Erzindjān, wilāyet Erzerüm. It is the residence of a *kā'im makām*. In the vicinity are numerous *turba's*. At the present day it is still an important centre of commerce and industry.

The population of the Qazā consist of 14,547 Muḥammadans, 3,503 Greek Armenians, 189 Protestant Armenians and 633 orth. Greeks (Cuinet).

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KEMAL AL-DİN ISMĀ'İL, a Persian poet of Iṣfahān, son of Djamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāk, was one of a group which devoted its eulogies to the family of the Ṣā'idīs (also called Āl-i Khudjandī) which kept political and judicial power in its control in Iṣfahān. Surnamed *Khallāk al-Ma'āni* "creator of thoughts", he dedicated his odes mainly to the judge Rukn al-Dīn Ṣā'id b. Maṣ'ūd, but also to the Khwārizmshāhs ('Alā' al-Dīn Takash, Muḥammad, his son, Djalāl al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn, his grand-sons) who ruled in Irāk-ʿAdjamī, as well as to the Atābeks of Fārs who ruled at Shirāz (Sa'd b. Zangī and his son Abū Bakr). In the end he retired from the world and devoted himself to the mystic life under the guidance of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar b.

Muḥammad al-Suhrāwardī. He was tortured and put to death on Djumādā I 2, 635 (Dec. 21, 1237), at the capture of Iṣfahān by the Mongol soldiers of the army of Ogoṭāi, son of Čingiz Khān, who hoped to find hidden treasure in his house. His *Diwān* has been printed at Bombay (n. d.); there are partial translations by Louis H. Gray, put into English verse by Ethel Watts Mumford (*Hundred Love Songs*, New-York 1904) and by Theodosius Garrison (*Lippincott's Mag.*, lxx. 783), of the 15 quatrains published by Salemann-Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik*.

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(CL. HUART)

KEMĀL KHODJANDĪ (KAMĀL AL-DIN MAS'UD), a Persian lyric poet, born in Khudjand in Transoxania. He followed the mystic path, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return settled in Tibriz the climate of which had pleased him. On the capture of this town by Toktamish-Khān, he was taken to the town of Sarāi at the request of this prince's wife. He remained there four years. Having returned to Tibriz the Djalā'irid Sultān Husain, son of Sultān Uwais, had a house built for him. He likewise received favours from Mirān Shāh, son of Timūr and governor of Ādharbaidjān, who paid his debts. He died there in 792 (1390) according to Dawlat Shāh, or 803 (1400) according to Khondemir. He was buried in the Farah-bakhsh quarter where his tomb became an object of pious visits. Ten of his *ghazals* have been published by Bland, *Century*, p. 9—12. There is, in the national library of Vienna, a very beautiful manuscript of his poems illuminated with miniatures (Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr. ... zu Wien*, i. N^o 581).

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KEMĀL MEHMET NĀMİK, one of the most important of Turkish poets, stylists and authors, the principal leader of the Turkish moderns, creator of the modern Turkish prose language and the most notable Turkish patriot of modern times. Kemāl, born on Dec. 21, 1840 (Shawwāl 26, 1256), in Rhodosto on the Sea of Marmara, belonged to an old aristocratic family which could be traced back through his father, the astronomer Muṣṭafā 'Āsim Bey, his father Shams al-Dīn Bey, the first Chamberlain of Sultān Selīm III, and his father, the admiral Kapudan Aḥmad Rātib Pasha, to the Grand Vizier Topal 'Othmān Pasha, the conqueror of Nādir Shāh of Persia. His father belonged to Yeni Shehir in Anatolia and his mother to Konica in Albania. The Albanian strain in him was of the highest importance and explains much in his

indomitable character and his strong passionate nature. In appearance he was quite like a European. He was liberal, open-hearted and attractive.

Kemâl had a rather irregular, unsystematic education at home; he had only nine months' regular schooling in Constantinople at the Bâyezid-Rüşdiye and the Wâlide-Mektebi. He was trained in Arabic, Persian and French by private tuition. In 1852 he was with his grandfather Şhams al-Dîn Bey in Kars and later in Sofia where he began to write poems although only 14 years of age, quite in the style of Sümbül-Zâde, whose *Diwân* had to serve him as a model for lack of other patterns. Returning to Constantinople in 1857/8 he entered the translation bureau of the Sublime Porte and soon became a member of the then flourishing group of poets of the old school: Nâ'ili, Mazlûm Pasha-Zâde Memdûh Fâik, Hâlet, Herseglî 'Arif Hikmet, Ghâlib and Kâzım, who imitated Nefî and Fehim chiefly. Kemâl quickly won an honoured place among them. He put together a slim *Diwân-i Müretteb* of not very original poems. In his poems he took the pen-name of Nâmîk. It is remarkable that the last incomplete *ghazal* of the *diwân* is the first of his patriotic poems.

He only entered upon the field he was to make his own through Şhinâsî Efendi, who had studied in Europe and was now in Constantinople endeavouring to attract men of intellect to western culture and ideas, mainly in his capacity as editor of the influential newspaper *Taşvîr-i Efkiâr*. Kemâl became friendly with him and soon fell completely under his influence, which directed him from the imitation of classical models to the spirit of the west. Kemâl grasped with ardour the new ideas, the importance of which he at once realised. He made it his aim in life to bring about a literary, political and scientific renaissance in old fossilised Turkey and to secure her a place among the nations of the West. He began his troubled career by writing for Şhinâsî's paper. Henceforth he wrote under the name Kemâl, which soon gained the greatest popularity.

When Şhinâsî [q.v.] fled to Paris in 1864 he left the editorship of his paper entirely in the hands of the young Kemâl, who at first found it a very difficult task. For a year he published almost nothing but translations from the French. Then important political questions (the Polish rising and the American Civil War) helped him to raise the standard of the paper which had gone down very much. He now took the field with political articles of his own which aroused the greatest interest on all sides and made the *Taşvîr-i Efkiâr* the most influential newspaper. It was in its pages that the expression "Young Turk" first appeared.

Kemâl became more and more embarrassing to the government. Although only 23 years of age, he had already been given the müteşarriflik of Kal'ei Sultaniye (Gallipoli) for a short time and next they wished him to become ambassador to Persia in order to get him away from Constantinople. But he did not accept this post. It was only with difficulty that he escaped being sent to Erzerûm. Kemâl had joined the Young Turk committee founded by Ziyâ among the elements in favour of reform, the main object of which was to raise Turkey from her backward state and obtain a constitution. When the members were threatened with arrest, Ziyâ, Kemâl,

Nûrî, Rifât and 'Alî Su'âwî fled from Turkey in 1866 to London where they settled down. At the time of this his first voluntary exile Kemâl was expecting the birth of his first child, who afterwards became the poet 'Alî Ekrem. In London Kemâl published the paper *Mukhbir* ("The Correspondent") on behalf of the party; it was later transferred to Paris and then replaced by the *Hürriyet* ("Liberty"). In Paris he studied law and economics and translated important French works into Turkish.

His stay in Europe was of overwhelming influence on his political and literary development. Henceforth he came back again and again to the subject of civilization. When, after the death of the Grand Vizier 'Alî Pasha, it became possible for the Young Turks to return home, Kemâl undertook the editorship in Constantinople of the Young Turkish paper *İbret*. He succeeded by his articles, which are of permanent value, in making the paper one of the most important in Turkey. At the same time he contributed to a number of other papers and periodicals and thereby completely influenced and revolutionised public opinion.

When Kemâl became inconvenient to the government by his political activity, especially through his patriotic drama *Waṭan*, which aroused unbounded enthusiasm, he was banished to the fortress of Famagusta in Cyprus. At first he was in the closest solitary confinement, where he planned in his subterranean cell his drama *'Akif Bey*, which he wrote out and printed as soon as the rigour of his imprisonment was slackened. He was detained in Famagusta for 38 months until the accession of Murâd gave him his liberty and permission to return to Constantinople. But Murâd only reigned 93 days. With the accession of 'Abd al-Hamid a limit was soon put once more to Kemâl's activity. Kemâl took part in the preparation of the constitution and shared in the deliberations with Midhât Pasha and Ziyâ Pasha.

His liberal activities aroused the deepest mistrust in 'Abd al-Hamid. He was arrested and spent 5½ months in the common prison in Constantinople where he spent most of his time in historical study in preparation for a history of the Turkish army. In spite of his acquittal after a trial, 'Abd al-Hamid sent him to detention in Mytilene (Chios). This enforced inactivity was a great trial to him after the disastrous conclusion of the war with Russia and he expressed his feeling in songs like the touching Mühâdjir song *Allâh için öldür beni*.

After two years' detention during which he wrote the *Dişlâl* and the *Dişemâ*, he was appointed *Müteşarrif* of Chios. There the disease of the lungs, which was to cause his premature death, first broke out. When Chios became the capital of a wilâyet, he was moved to Rhodes, where the more favourable climate restored his health and revived his creative powers which had somewhat abated. With the assistance of a splendid library, for the enlargement of which at great personal expense he had agents in India, Persia, Egypt and Europe, he set about the preparation of a history of the Turkish empire.

From Rhodes he went to Chios, as *müteşarrif* again. He worked at his history with a feverish activity and, in spite of the fact that his health was much affected, displayed considerable literary activity in all other directions. The order forbidding the printing or continuation of

his history which came from Constantinople as the result of a treacherous denunciation of him was therefore a frightful blow and he died during the night after receiving the order, Dec. 2, 1888, in Mytilene.

His body was first of all interred in Mytilene in front of the mosque and then solemnly removed by his son 'Alî Ekrem to Bulair, 8 miles north of Gallipoli and there buried with military honours in the *türbe* of Süleimân Pasha, a worthy honour for the great patriot. 'Abd al-Hamid built a splendid *türbe* for Kemal. While Süleimân Pasha's *türbe* was already a place of pilgrimage, Kemal's *türbe* became to a still greater extent the goal of many Ottomans, who saw in him the incarnation of their ideals. The first thing done after the revolution of 1908 by the "Committee of Union and Progress" was to go solemnly from Salonica to his tomb at Bulair as to the grave of the "founder of the building of liberty" and pay homage to his manes. The unexampled moderation with which the victorious party proceeded was also a tribute to the influence of Kemal.

The supreme and unique position occupied by Kemal in Ottoman literature can hardly be too highly appraised. His influence on his own and the following generation was tremendous. He was perfectly aware of the difficulty of his task but always believed in a successful result, which was quite in keeping with his sanguine temperament. His personality — he was a born agitator and thoroughly revolutionary in spite of his aristocratic birth — with his unusual energy and inflexible and undaunted strength of will exercised an overwhelming attraction on the masses. He was filled with a deep, almost fanatical religious, spirit, thoroughly Islamic in its attitude and he believed in his people, his country and their future. Basing himself on the idea of the true Islamic culture with a strong leaning to pan-Islamic ideas which he endeavoured to realise by going back to primitive Islam and rejecting the Islam of the past which did not satisfy him, he evolved the idea of the Ottoman fatherland and was able to impose it on his "lethargic" people. It was Kemal who first awakened his countrymen to the conception of *Waṭan* (fatherland), which was later replaced by the Turkish *Yurt*, and to the conception of *Millet* (nation) and *Hürriyet* (liberty) which the Young Turks took as their watchwords.

Kemal remained faithful to his task which he regarded as a kind of apostolic office, in spite of the most difficult conditions. His talent as an author was certainly not small but this does not completely explain the almost magical influence which he has exerted down to our own day. The most recent Ottoman literary criticism is rather inclined not to estimate him so highly. But what no critic can deny him, what places him high above all others is his thirst for freedom, his patriotism, and the fearlessness with which he expresses his ideas and above all his masterly command of language. When he began writing, he found the language in a chaotic condition, at his early death he left it a wonderfully modelled instrument. The creation of the modern Turkish prose language is undeniably Kemal's work.

In his political and literary essays Kemal is vigorous and convincing when he wants to defend any view. No one has surpassed Kemal in his essays.

His longer works have a tendency to resemble a series of collected articles rather than a consecutive whole.

The admiration in which he was held found expression in his many imitators.

Works. Kemal was not primarily a poet. Besides his *Diwân* written in the old style, although already showing traces of new features (love of country and people) and adopting modern ideas (theatre, steamer), in the *ghazal* he composed a not very large number of powerful poems which passed from mouth to mouth like revelations. He was readily followed simply because he still paid part tribute to old ideas in his poems. Many poems are scattered through his works and many went unprinted from hand to hand. They all show his deep patriotism.

In his *Wawaila* ("groaning, wail", reprinted 1326=1908) Kemal laments his fatherland which is wrapped in a winding sheet. His *Bâriḳe-i Zâfar* ("Flash of Victory", 1872) written in an elaborate style is a panegyric on the conquest of Constantinople. His enthusiastic *Waṭan Manẓumesi* did not appear till 1326 (1908).

Kemal's main success as an author was won by his dramas of which he wrote six. He might be regarded as the creator of the Turkish drama. In the play by Abu 'l-Ziyâ Tewfik, his most devoted friend and follower, *Edjel-i Kaḍâ* ("The Threatened Fate", 1288=1871/72), the first national Turkish drama, he was a silent collaborator although his name was never mentioned. He then tried his skill independently and wrote:

1. *Waṭan yakḥod Silistra* ("Fatherland or Silistria"), a play in 4 acts first printed in 1872 and often since (transl. into Russian by W. D. Smirnow in the *Wiestnik Evrope*, 1876, ix, 151; German by L. Pekotsch, Vienna 1887). The play, which is important from the sociological and psychological points of view, depicts heroic scenes in the defence of Silistria in 1854. The piece aroused tremendous enthusiasm and was the main cause of his banishment to Famagusta.

2. *Zawallî Çodjuḳ* ("The Poor Child"), a drama in 3 acts (1873). It describes the consequences of the abuse of parental authority over the child and is an attack on the traditional manner of arranging marriages. Kemal deals with the new idea of the freedom of women to feel and to love. The influence of "La Dame aux Camélias" is unmistakable.

3. *Âkif Bey*, a drama in 5 acts (1874). In this the patriotism of the Turkish naval officer is emphasised and contrasted with the faithlessness and inconstancy of his wife who abuses the absence of her husband.

4. *Gül-nihâl*, a drama in 5 acts (1875), probably based on Hamlet, extolling the motive of vengeance, especially woman's vengeance and rebellion against despotism.

5. *Diḳlâl ül-Dîn Khwârezm-shâh*, a tragedy in 5 acts (1875), with a long literary introduction (*muḳaddeme*) on the defects of Ottoman literature and the technique of the drama, first published by Rodosîl Sâlih Djemâl, then printed in Cairo without the introduction in 1292 (1875); the *muḳaddeme* alone is printed in *Medjmu'a-i Abu 'l-Ziyâ*, No. 41 (1885), and *Kitâbkhâne-i Abu 'l-Ziyâ*, No. 69. It is a romantic tragedy from Persian history in the style of Hugo's "Cromwell" and "Hernani". *Diḳlâl* is thought to mark the zenith of Turkish romanticism. It is a drama intended to be read

only, a passionate protest against the government system of the Ottoman Sultāns. On account of its obvious bias the piece was always suppressed by the censor.

6. *Qara Belā* "Black Misfortune", first published in the *Külliyāt* in 1908, written in Famagusta in 1875, describes the violation of an Indian Emperor's daughter by a negro who has smuggled himself into the harem as a eunuch and takes the place of her lover. The dishonoured lady commits suicide by poisoning herself on the eve of her marriage after killing the black monster.

Smirnov seems to be wrong in ascribing a drama *Anadolu Köyleri* to Kemāl, for which the Sultān is said to have granted him a special reward.

Kemāl's dramas suffer from a lack of naturalness, a want of lucidity in the inner motives, from sentimentality, too much patriotic pathos and from tirades. But he knows how to grip the attention of his audience and carry them with him. A certain psychological depth cannot be denied him. The Turkish theatre was then something quite new. The plays are great achievements for their time and circumstances, in spite of all their dramatic and technical defects, especially as Kemāl was mainly concerned with using the drama as a medium to carry his ideas to the masses and to arouse the feelings dormant in the people. For him the theatre is "an amusement useful to influence the people".

He followed similar lines in his two novels, which have the same defects. But in them we have the typical features of Turkish life and thought vividly and realistically portrayed. From the point of view of style they reveal great beauty. The influence of his novels was great; they became the model for a whole school whose most ardent representative was Wedjîhî. The two novels are:

1. *Intibāh yakḥod 'Alî Beyiñ Sergüzeshti* "The Awakening or 'Alî Bey's experiences" (1874; the original title is said to have been *Soñ Peshimānlik*). It is the description of the adventures of a rich spoiled mother's darling, who falls into the clutches of a harlot, deluded by her intrigues heartlessly sacrifices his innocent sweetheart and is completely ruined, until finally he kills his mistress, after the sweetheart whom he has abandoned has saved him at the cost of her own life, and ends in prison.

2. *Djezmî*, a historical novel (1297 = 1880, printed 1305 = 1887/1888), the romantic love story of 'Ādil Girai of the Crimea and the sister of the Shāh of Persia during 'Ādil Girai's captivity in Persia in the xvth century. The main facts are taken from history; *Djezmî* marks an important technical advance on 'Alî Bey in the compactness of its style and its wealth of colour. Panislāmîc ideas are very evident in it.

The most noteworthy of Kemāl's historical works are: 1) his biographies *Ewrāk-i Perişān* "Scattered Leaves" (1301) in 4 parts in which he gives accounts of the lives of four remarkable Muḥammadan men, writing in a learned style in the European manner, in the further development of his Islāmîc tendencies; the four are: the Aiyūbid Salāḥ al-Dīn, the Ottoman Sultān Mehmed II, Selim I Yawuz and the Emir Newrūz Bey. The collection is considered a classic among the Turks, both in language and learning although it is only a good compilation, mainly taken from European

sources. In vividness of description and vigour of style they take almost the first place among his works; 2) *Dewr-i Istilā* "The Period of the Invasion"; 3) *Kanîza*, the story of the capture of the fortress of Kanisza in Hungary, written in 1290 (1873) in Famagusta and printed anonymously the same year.

4) Kemāl was a passionate believer in the vitality of Islām. There is, however, in his views a certain lack of coherence between the Muslim ideas and the Rousseauian formulae which he has adopted. He endeavours to prove the equal worth of Islām with the ideals of modern civilisation, which are in the end ideals of Islām also; Islām was in no wise backward down to the xvth century, and had only to give way to the superiority of Europe with the rise of experimental science. In reply to Ernest Renan's attempt to prove the hostility of Islām to education, Kemāl wrote a defence *Renān Mudāfa'anāmesi* published in the *Külliyāt*, which is based on much sounder foundations than the other Muḥammadan pamphlets combatting Renan's views.

5) *Medkḥel*, the history of ancient Rome and the history of Islām which comes down to 438 (1046), were intended as an introduction and a foundation for his Ottoman history. The latter runs from the beginning of the empire to the death of Sultān Selim I Yawuz in 926 (1520).

6) *Rüyā* "The Dream", the most vigorous and inspired of his writings, which every Turk must have read at the time of the reaction, dreams of the days when the chains will fall in the fatherland. It has been often reprinted, for example twice in Cairo (*Idjtiḥād*) in 1907 and 1909.

7) *Sergüzesht* (1326 = 1908) also describes a dream.

Kemāl was above all a publicist (see above). He raised the *İbret* to be an ideal newspaper. His articles which appeared in it are still reprinted again and again and put into collections. The separate numbers of the newspaper are still carefully preserved.

As a critic he also displayed a comprehensive activity, an appreciation of which has been given by Gibb. He mercilessly shattered the old Parnassus and helped the new school to victory. There is much criticism in his essays and in his *Mukaddeme*. When Ziyā Pasha, his old comrade in arms, made a rather unfortunate selection in an anthology of Turkish literature in his three volumes *Kharābāt*, Kemāl wrote two vigorous criticisms of the first two volumes, *Takhrīb-i Kharābāt*, 1298 = 1881, and *Takḥib-i Kharābāt*, reprinted in 1303, which Gibb considers among the best essays in Turkish.

Kemāl's letters are of great importance, as he corresponded with almost all the leading personalities in Turkey, political as well as literary. Unfortunately they are only in part published so far, for example the letters to Midḥat Efendi, 'Irḥān Pasha, a part of those to Abu'l-Ziyā Tewfīk, 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Hāmid and others. He wrote naturally and vigorously and was the first to teach his people the epistolary style.

We must not omit his official papers. However conventional and crabbed Ottoman official style is, he nevertheless succeeded in giving it lucidity and clearness. The number of official documents which he composed in his different official positions is legion. They are essays on the

creation of the state and its reforms, the rights of the people, its intellectual and ideal requirements, on law, history, political economy, social philosophy, schemes, protocols, semi-official documents, etc.

Finally we may mention his numerous translations: *Behâr-i Dānîsh* ("Springtime of Knowledge"), translated with a literary introduction from the work of the Indian Shaikh 'Ināyat Allāh. He also translated from the French of Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Montesquieu, J. J. Rousseau, Condorcet, Volney, etc.

A complete edition of his works was begun by his son 'Ali Ekrem. But his scheme was too ambitious and he broke down in the middle of it. The biography of Kemâl promised by 'Ali Ekrem has, so far as I know, not yet appeared. It is unfortunate that the essay on Kemâl's place in literary history by Dr. Rizā Tewfik has not yet been published.

Bibliography: Besides works quoted in the text, see: W. D. Smirnow, *Tureckaya Civilizatsiya*, in *Wiestnik Europy*, 1876, ix. 15; do., *Očerki istorii tureckoi literatury*, in Korsh's *Wseobshchaya Literatura*, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 531 sq.; do., *Obrazcowiya proizwedeniya osmanskoj literatury*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. xx. sq. and 350—394; Charles Wells, *The Literature of the Turks*, London 1891, p. 148—206; L. Bonelli, *Della lingua e letteratura contemporanea*, in the *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze* (1892), p. 1467—1470; do., *La moderna letteratura Ottomana*, in *Bessarione, Rivista di Studi Orientali*, vii., vol. iv., fasc. 70, Rome 1903; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900—1909; P. Horn, *Türkische Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 30—34; Edmond Fazy and Abdül Halim Memdoudh, *Anthologie de l'amour turque*, Paris 1905, p. 161—191; I. Kúnos, *Oszmán-török nyelvkönyv*, Budapest 1905, p. 61—64; K. J. Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature Ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 193—196; Fr. Vincze, *Námik Kemâl Bej*, Budapest 1911; Wl. Gordlewskij, *Očerki po nowoi osmanskoj literaturie*, Moscow 1912, p. 13—27; A. Fischer and A. Muhieddin, *Anthologie aus der neuzeitlichen türkischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1919, p. 4 and 5; Ahmed Muhieddin, *Die Kulturbewegung im modernen Türkentum*, Leipzig 1921, p. 6 sq.; Abu 'l-Ziyā Tewfik, *Nümüne-i Edebiyât-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1308, p. 299—500; do., *Djümel-i müntakhabat-i Kemâl*, Constantinople 1311; do., *Kitābhāne-i Abu 'l-Ziyā*, N^o. 11—13, *Takhrīb-i Kharābat* (1303); N^o. 19—20, *Edebiyāt*; N^o. 28—29, *Takhib-i Kharābat*; N^o. 68, *Bāriki-Zafer*; N^o. 69, *Mukaddeme-i Djelāl*; N^o. 88—89, *Tabşire-i Akif Pasha*; N^o. 97, *Qanīza* (1st ed. 1290, anonymous, 2nd ed. 1303 under Kemâl's name, 3rd ed. 1311 by Abu 'l-Ziyā); Abu 'l-Ziyā, *Medjmū'a-i Abu 'l-Ziyā*, N^o. 41 (1302); Sāmi, *Kā-mūs al-A'lām*, v. 3884 sq., Constantinople 1314; 'Ali Su'ād, *Námik Kemāle, Ashiyan*, Constantinople 1324, i., N^o. 7, p. 195 sq.; Kemāl-Zāde 'Ali Ekrem, *Rūh-i Kemāl*, Constantinople 1324; do., *Kulliyāt-i Kemāl*, Constantinople 1326; Bul-kulu-Zāde Rizā, *Müntakhabāt-i Bedāyī Edebiye*, Constantinople 1326 (12 specimens of prose and 25 of poetry); 'Abd Allāh Djewdet, *Izihād*, ii., N^o. 6 and 7, p. 227—230 and 254—263, Cairo 1908; Reshād, *Kemāl ile Mukhabirimiz*,

Constantinople 1632; Eshref, *Hasb-i Hāl yakhoa Eshref we-Kemāl*, Constantinople 1908; Emin 'Othmān, *Hādikatü'l-Üdeba*, Constantinople 1299 and 1327; Shehāb al-Din Süleimān, *Tārikh-i Edebiyāt-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1328, p. 325—331; 'Abdū 'l-Halim Memdūh, *Tārikh-i Edebiyāt-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1306; Midhāt Djemāl, *Nefā'is-i Edebiye Manzūme Kismā*, Constantinople 1329; do., a drama *Kemāl*. The complete edition intended to fill 7 volumes which Kemāl's son, 'Ali Ekrem, undertook to edit in 1910/11 was, according to the prospectus, to be as follows: first series 1) *Renan Müdāfa'a Nāmesi*; 2) *Kara Belā*; 3) *Maḳāṭāt-i Siyāsiye we-Edebiye and Rüyā*; 4) *Waṭan, Gül-nihāl, 'Akif, Zā-wallī Çoçuk*; 5) *Esh'ar-i Kemāl*; 6) *Djelāl al-Din Khwāresm-Shah* with the *Mukaddeme*; 7) and 11) *Mekātīb-i Khushsiye*, 2 volumes correspondence; 8) *Ewrāk-i Perishān Medjmū'asī* (the biographies of Fātiḥ, Sultān Selim, Salāḥ al-Din Aiyūbi and of Emīr Newrūz; and *Devr-i Islā*); 9) *Müntakhabāt-i Muḥarrevāt-i resmiye*; 10) *Djesmū and Intibāḥ*; 12) *Takhib u-Takhrīb-i Kharābat* and the critical writings. Second series: *Medkhal* (introduction to history), *Tārikh-i Islām* and *'Othmanī Tārikhi*; further his scattered papers, his numerous translations etc.; of the first series there were published 1, 2, 3 (6 parts); of the second series 4 volumes of the Ottoman history. (TH. MENZEL)

KEMÂL-PASHA-ZÂDE, the usual name of the Ottoman historian, lawyer and stylist SHAMS AL-DIN AHMAD B. SULAIMAN B. KEMÂL PASHA, often also called Ibn Kemâl-pasha.

Kemâl-pasha-zāde belonged to a distinguished family of Adrianople where he was born as the son of the wealthy Süleimān Pasha. His grandfather was Kemâl-pasha who, like his father, had taken part in repeated campaigns against the infidels and attained great prestige (on him see *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv. 78). Kemâl-pasha-zāde served at first in Bāyazid's army but was induced to take up a legal career by an experience which is minutely reported by Tashköprüzāde. He was one day in the Grand Vizier's Diwān when Aḥmad, the son of Ewrenos [q. v.], entered and was received with great respect. Soon afterwards there appeared a man with shabby clothes and no head-dress, to whom the vizier, to Kemâl-pasha-zāde's surprise, showed even greater respect and even gave him the seat before the son of Ewrenos. He was the celebrated jurist Luṭfi of Toḳat (d. 904 = 1498). The ambitious youth, surprised at the preference shown to a müderris with 30 aspers over a nobleman of the empire, at once made up his mind to abandon the army and became Luṭfi's pupil. The latter lectured at the Dār al-Hādith in Adrianople together with other celebrated professors, like Kaṣtallānī [q. v.], Khaṭīb-zāde, Mu'arrif-zāde, on Muslim law subjects. After completing his studies, Kemâl-pasha-zāde was appointed teacher in the far famed medrese of 'Ali Beg in Adrianople but was soon afterwards summoned to Üsküb as müderris, finally to return to Adrianople to the Ḥalabiya medrese. After a great deal of hostility from the Chief Justice Hādjdji Hasan-zāde, who was jealous of all rising talent and put every obstacle in its way, he was appointed by the Sultān, on the advice of the poet Mu'ayyed-zāde (*takhallus* Hātīmī, d. 922 = 1516), teacher in the Tashliḳ High School (= 'Ali Beg Medrese) at

Adrianople on a salary of 30,000 aspers. The influential patronage of Mu'ayyed-zāde procured him all sorts of liberties, so that he was able to spend some time in Sofia and some time in Dupnitsa (Bulgaria), to carry out with the greatest leisure the composition of the Ottoman history entrusted to him by the Sultān and at the same time to write the most varied works, sometimes on law, sometimes on history, sometimes on poetry and sometimes on rhetoric. Over 300 treatises etc. are said to have come from his pen in this period.

In the reign of Sultān Selīm I, Kemāl-pasha-zāde in 1516 finally attained the rank of military judge of Anatolia and in this office accompanied the Padishāh on his Egyptian campaign. On the march he was commissioned to translate into Turkish, among other things, two works of the Arab historian Abu 'l-Mahāsīn b. Taghrībirdī [q. v.] on the lands of the Caliphs. Every morning he handed his master an instalment of the translation, which, according to Ḥādījī Khalifa (N^o. 5,878 and 13,616), was called *al-Kawākib al-Bāhira min al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira* (on this cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 42), and took the opportunity to enlighten the Sultān regarding the feeling in the army through a soldier-song, made up by him, expressing the desire for a speedy return home. Although Selīm saw through the plan, he pardoned the poet and even gave him a present of 500 gold pieces as a mark of honour (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, ii. 519; H. F. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, i. 283; also the *Defterdār* Abu 'l-Faḍl's supplement [*Dhail*, part 4] to *Heṣht Behišt* of his father Idris Bitlisī, MS. of the Vienna National Library H. O. 16 d., fol. 126). After the return home, Kemāl-pasha-zāde resumed his old position as teacher in the Dār al-Ḥadīth, then at the Bāyazīdiya in Adrianople and at the same time resumed his scholarly and poetical activities. On the lines of Sa'dī's *Bustān* and *Gulistān* he wrote in Persian the *Nigārīstān* (i. e. "picture-gallery") (cf. Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vi. 381, and *Der Islam*, vii. 118; extracts in German are given by Count v. Harrach in the *Fundgr. des Orients*, i. 401 sqq., ii. 107 sqq., iii. 47 sqq.). Kemāl-pasha-zāde is the author of an Ottoman history which begins in the year 886 (accession of Bāyazīd II) and goes down to the first Hungarian campaign of Suleimān the Great in 933. Manuscripts of the complete work seem to be exceedingly rare. The Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden seems to have most parts of it (cf. J. H. Mordtmann's collation in *Der Islam*, xiii. 153 sq.), while in Vienna, for example, there are only fragments of the whole work which was perhaps written and issued in separate parts dealing with particular periods from time to time (part at least as early as the reign of Bāyazīd II) (cf. G. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 220; on the work cf. Ḥ. Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ii. 111, N^o. 2153). An edition would be very desirable and of considerable value in solving the problems of the old Ottoman chronicles. That Kemāl-pasha-zāde prepared a translation of the *Heṣht Bihīšt* of Idris, as is stated in the *Ulmīye Sālnāmesi*, p. 347, is probably a mistake. Kemāl-pasha-zāde subjected the campaign of Mohács to a very full review, which was published for the first time with a French translation by Pavet de Courteille (*Hist. de la Campagne de Mohacz*, Paris 1859). There is a very good manuscript of it in the Dresden Public Library.

His poetical masterpiece is the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikha often dealt with before (e. g. by Ḥamdī, q. v.) and after him, but his treatment of the subject is peculiarly felicitous; his other poems, in which his sharp wit much admired in his lifetime and his intellectual nimbleness are revealed, are collected in a separate *Dirwān* which appeared in 1313 in Stambul (cf. Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 347—363, where a full appreciation of his literary activity is given). He further wrote a number of philological works of which we may mention here a dictionary to elucidate difficult Persian phrases, called *Daḡā'ik al-Ḥaḡā'ik* (cf. G. Flügel, *op. cit.*, i. 130). Of legal works special mention must be made of his *Risāla fī Ṭabaḡāt al-Mudjtahidīn* which deals with the various classes of jurists (cf. G. Flügel, *Die Klassen der hanefit. Rechtsgel.*, in the *Abh. der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss.*, 1861, viii. 279, 280, 281, 346; MSS. of it in Vienna; cf. G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr. . . zu Wien*, ii. 612).

He left a vast number of commentaries on the *Ḥidāya*, *Taḡrīd*, *Miftāh*, *Tahāfut*, notes on the *Kur'ān*, marginal notes on the *Kashshāf* etc. which are represented in most eastern collections of Oriental MSS. (cf. e. g. G. Flügel, *op. cit.*, i. 130, 132, 133, 251, 291, 524, 710, 714, 722, 723; ii. 220, 221, 612; iii. 179, 215 sqq.; list of several treatises in Ahlwardt, *Berliner Kat.*, i. 12, N^o. 19; collection of 59 treatises in the *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiya al-mahfūza bil-Kutubkhāna al-khadiwiya al-Misriya*, vol. vii., Cairo 1309, p. 435—444; also *Defter-i Kutubkhāne-i Aya Şöfya*, Stambul 1304, N^o. 4794, 4797, 4820; *Defter-i Kutubkhāne-i Laleli Dīami*, Stambul 1300, N^o. 2433, 3645, 3647. A collection of 36 treatises entitled *Rasā'il* appeared in two parts at Stambul in 1316 (Ikdam-press); cf. *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, lvi. 525.

He even wrote on the subject of *bāh*, as his *Kitāb Rudjū' al-Shaikh ilā Shibāh fī 'l-Kuwwa 'alā 'l-Bāh* shows (printed Cairo 1316 and 1335; Turkish version: lithogr., n. d., 90 pp. in 8^o).

Kemāl-pasha-zāde died on Shawwāl 2, 941 (April 6, 1535), at Stambul and was interred outside the Adrianople Gate in the monastery of Maḥmūd Ćelebi, where one of his pupils, Maḥmūd Bey, who died as Kaḍī of Cairo, erected a stone monument to his memory. Three chronogrammatic verses (*ta'rīkh*) in Arabic were inscribed on his coffin, his shroud and his tombstone, the numerical value of which was each 941 (cf. *Ḥadīkat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 180, 181, and Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Şiyāhat-nāme*, i. 345, esp. 359; cf., on the other hand, J. v. Hammer-Purgstall in the *Z.D.M.G.*, vi. 282, and *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak. der Wiss.*, 1851, vi. 326—328, according to which the date is 940, which is certainly an error).

Bibliography. In addition to the sources quoted above see the life of Kemāl-pasha-zāde in Taḥṣīkprizāde, *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, Stambul 1269, p. 381—385; Th. Chabert, *Laṭīfī*, Zürich 1800, p. 79; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, iii. 635; do., *Gesch. der osm. Dichtk.*, ii. 205 sqq.; Brusall Meḥmed Tāhir, *Osmānī Mükellifi*, i. 223; *Ulmīye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 346 sq.; Meḥmed 'Arif Bey in the *Revue Historique Ottomane*, p. 1411 sqq.; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, ii. 449—453 (where most of his works are given under their titles). (FRANZ BABINGER)

KEMĀL RE'İS, Turkish corsair and sea-captain during the reign of Bāyazīd II. In his youth he had been given as a present to the Sultān by the Kapudan Pasha Sinān, after which he was brought up as a page at the court. He began his career as a chief of 'azabs, then took to the Mediterranean and captured in 892/1487 a Maltese Prince (*Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv., 78). In 896/1490, by order of Bāyazīd, he raided the Spanish coast in order to support the last Nasrid of Granada Mulay Hasan, who, in his critical situation had invoked the Sultān's aid. This expedition is only recorded by Hādjdji Khalifa in his *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh* but not in his Story of the Naval Wars (*Tuhfat al-Kibār*) and it seems to be unknown to the other historians; in any case it cannot have been of much importance in view of the great difficulties of the Ottoman Empire occasioned at the time by the wars against Egypt and Austria. In 903=1497/1498 we find Kemāl Re'is marauding in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean with other corsairs; he took several Christian ships and brought his booty to the bey of Alexandria ('Ashīk Pasha Zāde, p. 250); at this time therefore he probably was not serving the Sultān. But in the war of the Turks against Venice (905/1499) he was one of the admirals of the fleet. The Turkish fleet had three newly equipped unusually large battleships (turkish: *kūke*) of which one was commanded by the Kapudan Pasha Dā'ūd, and the two others by Kemāl Re'is and Burāk Re'is (Münedjdjim Bashi writes Budāk, so also Leunclavius: Budacus). In the naval battle of Sapienza (28 July 1499) the Venetians took the latter's ship for that of Kemāl Re'is on whom they particularly wanted to take revenge. Burāk Re'is was boarded by two big and some smaller Venetian ships; he defended himself with burning naphtha, until he, and his enemies, were blown up together: the island of Sapienza was called after him Burāk Re'is Adası. After this battle the Turkish fleet took Lepanto (İne-Bakht). In the next year, after the towns of Koron and Modon had been taken by Turkish sea-power, Kemāl Re'is was sent with 40 ships to Navarino (Turkish Awārīn) of which town he captured the citadel from the Venetian commander Contarini. He died, according to Sāmi (*Kānūs al-A'lām*, v. 3886), in the beginning of the xth century, perishing by a ship-wreck (*Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*).

Bibliography: Münedjdjim Bashi, *Şahā'if al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, iii. 424, 427; Hādjdji Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Bihār*, Stambul 1141, fol. 8, 9; 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, Stambul 1332, p. 250; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, ii. 90; von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1828, ii. p. 295, 316, 318, 327, 602; Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, Frankfurt 1596, p. 196.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KEMĀNKESH (i. e. "Archer") 'ALĪ PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Vizier. He was born in the Anatolian district of Hāmid-eli [q. v.], came early to Stambul, where he was brought up in the imperial palace. In 1030 (1620/1621) he was appointed governor of Diyār-bakr and soon afterwards of Baghdad. Next year he was given the rank of third vizier of the dome (*kubbe vezīri*). In Dhu 'l-Kāda, 1032, he was given the imperial seal in place of the dismissed Grand Vizier Mere Ḥusain

Pasha, mainly through the efforts of the Shaikh al-Islām Yahyā Efendi, but also as a reward for his readiness in assisting in deposing the incapable and imbecile Sultān Muṣṭafā I. Kemānkesh 'ALĪ Pasha, weak, timid and common in character, began by getting rid of his enemies and rivals by throwing the viziers Gurdji Mehmed Pasha and Khalil Pasha into prison and dismissing the Mufti Yahyā. His greed and avarice prompted him to the most contemptible embezzlements and frauds on the Treasury; he had coins minted with a slight proportion (barely one-fifth) of silver, put the pay of the Janissaries into his own pocket and in other ways let the state go to ruin. Within six months he had made a huge fortune by depreciating the currency and selling offices. Sir Thomas Roe who describes the Grand Vizier at his accession to office in a despatch of August 23, 1623, as "a man quietly honest, but of untried and therefore suspected ability for so great a charge" (cf. *The Negotiations of Sir Th. Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628*, London 1740, p. 173) talks on April 3, 1624, of "his owne sordid covetousnesse, who in six months had heaped up infinite treasure, by portsale of all justice and offices, which hath weighed him to the ground" (*op. cit.*, p. 230) and a Venetian report of August, 1624, puts his wealth at a "somma di 700,000 scudi in contanti, molto opportuna" (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 21).

The terrible state to which the empire was reduced (rebellions in Asia Minor and Egypt, the threat from Persia, the fall of Baghdad on November 28, 1623, concealed from the Sultān, Stambul without food, the currency depreciated, the treasury exhausted, the Janissaries out of hand) aroused to the highest pitch the wrath of the youthful Murād IV against the Grand Vizier responsible. Kemānkesh 'ALĪ Pasha was summoned to the palace on Djumādā II 14, 1033 (March 24, 1624), and summarily beheaded. His body was buried in the forecourt of the mosque of 'Ātik 'ALĪ Pasha (cf. *Hadīkat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 150; J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 75, No. 312). His successor was Čerkes Mehmed Pasha. Kemānkesh 'ALĪ Pasha was married to a daughter of the celebrated Kaḍī-asker and Shaikh al-Islām, Bostānzāde Mehmed Efendi.

Bibliography: 'Othmān-zāde Aḥmad Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, Stambul 1271, p. 72; *Hadīkat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 150 sq. (with short sketch of his career); J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, and J. W. Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, under Kemankesh Ali Pascha; Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1280, ii. 294 sq.; Hādjdji Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, ii. 52 (execution); *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iii. 510.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KENĀ, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (23,357 inhabitants in 1917 against 17,485 in 1875, 15,402 in 1884 or 27,500 in 1897). It is the capital of the province (*muḍiriya*) of the same name which is divided into seven districts (*markaz*), namely: 1. Dishnā, 2. Isnā, 3. Kenā, 4. Kuṣair, 5. Kūš, 6. Luṣsur, 7. Nadj^c Hāmādī. In 1897 the population of the province was 711,457 of whom 120,330 are in the province of Kenā. — The region produces cotton and cereals; in the town, cloth and sweet-stuffs are manufactured. But Kenā is especially noted for its porous pottery; the jars (*kulla*) which are made there are called

ballāṣ from the name of a place a few miles to the south.

The Arabic name, written *Ikṇā* by some geographers and *kūnā* in the Copto-Arab *scalae*, comes from the Coptic **ΚΩΝΗ** which give rise to a play on the Greek *καινή πόλις* "new town", a name which did not last long as it is never found in the Byzantine period. The identity of this town with the Neapolis of Herodotus has been seriously urged; it is rather the modern Minshā'a, the ancient Ptolemais. On the other hand it has been conjectured with much probability that at the end of the third century it received the name Maximianopolis.

In the first Arab period, the *kūra* of *Kenā* extended to the east of the Nile between that of Fāw on the north and *Ḳifṭ* in the south, in front of that of Dandara from which it was separated by the river. The first author to mention it, Ya'qūbī, gives a very unflattering description of the district: he says it is a little town rapidly going to ruin, deserted by its inhabitants who feared the raids of the Beduin robbers and brigands. Therefore when the new provincial divisions were made under Mustanṣir it was *Ḳūṣ* which gave its name to the district (*'amal*) and became its capital. *Kenā* remained unimportant for some time as Yaḳūt only gives it a brief note and Abu 'l-Fida' does not mention it.

Its prosperity was not long in beginning owing to the tomb of the saint 'Abd al-Raḥīm which became an object of pilgrimage while pious Muslims settled in its vicinity. Some years previously Ibn Djbair had mentioned *Kenā* as a pretty little town with houses of a dazzling whiteness; he makes special mention of the virtue of the women who never appeared in the streets. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Aḍfuwī gives us an account of the merits of 'Abd al-Raḥīm; he describes the houses of the town as spacious and very high and mentions two *madrasas* in *Kenā* and a number of hospices (*ribāṭ*), Ibn Duḳmāk only copies Aḍfuwī. In the Turkish period *Kenā* was the residence of a *Kāshif* but it is only in modern times that it has assumed the administrative position which it owes to its present steadily increasing prosperity.

The town situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of *Ḳuṣair*. This route took the place of the one used in the middle ages between *Ḳūṣ* and 'Aidhāb which in turn succeeded the ancient Copto-Berenice road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value: it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mekka and even during the Crusades it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831—1833 Muḥammad 'Alī had the wells inspected on the *Kenā-Ḳuṣair* road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. *L'Égypte Moderne*, collection *L'Univers*, p. 164—166; Barron and Hurne, *Top. and Geology of the East Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Ḥajjīdjūn, twelfth descendant of Dja'far al-Ṣādiq, was born in the environs of Ceuta in Morocco. After a journey to Mekka where he spent seven years he settled in *Kenā* and died there on Ṣafar 9, 592 (Jan. 13,

1196). Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt along with Aḥmad Badawī, Ibrāhīm Dāsūḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥajjīdjādī Ak-surī. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which if recited beside the tomb hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about cures. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to *Kenā* made circuits (*ṭawāf*) of the tomb of 'Abd al-Raḥīm similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Ka'ba (Aḍfuwī, *Ṭālī' Sa'id*, N^o 231; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 315; *R.H.R.*, ii. 284; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, p. 224). — There were descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥīm living in Egypt for two centuries: they were particularly jurists and professors (Aḍfuwī, Nos. 29, 117, 129, 308, 402, 405, 476, 553; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ii. 423).

Bibliography: Ibn Djbair, ed. Wright-de Goeje, p. 67; Yaḳūt, iv. 178; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 106; Aḍfuwī, *Ṭālī' Sa'id*, p. 7—8, 19; 'Alī Pāshā, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djādida*, xiv. 120—125; Sour-dille, *Durée du voy. d'Hérodote*, p. 153—159; Baedeker, *Égypte*, p. 237, 243; Massignon, *Sec. note sur l'état d'avancement des ét. archéol. ar.*, from the *B.I.F.A.O.*, ix. 6; Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 1923, p. 120; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 130, 147—149, 153, 173, 175, 177—182, 184, 185—191; al-Batānūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥijāziya*, p. 31—32.

(G. WIET)

KEN'ĀN PASHA, also called ṢARĪ K. PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Admiral. He was a Russian (? Circassian) by birth and came as a slave into the service of Baḳīrdjī Aḥmad Pasha, Ottoman governor of Egypt. On the latter's execution he was taken by Sulṭān Murād IV into the Serai and educated there. He was promoted to be Agha of the stirrup-holders (*Rikāb-dār aghasi*) (Chronicle of Wedjīhi, fol. 91^b of the Vienna MS.), became a favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm after his accession (Febr., 1640) and married his daughter 'Ātike Sulṭāne. He was at the same time appointed third vizier but banished soon after Ibrāhīm's death (Aug. 18, 1648) to Crete. In Sept., 1652, he returned to Stambul and was appointed to the charge of the defences of the Dardanelles. On Sept. 9, 1653, he was given the governorship of Ofen, but deprived of it on Sept. 22, 1655, and on Febr. 9, 1656, appointed governor of Silistria. On May 3 of the same year he was appointed Grand Admiral (*Ḳapudān Pasha*, q.v.). On June 26, 1656, while in command of the Ottoman fleet sent out against the Venetians, he suffered a severe defeat in the Dardanelles, the greatest naval reverse inflicted on Turkey since the battle of Lepanto (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, v. 649 sqq.). The whole weight of the Sulṭān's wrath fell upon Ken'ān Pasha who was immediately thrown into prison. He was finally released on the intercession of his Russian countrywoman, the Sulṭāna-mother (Kösem Wālide; q.v.) but was dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral almost immediately, on July 18, 1656. Two years later, on June 23, 1658, he was appointed *Kā'im-maḳām* [q.v.] but the very next month, on July 16, 1658, dismissed again and sent to Brusa as commander of the garrison (*Muḥāfiṣ*) (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 37; Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, first ed., ii. 660). He set out from here by arrangement with the Anatolian rebel 'Abāza Ḥasan with whom

he closely allied himself, only to share his fate, treacherous assassination, on Febr. 17, 1659, in Aleppo (cf. Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, ii. 685). His head was brought to the *Diwān* in Stambul on March 9, 1659.

If this is the Ken'an Pasha mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhat-nāma*, iii. 366 (and he certainly never was governor of Oczakov any more than was Kōdja Ken'an Pasha [d. 1062 = 1651/52] who is also often confused with the Grand Admiral e.g. in the *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 83), he was also an author and composed a *Şaltık-nāma* in honour of Şarī Şaltık Baba [q. v.]. His own warlike exploits, especially his military operations in the years 1036—1038 (1626—1628), were celebrated in a rhymed *Pasha-nāma* by the poet and judge Tulū'ī Ibrāhīm Efendi (of Kaḳkandelen) of which there is a copy in the Brit. Mus. (Sloane MS. 3584); cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turk. MSS.*, p. 191 sq., with detailed summary of contents. The possibility that it celebrates the above mentioned Kōdja Ken'an Pasha who had a very similar career to his namesake and contemporary (both were, for example, governors of Ofen) has always to be remembered. The biographical data regarding Şarī Ken'an Pasha are much confused, as the article on p. 65 sq. in Rāmiz Pasha-zāde Mehmed, *Khariṭa-i Kapudānān-i Deryā* (Stambul 1285) and Sāmī Bey Frasherī, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 3900, who follows it, show. According to this authority, Ken'an Pasha was buried beside the school not far from Kırık Česhme.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): A. v. Gévai in Jos. v. Chmel, *Österreich. Geschichtsforscher*, Vienna 1841, ii. 82, N^o. 76; do., *A'budai pasák*, Bécs 1841, p. 41, N^o. 76; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 83; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, x. 497, under *Kenaanpascha*.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KENEZ. [See KNEZ].

AL-KERAK, a fortress east of the Dead Sea in the ancient Moab. The name goes back to the Aramaic *karkhā*, "town", which the Targum gives for *ķir* in the Moabite place-names Kīr Mō'āb (Is., xv. 1) and Kīr Hārās (Hārāsāt; Is., xvi. 7, 11; Jer., xlviii. 31, 36). It is found as *Χαρχα* in Ptolemy (v. 16, 4) on the mosaic map of Mādaba, in Stephanus Byzantinus, etc. Its situation on a steeply sloping spur only connected by an (artificially deepened) saddleback with the main ridge makes al-Kerak an unusually strong fortress. It is remarkable that it is not mentioned in connection with the Muslim conquest of the East Jordan country or in the following centuries; only with the Crusading period, after it had been fortified by King Fulco's former cupbearer, Payan, does it begin to play a part, and that a prominent one. The Christians of that time, who were not well read in geography, sought the ancient Petra here and called it Petra deserti. As it commanded the pilgrim road from Damascus and all traffic between Syria and Egypt, it caused the Muslims much trouble and was therefore repeatedly but vainly besieged from 565 (1170) onwards by Nūr al-Dīn and Şalāh al-Dīn until finally it was so starved out that the garrison surrendered in 584 (1188) to Şalāh al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-'Ādil, to whom it was allotted after Şalāh al-Dīn's death. In the years that followed it belonged to various Aiyūbids and even after the rule of most kings

of this family was over, al-Mughith 'Umar still held out in al-Kerak until Baibars captured it by treachery and put him to death (661 = 1263).

Behind the strong walls of the fortress the Mam-lūk Sulṭān Nāşir found shelter in 708 (1309) when he escaped from Cairo to found a real power. At this time al-Kerak was capital of one of the *mamlakāt* into which Syria and Palestine were divided; its territory lay chiefly to the south of it. How powerful the fortress, the majority of whose inhabitants were still Christian, then was, is seen from the descriptions by al-Dimashķī, Yāqūt, al-'Umari and Khalil al-Zāhirī. Under Turkish rule it lost its importance until quite modern times when the Ottoman government put a strong garrison into it and made al-Kerak capital of a separate administrative district. The walls date mainly from the middle ages, while the lower strata go back to an older period.

Bibliography: P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 114; al-Dimashķī, ed. Mehren, p. 213; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 262; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 247; R. Hartmann, *Die geogr. Nachrichten in Ḥalil al-Zāhiris Zubdat Kaşf al-Mamālik*, Kirchhain 1907, p. 44 sq.; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxx. 18; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 232 and passim, xii. 12, 62 sq., 214, 230, 316; Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, ii. 616, iii. 2, 150, 207, 245, 298; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 70 sqq., 105 sqq.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer morte*, i. 99 sqq., ii. 106 sqq.; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. 45—62 (with pictures and extracts from the literature); R. Hartmann, *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, xxxvi. 194; *Mitt. u. Nachr. des Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, 1895, p. 68 sq.; 1896, p. 45.

(FR. BUHL)

KERBELĀ'. [See MESHED HUSAIN].

KERČ (KERTCH), a town and fortress on the Crimean peninsula; according to the census of 1897, it had 28,982 inhabitants. In ancient times it was the site of the Greek colony of Pantikapaion, later called Bosphoros as the capital of the Bosporan kingdom, from the end of the seventh century the residence of the Khazar governor (with the title Tudun) of the eastern part of the Crimea (the western with the capital Khersonesos still belonged to the Byzantine empire). The name Kerč first appears in Muslim sources and is variously written; to the references to the texts (for the forms Karz and al-Karsh) in J. Marquart, *Ost-europäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 506, may be added Rukn al-Dīn Baibars in W. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik Materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordz*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 89, 5 (there Kardj). In Marquart, *op. cit.*, the derivation of the name from the Greek *Kόπιζος* or *Kupiζος*, "as a monastery near Kerč is called", proposed by Russian scholars (Wassilyewski, Bruun, Kunik, Harkavy), is also given. In old Russian sources the town is called Korčew; for example in the well known inscription of the year 6576 (1068) quoted by Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskago*, ii., note 120).

After the final destruction of the Khazar empire by the combined forces of the Byzantines and Russians about 1016 the eastern part of the Crimea with Kerč belonged to the Russian principality of T'mutarakan, the capital of which of the same name lay on the peninsula of Taman opposite

Kerč. About a century later the possession of the steppe territory passed to the Kıpçak or Komans and that of the seaports to the Byzantines. As Yu. Kulakowski (*Proshloye Tavridy*², Kiev 1912, p. 93, on the authority of Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et dipl. gr. medii aevi*, iii. 25, suggests, the town of *Πορσία* mentioned in the treaty of 1169 between the Emperor Manuel Komnenos and the republic of Genoa is to be identified with the Russian Korčew. From the xiiith century the Crimean peninsula belonged to the Tatar kingdom of the Golden Horde; in the year 698 (Oct., 1298—Sept., 1299) Kerč with some other towns of the Crimea was destroyed by Noghai to avenge his grandson who was killed in Kafa (Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*). In the xvth century Kerč came into the hands of the Ottoman Turks. After the conquest of Azov, Peter the Great, during his stay in Vienna in 1698, asked that Kerč should be ceded to Russia by the Turks in the peace negotiations then about to begin. But this demand was not granted. After the peace of Carlowicz concluded in the same year, Kerč remained in the hands of the Turks (J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*², iii. 909; S. Solowyew, *Istoriya Rossii, izd. tovar. Obshchestv. Pol'sa*, iii. 1171). On account of the danger threatening from the Russians, Sultān Muṣṭafā II in 1702 had a new fortress built not far from Kerč (now Yeni-Kale) (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, iv. 47). In 1771 Kerč and Yeni-Kale were occupied by the Russians without resistance; Abaza Pasha, who was sent to defend Yeni-Kale, did not once dare to expose his troops and returned to Sinope (*op. cit.*, iv. 622; Solowyew, *op. cit.*, vi. 738). The cession of Kerč demanded by the Russians during the peace negotiations in Bukharest (1773) was steadily refused by the Turks (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, iv. 638) but had, however, to be granted after the treaty of Küçük Kainardje (1774). Henceforth Kerč was a Russian fortress of the second class; during the Crimean war it was occupied by the Allies in May, 1855.

The town, which is world-renowned for its monuments of the Greek, Roman and early Christian periods, had no longer the same importance in the Muhammadan period and has therefore no Muslim buildings of importance.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KERESÜN (ancient *Κέρασσος*, Cerasus), on the maps Kerassoude, a town and harbour in Asia Minor, on the Black Sea. It is the chief town of a *kaṣā* of the wilāyet and the sandjak of Trebizond, 70 miles west of this last town. The population is 8,440 (3,588 Muslims; 3,906 Greek orthodox and 946 Armenians). It is built at the end of a rocky cape. The botanist Tournefort found still there the forest of cherry-trees which gave their name to the town, for it was from there that Lucullus imported them to Europe. This source of revenue is now replaced by the export of nuts (5,000,000 lbs. produced annually) and of beans (a million okes = 2,825,000 lbs. annually). There are ruins of the ancient walls, of a citadel and of a city-gate. The remains of an amphitheatre may be seen some distance off. The ruins of a mole to the north of the town could be cleared away at small expense and the area made into a harbour which would facilitate the export of the produce of the provinces of the interior. The town contains 11 mosques, 1 tekke, 9 Greek churches, 2 Armenian churches; it has

also barracks and an arsenal. — The Kerasos of Xenophon lay in the valley of the Keresün-dere: the present town is built on the site of the one founded by Pharnaces I, grandfather of Mithradates VII, King of Pontus, who called it Pharnaceia after himself.

The *kaṣā* of Keresün includes 138 villages and 4 *nāhiya*'s; it has a temperate maritime climate; mountains of volcanic origin, covered with forests, cover about half the area of the district. The inhabitants are fishermen on the coast and miners in the interior (mines yielding argentiferous lead, iron, copper and antimony). The total population is 64,526 (51,704 Muslims and 11,884 Greek Orthodox).

Bibliography: 'Alī Djawād, *Dioghrāfiya lughātī*, p. 658; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 73 sqq.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 619, col. 1.

(CL. HUART)

KERKHA, a river in Khūzistān, whose sources lie to the east and south of Nihāwend in 'Irāk 'Adjamī. The Āsham-i Kāzīm is regarded as the source proper and rises in the Kūh Čihil Nablighān. The map shows a little stream called Sura Kunč here, which receives the Kar Sara from the east, then near Nihāwend the Āb-i Kulan from the east which rises in the Kūh-i Ferūzan and next the Sirwān Rūd from Dawlatābād. In this district the river is known as the Gamasāb, more accurately Gamasiāb (corrupted to Garasiāb).

The direction of the river, at first N. W., gradually changes to the west. Before it reaches Bisutūn it is joined by the Shādju Rūd reinforced by the Kangarshāh. It then turns to the south and is joined by the Kara Šu, the river of Kirmānshāhān and later by the Āb-i Karind, which itself has a number of important tributaries. While the tributaries so far mentioned are all on the right side, on the left it has the Kashgan Rūd which has as tributaries the Madian Rūd on the right and the Rūd Khorramābād with the Rūd Kulkū on the left. Next come, also on the right, the Lailum Rūd and the Āb-i Zāl. The direction of its course now changes from southern to westerly for a short stretch and then to south-west. On this latter stretch the river is called the Kerkha (Karkha), a name which it temporarily exchanges between Lailum Rūd and Āb-i Zāl for the name Āb-i Šaimere. This name preserves the name of the town Šaimara [q.v.] which lay west from the river and some distance from it. After the confluence with the Āb-i Zāl the river again turns southwards; as soon as the region of Pā-i pul is reached we have canals linking it with the Āb-i Diz and its tributaries, the Nahr Tabal Khan and the Nahr Daghdari. The ruins of Susa lie on one of the eastern watercourses which is later called R. Shawr. The Kerkha ends its course in the region south of Nahr Hāshim, where it receives the water of the Shaṭṭ al-Djamuz. At an earlier period the river ran north-west from here to Hawiza (Huwaiza).

Among the roads which follow the course of the river from time to time, we may mention the great highway connecting Hamadhān and Mesopotamia in the region of Bisutūn, and also the road from Hulwān to Šaimara.

The ancient geographers called this river the Choaspes. The name Kerkha is not found in the Arab geographers; according to Rawlinson, it first appears in a xivth century Persian text. It is, however, probably older. Ibn al-Athīr mentions a

Karkhānā under the year 553 (1158). If the reference is to this river the name must go back to the xiith century. Ibn al-Athīr, who usually avoids geographical details as much as possible, must have taken the name from an older contemporary source. Karkhānā must be Aramaic and mean "the [river] of Karkhā" i.e. Karkhā de Lēdan.

The river is certainly not mentioned in the Arab geographers although not by name. According to Ibn al-Fakīh, a particularly esteemed kind of black sealing-clay was obtained on its bank near Nihāwēnd. The "large river" near Bisutūn mentioned by Ibn Rosteh must also be the Gamasiāb. The bridge between Šaimara and Tarhān, considered a marvel of architectural skill, may also correspond to the Pul-i Khusrāw over the Kerkha. The Kerkha is usually called the "river of Sūs", e.g. as early as Ibn Khordādhbih. The geographers have no reliable information regarding its sources; Ibn Khordādhbih says it rises in Dinawar and Ibn Wāḍih at Hamadhān, which is true, at least for the tributaries of the Gamasiāb, if we take these names to refer to provinces. The river, according to the Arab geographers, flows into the Dujail of Ahwāz. Mention is made of the fact that at high tide the river is about two *mil* broad at Sūs. According to Ibn Wāḍih, the river was called Hinduwān. Probably the "river of Bašinnā" or "Dijlā of Bašinnā" which drove 7 water-mills and ran a bowshot from the town of Bašinnā, mentioned by al-Mukaddasī and Yāqūt, is identical with the Kerkha.

Bibliography: Rawlinson in the *J.R.G.S.*, ix. 89; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vol. ix.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géograph. Univ.*, ix. 290, 406; Graadt van Roggen (in Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. vii.), p. 168, 190; Herzfeld in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, liii. 49, 60, 73; Guy le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 233, 240; Schwarz, *Iran im M. A.*, iv. 304 sq., 364 sq., 393, v. 453, 472, 488, 501. (P. SCHWARZ)

KERKINA (KERKENNA), a group of islands off the eastern coast of Tunisia on a level with Sfax in 34° 35'—34° 50' N. Lat. An arm of the sea about 25 miles broad and full of shallows which make navigation impossible for ships of large tonnage separates them from the coast. The islands are two in number — Sharkī (Charki; the Cercina of the ancients) to the N. E. and Ġharbī (Cercinitis) to the S. E. The first is 15 miles long and 4½ miles broad on an average. The coast is much indented and fringed on the north with small islands. The second, more massive in form, is 10 miles by 4½. The strait which separates them is only 1000 yards across so that in ancient times it was possible to join them by a bridge. Barley, wheat, lentils, the vine and large areas of *halfa* (*Lygeum spartum*) are grown on the islands. The population, which consists of Berbers mixed with foreign elements and has never been organised into a tribe, amounts to 8,000 people. The natives live in numerous villages especially on Charki or scattered in isolated dwellings. They follow agriculture and stock-breeding, make ropes, mats, basket-work, etc., but the main industry is fishing. The shallows adjoining the islands are very rich in fish and sponges are gathered in abundance.

Traces of ancient buildings have been found in Charki; the episcopal register of Byzacene mentions an *episcopus Circitanus*. In the middle ages the

possession of the Kerkenna islands was on several occasions disputed between Christians and Muslims. The Normans of Sicily seized them in 540 (1145—1146) — according to al-Idrisī in 548 (1153—1154) — but held them for only a short time. In 1289 they were ceded by the Pope to Roger Doria who built a castle there. The descendants of Doria ceded them to the King of Sicily who entrusted their government to Ramon Muntaner (1311 A.D.). They were finally abandoned by the Christians in 1335. The Sicilians, however, once more made a descent on them in 1424 and carried off 3,000 prisoners.

Bibliography: *Descr. de l'Afrique... par Edrisi*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 126—127, transl. p. 150; M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Firenze 1864—1872, vol. iii.; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique en Tunisie*, Paris 1862, vol. i., chap. xvi.; Von Maltzan, *Reise in den Regenthschaften Tunis und Tripolis*, Leipzig 1870, ii. 349—389; de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1868, historical Introduction; Lafitte and Servonnet, *Le golfe de Gabès en 1888*, Tunis 1888, p. 87—142.

See also the bibliography to the art. DJERBA. (G. YVER)

KERKŪK. [See KIRKŪK].

KERKŪR, a heap of stones, especially a sacred heap of stones. The cult of heaps of stones is extremely ancient and distributed all over the world. It seems to come not from an act of litholatriy in the strict sense but from a rite of transference or expulsion of evil; the individual, picking up a stone, causes the evil of whatever kind that afflicts him to pass into it — as the case may be, fatigue, physical or moral suffering, sin, the dangerous power that attaches itself to a man in certain sacred neighbourhoods, or all these things together — and gets rid of it by throwing it or depositing it with the stone on a place suitable for absorbing it; the accumulation of these expiatory pebbles forms the sacred piles of stones which rise all along the roads, at difficult passes and at the entrances to sanctuaries. Alongside of these, the throwing or placing of a pebble or the building of a little pyramid of stone often becomes one of the obligatory rites of the pilgrimage and the rite losing its primitive character has been sometimes taken for a true offering-rite (cf. R. Dussaud's view, *La Matérialisation de la prière en Orient*, in the *Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthr. de Paris*, 1906, p. 213—220). The kerkūr are often built at the place where a man has been killed and buried; this has been explained from the desire to bury more deeply a dead man whose spirit might be tempted to come out and avenge itself or, less plausibly, as a kind of homage to the dead; but this casting of stones can also be explained rather as a rite for the expulsion of evil (a dangerous place, the infection of death, proximity of disturbing magical forces). It appears therefore that we always find rites of purification in the origin of the kerkūr.

Pre-Islāmic Arabia knew the rite of casting stones and sacred heaps of stones. The rites of the ḥajj have preserved evidence of this. It may be asked if there is not a rite of this kind in the origin of the lapidations at Minā (for other explanations see the art. ḤADJ, ii. 201), and in any case, as G. Demombynes (*Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Ch. i.) has recently shown, the raised

stones or *radjam* which stand at the *mawāḳit* marking the *ḥaram* of Mekka are exactly comparable to the kerkūr which are found from Central Asia to North Africa along the roads at points where one begins to approach the great sanctuaries; there are also examples of this practice to be found equally in Christian countries.

Islām found the cult of piles of stones in all or almost all the lands that it conquered and although orthodoxy looked askance at it, it had to accommodate itself, as to so many other popular practices, which owed their origin to paganism in the remote past. The kerkūr are especially numerous in certain regions, Syria for example, but nowhere has their cult been so developed and is so vigorous as in North Africa, especially in the south or Morocco, where it has been especially studied by E. Doutté. There, one may say, there is not a pass, or ravine or cross-roads which has not its little pyramids of stones or its great kerkūr to which every passer-by adds his pebble, not a rustic sanctuary but has its sacred piles of stones.

Sometimes the kerkūr itself, as in other cases a spring, a tree or a rock, has given rise to a sanctuary which has become islamised in a marabout fashion. It is also very common to find under the aegis of a saint several of these cults combined, — strange sanctuaries which perpetuate the ancient rites of paganism, still vigorous after twelve centuries of Islām.

Bibliography: The bibliography of the subject is very extensive. What is essential for the general point of view is given in Frazer, *Golden Bough*, third ed., part vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 8—30, where also are given a certain number of references to Muslim countries; from the Muslim standpoint in Doutté, *Merrakech*, Paris 1905, p. 58—108; do., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, ch. x. Since the publication of this last work, E. Westernmark, *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, Helsingfors 1916, p. 26 sqq. (on Morocco). (HENRI BASSET)

KERMĀN. [See KIRMĀN].

KERMĀNŠĀH. [KIRMĀNŠĀH].

KERMES. [See KIRMIZ].

KERMIYĀN. [See GERMIYĀN].

KERRĪ, a village and district on the right bank of the Nile, fifty miles north of Khartūm. In the xvth century the governorship of the surrounding territory was conferred by the Fündj ruler, 'Umāra Dunkās, on 'Abd Allāh Djāmā'a (d. 1554—1562) of the Arab tribe of Rufā'a. His descendants, the 'Abdallāb, maintained their position as a semi-independent dynasty with the title of Māndjil or Māndjilak until the Egyptian conquest, but transferred their seat from Kerrī to Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk after the rise of Shendī in the latter part of the xviiith century.

Bibliography: H. A. Macmichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922; C. J. Poncet, *Voyage d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1713, p. 23; *Travels* of James Bruce of Kinnaird, Edinburgh 1790, iv. 517. (H. A. R. GIBB)

KERSH. [See KERĈ].

KETĀMA (or KOTĀMA), one of the great Berber families; when Islām was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the modern department of Constantine, between the Awrās [q. v.] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Ikḍjān, Seṭif,

Bāghāya, Ngaus (Nikāwus), Tiguist (Tikist), Mila, Constantine, Skikda (Philippe-ville), al-Koll (Collo), Djidjelli [q. v.], Bellezma, and the part of Kabylia in the department of Algiers, i. e. the region between Wed Sahel and the Seban. One legend flattering the national pride makes them descended from the Ḥimyarites brought there by Ifriḳos. Katām, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said to be the son of Bernes. He had two sons, Gharsen and Issūda, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Ketāma. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of 'Ukba to the days of the Aghlabids; we do not find them among the Khāridjīs. When 'Ubaid Allāh gave himself out to be the Mahdī, his emissaries met some Ketāma pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Ismā'īlī doctrines. The principal convert was Mūsā, chief of the Sakyān, a branch of the Djemila whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (dā'i) Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī [q. v.] settled in Ikḍjān and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the Mahdī who was a prisoner at Sidjilmāsa. The empire of the Fāṭimids was then founded with the help of the Ketāma. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrib after the exodus of al-Mu'izz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Ketāma are the Zuwāwa of the Djurdjura and the population around Djidjelli and in Little Kabylia. We do not know at what date Ismā'īlī doctrines disappeared from among them but long afterwards their attachment to this teaching was regarded as a subject of obloquy and for this reason the powerful tribe of Sedwikish of Ketāma origin renounced all connection with this family. At the present day all the Berbers of this region are Sunnis.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, iv. 32 sq., vi. 148—152; *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 291—299, ii. Append., p. 510 sqq.; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, ii. 51 sqq., and the authors quoted. (RENÉ BASSET)

KETKHUDĀ (p. *kedh* "house", *khudā* "master, lord"), originally meant the master of the house or head of a family; the name came to be given in Persia in the villages to the headman or bailiff and in the towns to the "dixenier de quartier" (Chardin, *Voyages*, 1811, iv. 77) or "district tithe-man", a kind of police officer whose duty it was to inspect his district and who was responsible to the *kalāntar* [q. v.]. The administrative reforms recently introduced into Persia have aimed at making the *ketkhudā* the representative of public authority (mayor) in the *ḡarya* (village), the smallest territorial division. Unfortunately these officials, whose duties were formerly confined to the levying of dues, are powerless in face of the great landed proprietors (*R.M.M.*, June 1914, xxvii. 194) whose stewards they are and who appoint them; there are, however, some villages where this agent is appointed by the governor or even elected by the inhabitants.

The word has passed into Ottoman Turkish where it has been corrupted to *kehaya*, *kiaya* and means the "steward of a house". *Esnāf kiaya-si*

is the chief or syndic of a workman's guild. The *kiaya kadin* is the first lady of the palace, the housekeeper who has charge of the domestic arrangements and the servants. The *kapu kiaya* is the representative, the agent of the governors of provinces at the Ottoman Porte. The name *dewlet kiaya-si* used to be given to an official whose function corresponded to the minister for home affairs in modern constitutions; *kul kiaya-si* was the inspector of the Janissaries, lieutenant of the Agha and his chief of staff, who could only be dismissed with the consent of the whole odjak; he himself had an agent with the Agha who had to transmit the chief's orders to the commanders of fortresses and was called *kiaya-yeri*, "the inspector's lieutenant".

Bibliography: Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, ii. 612; G. Demorgny, *Essai sur l'administration de la Perse*, Paris 1913, p. 50, 55. (CL. HUART)

KHĀ', the seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, representing the harshest of the gutturals, with the numerical value 600. It belongs to the sounds peculiar to the Arabic alphabet (in which it is distinguished from *hā'* by a diacritical point), in so far as the Hebrew and Aramaic scripts do not distinguish it from *hā'*. In Aethiopian, on the other hand, *Kham* in contra-distinction to *Hawt* is denoted by a sign of its own; it is, however, to be observed that in the MSS. the two signs are often interchanged and that in the modern languages of Abyssinia there is little or no difference in the pronunciation of the gutturals. In Minaean and Sabaeen *khā'* is denoted by a sign which slightly deviates from *hā'*. In the Assyrian script the sound corresponding to *khā'* is usually distinguished from the softer gutturals.

Bibliography: Comparative grammars of Semitic languages (Wright, Zimmern, Brockelmann, Cohen etc.); A. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leiden 1911, p. 19 and note 48.

KHABAR (A.), plural *akhbār*, *akhbār*, report, news. The word is not used in any special context in the *Qur'ān*. In the *Ḥadīth* it occurs among other passages in the tradition which describes how the *djinn* by eavesdropping obtain information from heaven (*khābar min al-samā'*) and how they are pelted with fiery meteors to prevent them from doing so (al-Bukhārī, *Aḥḥān*, bāb 105; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 149); al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxxii., trad. 1).

In his collection al-Bukhārī has a chapter entitled *Akhbār al-Āḥād*, which, as the *tardjama* indicates, deals with the validity of traditions regarding *aḥḥān*, *ṣalāt*, fasting, the law of inheritance, and judicial procedure, which are only given on the authority of one man.

Al-Ghazālī gives the name *akhbār* to the traditions that go back to Muḥammad. He distinguishes the sayings of the Companions by the term *āḥḥār* (see his *Iḥyā'*, passim). On such and similar technical distinctions see Lane's *Lexicon* s.v., and *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, s.v.

Akhbār is further often found in the titles of historical works; see Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, Index ii.

Ṣāḥib al-Khabar was the title of one of a sultān's officers in provincial capitals whose duty it was to report to his master all new happenings, the arrival of strangers etc. The postmaster was

often given this office; see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v., and the literature there given. — As a technical term in grammar *khābar* is predicate.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHABN, a term in prosody, indicating the suppression of the second letter when quiescent of a foot beginning with a *sabab khafif* (see the art. 'ARŪD). It affects: 1^o. *fā'ilun* (> *fā'ilun*), 2^o. *mustaf'ilun* and *mustaf'ilun* (*mutaf'ilun* = *maf'f'ilun*), 3^o. *maf'f'ulātu* (*ma'f'f'ulātu* = *fu'f'ulātu*), 4^o. *fā'ilātun* (*fā'ilātun*). It is found in the metres *madīd*, *basīṭ*, *radjāz*, *ramāl*, *sarī'*, *munsariḥ*, *khafif*, *muḥtadab*, *muḍjathth* and *mutadarak*.

Bibliography: cf. the article 'ARŪD.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KHĀBŪR, the name of two rivers.

I. The larger *Khābūr* is one of the chief affluents of the Euphrates, which it joins at *Karkisiyā* [q. v.]. In classical literature the name is written in various ways: Ἀβορρας, Χαβώρας, Ἀβωρας, Ἀβουρας, Ἀββόρα, Βοβρρας, Chaboras. Xenophon calls it Ἀράξης.

It takes its origin in the Northern Mesopotamian mountains (the Izala M. and Masius M. of the classical authors), flows through the plain of Mesopotamia, passes between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Aziz* and the *Sindjār* mountains, where it takes a southern direction which it changes in the last part of its course into a south-western one.

Its springs, as well as those of its numerous affluents, are chiefly connected with three important towns, Ra's al-'Ain (*Resh'aina* of the Syrians) in the Northwest, *Mārdin* in the North and *Naṣībīn* in the Northeast. The springs at Ra's al-'Ain are said to be three hundred in number; they were shut off by iron grills, in order to prevent people from being drowned in them.

Downstreams from Ra's al-'Ain the *Khābūr* is joined by the river of *Mārdin*, which by the Arab geographers is called *Ṣawr*; on Sachau's map it bears the name of *Nahr Zrgān*. Just before passing between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Aziz* and the *Sindjār* mountains it is joined by the river of *Naṣībīn*, which in classical literature is called *Mygdonius*; the Arab geographers apparently mean this river when speaking of the *Hirmās*; on Sachau's map it is called *Djaghdiagha*. The course and the nomenclature of this and other affluents are still uncertain.

The Arab geographers mention several more or less important places situated on the *Khābūr* between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Aziz* (classical *Gauzanitis*) and *Karkisiyā*, such as *Shā'ā*, *Tunainīr* (upper and lower T.), *Tābān* (also on Sachau's map), *'Arbān* or *'Arābān* (also on Sachau's map), *Sukair*, *al-Shamsāniya* (probably Sachau's *Shemisan*), *Mākiṣīn* ("the custom-house"), *al-Ḡhudair* ("the pool"), and *Ṣuwar* (Sachau's *eṣ-Ṣawar*). At *Mākiṣīn* there was a bridge of boats. "Much cotton was grown here and by it lay the small lake of deep blue water called *al-Munkhariḥ*, said to be unfathomable" (Le Strange).

The whole region through which the *Khābūr* flows, chiefly in its lower course, was renowned for its fertility. Its trees are mentioned in Arabic poetry, its fruits were exported to the towns of the *Irāk*. But al-Idrīsī already speaks of the plundering raids of the Beduins which cast a shadow over these natural riches. Sachau calls the tribes residing in the plain near *Sheddādiya Djabūr*. When he travelled there (r899), the large fertile

valley was devoid of towns, villages and human beings in general.

Bibliography: B. G. A., i. 74; ii. 155; v. 133 sq.; al-Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 150; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 52; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 383; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. and transl. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii., index; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 253 sqq.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, ix. 448 sq.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 94 sqq.; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, index and map; do., *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 134 sq.; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index; do., *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, p. 250; Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii., London 1842, p. 118; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, register.

II. The lesser Khābūr, one of the affluents of the Tigris which takes its rise on the mountains of Southern Armenia, south of Lake Wan and west of Lake Urmiya. It passes between the mountain ranges which are now called Djabal Harbāl (North) and Zakhā Dagh (South). The latter mountains derive their name from the town of Zakhō (classical Azochis). The Khābūr joins the Tigris between Maghāra and Mazra. The Arab geographers often call it Khābūr al-Ḥasaniya, after the town of this name. Here the river was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge which was looked upon as a miraculous piece of masonry. Al-Ḥasaniya probably survives in the hamlet of Ḥasan Agha.

Bibliography: al-Dimashkī, *Nukhbāt al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 190 sq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 384; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 93; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 168; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index.

KHADHLĀN (KHIDHLĀN, A.), nomen actionis from the root *kh-dh-l* "to leave in the lurch", a technical term in Muhammadan theology, applied exclusively to Allāh when He withdraws His grace or help from man. The disputes regarding it first appear in connection with the quarrel over *qadar* [q. v.]. A starting point is found in Sūra iii. 154: "but if He abandon you to yourselves (*yakhdhulkum*), who will help you after Him? Let the faithful therefore trust in God". On this al-Rāzī observes: "The Companions deduce from this verse that belief is exclusively a result of Allāh's help (cf. John, vi. 65), while unbelief is a result of His *khadhlan*. This is obvious as the verse points out that the matter is entirely in God's hands".

A more detailed exposition is given by Ibn Ḥazm: "Right guidance and assistance consist in God's preparing (*taiyīr*) the believer for the good for which He has created him; while *khadhlan* consists in His preparing the *fāsiq* for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Qur'ān, the force of logic, and the attitude of the *fakīhs* and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the companions and successors as well as of those who came after them and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as

regards their intelligence, namely such as belong to the followers of slanderers and outcasts, like al-Nazzām, Thumāma, al-'Allāf and al-Djāhiz, are all unanimous". Then follows this reasoning: Allāh has given man two forces, hostile and opposed to one another, *tamyiz* (power of discrimination) and *hawā* (passion, desire). When Allāh protects the soul, *tamyiz* prevails by His help and power. But when He leaves the soul to itself (*khadhala*), He strengthens the *hawā* with a strength which amounts to leading astray (*iqḏāl*).

Khadhlan is therefore, according to Ibn Ḥazm, the opposite of *hudā* and *tawfiq* and the conception approaches that of *iqḏāl*. The Mu'tazilis (as already indicated by Ibn Ḥazm's words) see in it a contradiction to Allāh's justness: according to them, Allāh does not urge a man to evil. In their terminology *khadhlan* therefore means the refusal of divine grace (*man' al-lutf*), while, according to the Ash'arīs, *khadhlan* is "the creation of the ability to disobey".

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī, *Ma-fātiḥ al-Ghaib*, ii. 296; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Aḥwā' wa 'l-Nihāl*, Cairo 1317—1321, iii. 50 sq.; *Dictionary of the technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1862, p. 449; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*, Leiden 1875, p. 58. (A. J. WENSINCK)

KHADĪDJA, Muḥammad's first wife, was a daughter of Khuwailid of the Quraysh family of 'Abd al-'Uzzā. The authorities are unanimous in saying that when she made Muḥammad's acquaintance and took him into her service she was a well-to-do merchant's widow who was carrying on business independently. She had been twice married previously and had children of both marriages. The one husband was a Makhzūmī, the other a Tamīmī, Abū Hāla, whose real name is variously given; but this Abū Hāla is also mentioned by others among the followers of Muḥammad, which — if both stories are true — would make Khadīdja a divorced woman. When she discovered the brilliant qualities of her young employee — the story of this is adorned with all sorts of legendary features — she proposed marriage to him according to the generally accepted story, her father was dead by this time, according to another, still alive and opposed to the marriage, so that she only obtained his consent after making him intoxicated — a favourite motif in fiction (cf. the art. DJADHĪMA). Most authorities make Muḥammad twenty-five at this time and Khadīdja forty, which, in view of the fact that Arab women age early and that she bore him at least five children (see the art. MUḤAMMAD), is not even probable, although in later times extraordinary capabilities in this direction were ascribed to the Quraysh women (cf. al-Djāhiz, *Tria Opuscula*, ed. van Vloten, p. 78). Otherwise we do not need to doubt the essential accuracy of the tradition, for the alteration in Muḥammad's circumstances has witness borne to it in the Qur'ān (xciii. 6 sq.) and the fact that in spite of his later so marked sensuality he was content with one wife so long as Khadīdja lived is best explained by her superior social position which she perhaps used to insist on this condition. Her wealth must have been a great help to him during his struggle and her death (which is said to have taken place three years before the Hijra) after she had probably suffered

considerable losses through the hostility of the great merchants, contributed to make his position still less endurable. But her personality seems to have been of even greater weight with her husband; in any case tradition draws a very attractive picture of the moral support which she afforded him during the excitement and agitation of the first revelation. That Warāḳa b. Nawfal [q. v.] was her cousin must have helped to make her sympathetic to Muḥammad's aims.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, viii. 7—11, i. 1, 84 sq., 130, 141; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 119—122, 153—156, 232—277, 1001; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1127—1130, 1151, 1156 sq., 1159, 1166, 1199, 1766; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Isāba*, ed. Sprenger, iii. 1130; al-Azraḳi, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 463; Sprenger, *Das Leben . . . des Muḥammad*, i. 194 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 138—144, 166—172, 221, 225, 227; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, p. 273 sqq.; Lammens, *Faṭīma*, p. 12 sqq.

(FR. BUHL)

KHĀDIM (A.), servant; in Turkish often used with the secondary meaning of "eunuch". The word is applied to male and female, freemen or slaves alike; as to the latter see the art. 'ABD. The collective is *khadam* and the plural *khuddām*. *Khādim al-Haramain al-sharīfain* (servant of the two sacred areas i.e. Mekka and Medina) was one of the titles of the Sultān of Turkey (see Barthold, *Isl.* vi. 1916, p. 379, sqq.).

There have always been free servants alongside of slaves in Islām. Anas b. Mālik [q. v.] entered Muḥammad's service as a youth (al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 74 etc.) and he records it to his master's credit that the latter had never said a harsh word to him nor even ever asked him for an explanation of his doings (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 25). Servants were used on journeys especially, and put up the tents, etc. These servants are called *farrāsh* (lit. spreaders of the carpets), a name which is, however, given to servants who look after the beds and the house generally (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1859, ii. 202, note 16).

In Egypt in Lane's time there was an organisation of servants. They were under special *shaiḳhs* to whom anyone who required a servant had to apply; these *shaiḳhs* were responsible for any dishonesty or breach of trust by their people (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, p. 139). There were also free female servants who performed the lowest household duties (*op. cit.*, p. 147, 197) for a very small wage (p. 168). Some of the male servants used to shave their beards (p. 573).

In Turkish houses of the upper classes these people, who are usually addressed by their name followed by Agha, work as cooks, gardeners, janitors, etc., and they have to avoid the women's apartments in the house with which they communicate by the swivel-box (*dolaḳ*). If they are married they do not live in their master's house.

The women servants in the konaks live in the women's apartments and have very little personal freedom. They sometimes belong to impoverished Turkish families or are the children of former servants and slaves. They are called *kalfa* (from *khālifa*) or *halāḳ* (from *khālāḳ*) and the men *ushak*, *deftiyer*, *hizmetkar* (*khidmetkār*). The servant

girls (*hidmetçi* = *khidmetçi*) are usually Greeks or Armenians.

Uniformed officials in the imperial and official services were divided into various corporations (chamberlains, janitors, musicians) and were included under the general name *hadama* = *khadama* (information supplied by Dr. Kramers). On such corporations see also v. Hammer, *Constantinople und der Bosphorus*, Pest 1822, ii. 395 sqq.

In North Africa, especially in Algeria, conditions have become considerably influenced by European customs. In place of *khādim*, *ṣahāb*, plur. *aṣḥāb*, is commonly used; this honourable designation is applied to the clients of prominent Moroccan families who are employed in various duties from the lowest to the most confidential missions. They usually receive no regular salary but live on the bounty of their master. They accompany him on the road, look after his mount, and order illumination for trips at night, etc. If their master is a great ḳā'id or the head of a brotherhood he appoints one of his *aṣḥāb* to accompany travellers who are passing through the areas over which his authority extends. This is a sign that they are under his protection.

In the *zāwiyas* servants of this type form a guild to which is entrusted the care of pilgrims and of the buildings; cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; Doutté, *l'Islām algérien en l'an 1900* (information supplied by Prof. H. Basset).

The Ḥadīth has handed down various sayings of Muḥammad which endeavour to secure good treatment for servants; in these it is not always possible to distinguish whether the reference is to freemen or slaves. The *khādim* is responsible for his master's possessions (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 9); on the other hand alms which he bestows out of his master's property bring him a heavenly reward (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 25). One should be ready to forgive one's servant (al-Tirmidhī, *Birr*, bāb 32); he should neither be beaten nor cursed (al-Tirmidhī, bāb 30, 31, 85); and the servant who has prepared a meal has a right to partake of it (al-Bukhārī, *Aḳīma*, bāb 55; al-Tirmidhī, *Aḳīma*, bāb 44, etc.).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-KHAḌĪR (AL-KHIDR), the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story. Al-Khaḍīr is properly an epithet ("the green man"); this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form *Khidr* (about "the green"), which in many places has displaced the primary form.

Legends and stories regarding al-Khaḍīr are primarily associated with the Qur'ānic story in Sūra xviii. 59—81, the outline of which is as follows. Mūsā goes on a journey with his servant (*faṭā*), the goal of which is the *Maḳīma al-Baḥrain*. But when they reach this place, they find that as a result of the influence of Satan they have forgotten the fish which they were taking with them. The fish had found its way into the water and had swum away. While looking for the fish the two travellers meet a servant of God. Mūsā says that he will follow him if he will teach him the right path (*ruṣṣad*). They come to an arrangement but the servant of God tells Mūsā at the beginning that he will not understand his doings, that he must not ask for explanations and as a result will not be able to bear with him. They set out on the journey, however,

during which the servant of God does a number of apparently outrageous things, which causes Mūsā to lose patience so that he cannot refrain from asking for an explanation, whereupon the servant of God replies: "Did I not tell you that you would be lacking in patience with me?" He finally leaves Mūsā and on departing gives him the explanation of his actions, which had their good reasons.

This servant of God is called al-Khaḍīr by the majority of the commentators. Others, however, identify him with Mūsā's servant (see below). Both interpretations have their roots in Oriental legends. The Qur'anic story may be traced back to three main sources: the Gilgamesh epic, the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. The two first are, of course, again closely related to one another; at the same time it should be noted that the fish episode is lacking in the epic and is only found in the romance (cf. R. Hartmann in the *Z. A.*, xxiv. 307 sqq.).

The main features which the three sources have in common with the story in the Qur'an are the following:

The Gilgamesh epic. Overcome with melancholy at the death of his friend Engidu, the hero Gilgamesh sets out on a series of travels to look for his ancestor Utnapishtim (Khasisatra, Xisouthros) who lives at the mouth of the rivers and who has been given eternal life. Gilgamesh wants to ask him about the plant of life which will save man from the power of death.

The Alexander romance. The fish episode (with which we are here concerned) which shows Alexander on the search for the spring of life is found in greatest detail in Syriac literature, in the Lay of Alexander (cf. C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lx. 169 sqq., line 188 sq.). Alexander is accompanied by his cook Andreas (cf. the article IDRIŠ). During the laborious journey through the land of darkness Andreas on one occasion was washing a salted fish in a spring; the contact with the water made the fish live again and it swims away. Andreas jumped in after it and thus gained immortality. When he told Alexander his adventure the latter at once realised that this was the well of life. All attempts to find it again failed: Alexander is denied the immortality which becomes the lot of the unfortunate cook, who does not know what to do with it.

The Jewish legend (printed in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, v. 133—135) tells how Rabbi Joshua ben Levi goes on a journey with Elijah under conditions laid down by Elijah, like those above of the servant of God in the Qur'an. Like the latter, Elijah does a number of apparently outrageous things which affects Joshua as it did Mūsā. Zunz, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, x. 130 (not accessible to me) first pointed out the similarity of this story to the Qur'anic legend. A comparison of the main features of these three sources with Sūra xviii. 59 sqq. suggests the following conclusions, questions and hypotheses.

The chief figure in the Qur'anic story is called Mūsā. Some commentators doubt his identity with the great prophet (see below). There is not, however, the slightest hint of another Mūsā anywhere in the Qur'an. On the other hand, we have no

legends of Moses, which make him, like Gilgamesh and Alexander, go on the great journey. We might suggest the following explanation of the difficulty. The figure of Joshua ben Levi, with which Muḥammad first became acquainted through the Jews and which does not again appear in Muslim legend, was identified, as we shall see, with Joshua b. Nūn. This identification may have resulted in a confusion of his master Elijah with Joshua b. Nūn's master Moses. Mūsā thus represents Gilgamesh and Alexander in the first part of the Qur'anic story and Elijah in the second.

The figure of the travelling-companion is not connected with the Gilgamesh epic where it is not found, but with the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend. It probably comes in the first place from the romance. This is suggested by the fact that the companion is called *fatā* (here practically "servant"), a term that points to Alexander's cook rather than to Rabbi Joshua; the fish episode, which also is only found in the Alexander romance, points in the same direction.

The Maḍjma' al-Baḥrain is given as the goal of the journey. The expression has no direct original either in the epic or the romance, although there are points of contact in both. Utnapishtim lives *ina pi narati*, i. e. at the mouth of the rivers. It is not quite certain what this expression means, but it is probable that the place in the extreme west is meant where the sources of all running water are. This, however, still leaves the dual in the Qur'anic expression unexplained. This is still the case, if we attempt to trace it to the Alexander romance where (i. e. in the Syriac Alexander legend; see Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 259) Alexander with his army crosses a strip of land between the eleven bright seas and the ocean. It is also possible that the expression goes back to none of these but to another story unknown to us, which perhaps never found its way into literature, in which there was mention of the meeting-place of two seas. According to western Semitic cosmology, this is the end of the world where the oceans of earth and heaven meet.

We can likewise only guess at the origin of the rock (verse 62). It also belongs to cosmology (see A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, xix., No. 2, p. 26 sqq.). It is found neither in the epic nor in the romance, again an indication that the Qur'anic story borrowed from other sources also.

The servant of God at the Maḍjma' recalls Utnapishtim-Khasisatra. He is called (verse 64) one to whom God's mercy had been shown, to whom divine wisdom had been granted. This sounds almost like a translation of the name Khasisatra and the granting of divine favour is perhaps an echo of Utnapishtim's immortality.

The test of patience to which he subjects the newcomer comes from the Jewish legend only; the servant of God in this respect thus represents Elijah.

II

The commentators, Ḥadīth, and historians have collected a mass of statements around the Qur'anic story, additions which, like the story itself, came for the most part from the three sources already mentioned.

The first question discussed is whether the principal character is Mūsā b. 'Imrān or

Mūsā b. Miṣḥā (= Manasseh) b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb, i. e. a descendant of the patriarch Jacob (al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 333; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshaf*, on verse 59). Commentators are almost unanimous in favour of the former alternative and base their opinion on the following legend which is transmitted in several forms. When Mūsā, the famous prophet, was one day preaching to the children of Israel he was asked if there was any man wiser than he. When he replied in the negative, Allāh revealed to him that his pious servant al-Khaḍīr, was wiser than he. He thereupon decided to visit this wise man. The story comes from Jewish legend; it is found in a considerable number of Arabic sources (al-Bukhārī, *Imn*, bāb 16, 19, 44; *Anbiyā'*, bāb 27; *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 2—4; Muslim, *Paḍā'il*, trad. 170—174; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 1; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 417; *Tafsīr*, xv., 165 sq.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iv. 333).

The (salted) fish serves as a guide to the route; the place where it is lost or revived by contact with water is the spring of life where al-Khaḍīr lives (al-Ṭabarī, i. 417). A further indication of the spring of life is that it is marked by the rock, for it rises at its foot (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 167; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 4). The rock is also located before the river of oil or the river of the wolf (al-Baidāwī and al-Zamakhsharī on Sūra xviii. 61; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 164). Some connection between a river of oil and the spring of life is in itself not impossible. According to many statements, oil is a feature of Paradise rivers. Then ذئب would be an error in writing زيت which could easily arise. Vollers considers the reverse probable; he thinks that "river of the wolf" is a translation of the name Loukos, which is not uncommon in classical literature as a river-name. If this hypothesis is correct, one might think of the Lukkos in Morocco or the Lycus on the Syrian coast, two regions with which the idea of extreme west is associated, as we shall see directly.

The Madjma' al-Baḥrain is explained in various ways. Some regard it as "the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea, to the east" (al-Baidāwī on Sūra xviii. 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 163). This points to the Isthmus of Suez and is an echo of the idea that the coast of Syria was the extreme west (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bird and Tree as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, p. 17 sqq.). Others say that it is the junction of the Roman Sea with the Ocean (Tandja, Ifrikiya; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 163, and al-Zamakhsharī on the passage). This view reflects a later cosmological standpoint which regarded the Straits of Gibraltar as the extreme west. A far-fetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍīr, the two seas of wisdom (e. g. al-Damīri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, i. 318).

When Mūsā first sees Khaḍīr he is wrapped up in his cloak, as the Qur'ān says, "because he was sleeping", says al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 418). When he sees a bird drinking out of the sea he says to Mūsā: "Your wisdom is as insignificant compared with that of God as the amount the bird drinks is compared with the sea" (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 418; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 3;

al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 333 sq.). Al-Khaḍīr lives on an island (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 422), or on a green carpet (*tinḥisa*) in the heart of the sea (*alā kabid al-baḥr*; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 3).

The test of patience is embellished by the commentators with a wealth of detail. It would take up too much space to go into them here; cf. the commentaries on Sūra xviii. 59 sqq., and the works on history and tradition mentioned in the *Bibliography*.

As may be expected from what we have said above, another branch of tradition lays particular emphasis on the connection between al-Khaḍīr and Alexander's search for the spring of life. Friedländer, however, goes much too far when he says (*Die Chadhirlegende*, p. 108 sq.) "that originally Chadhir had nothing at all to do with the puzzling servant in verse 64 — who belongs to quite a different cycle of stories — but with the servant of Moses (Alexander) who has charge of the fish in verse 59 sqq., in other words he is identical with Alexander's cook whom we know so well from Pseudokallisthenes and the Syriac homily". For Khaḍīr is, as we have seen and will see further, connected with Utnapištim as well as with Alexander's companion.

There is no translation of the Alexander romance in the Arabic literature known to us (cf. Weymann, see *Bibliography*). On the other hand, there are a number of, in part unedited, versions of the Alexander saga, which have been examined by Friedländer. It would take us too far to go into the differences between these versions with regard to our subject. These sources show their independence of the Qur'ān not only by the fact that they make Khaḍīr the companion of Dhu 'l-Karnain, but also by the complete absence of any reference to the *fatā* of the Qur'ān. Al-Khaḍīr usually appears as the commander of Alexander's vanguard on his march to the spring of life. In al-Sūrī's version he is called the king's vizier and has become the principal character, throwing the king himself into the background; in 'Umāra he is Alexander's cousin, conceived and born in similar circumstances to him and at the same time. The usual account of the journey to the spring of life makes Alexander and al-Khaḍīr go their ways separately; in some versions, the latter has the fish with him and discovers the miraculous well through the fish's becoming alive when it touches the water; in other stories, on the other hand, there is no mention of the fish and al-Khaḍīr recognises the spring by other signs; in others again he dives into it without knowing its virtues (e. g. al-Ṭabarī, i. 414). In one version in Nizāmī, al-Khaḍīr does not go with Alexander but with Elijah to the spring, out of which both drink and both become immortal.

III

The descriptive character of the name al-Khaḍīr is so obvious from its meaning that tradition could not but give the hero's real name, as well as his genealogy and date. We find him most frequently called Balyā b. Malkān. In al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 144) the latter is called a brother of Kaṭṭan and thus given a place in the South Arabian genealogy. This makes it probable that Malkān is identical with Malkam (I Chronicles, viii. 9), who is also included among the

South Arabian patriarchs. This genealogy is next traced back to Shem through Fālagh (Phaleg) and ʿĀbir (Eber) (e. g. al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 415; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 92; al-Nawawī, on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v. 135). Is this Balyā (بليبا) perhaps

not a corruption of Elia (يلييا), which is identical with a Syriac form of the name Elijah. On the other hand, Elijah is also given in the Muslim form Ilyās as al-Khaḍir's proper name and also Elisha, Jeremiah (cf. God's words in *Iṣāba*, p. 887), Khaḍrūn (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 415; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾriḫ al-Khamis*, i. 106, and Friedländer's *Chadhirlegende*, p. 333, under Chadhir).

Ibn Ḥaḍjar also gives the following genealogies (*Iṣāba*, p. 883 sq.): (1) He is a son of Adam (weak *isnād*); with this is connected the story (*Iṣāba*, p. 887 sq.; Abū Ḥatīm al-Sidjīstānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, p. 1) that al-Khaḍir took care of Adam's body and finally buried it after the flood; (2) He is a son of Qābil called Khaḍrūn; (3) He is al-Muʿammar (the Long-lived) b. Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr b. al-Azd; (4) He is Ibn ʿAmā'il b. al-Nūr b. al-ʿIs b. Ishāk; (5) He is the son of Pharaoh's daughter; (6) He is a Persian, or his father was a Persian, his mother a Greek or vice versa; it is also said that he was born in a cave, fed there on the milk of wild beasts and finally entered the service of a king (al-Damīrī, i. 318; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, p. 891 sq.); cf. also his meeting "on the market-place of the Banū Isrā'il" with the man who asks him for alms *bi-waḍḥ Allāh* (*Iṣāba*, p. 894 sq.).

This does not, however, exhaust the traditions about his names and genealogy. We shall only quote here the following from Maracci, *Prodromi* to Sūra xviii. 57: Alchedrus, quem fabulantur Moslemi eundem fuisse, ac Phineas filium Eleazari, filii Aaron; cujus anima per metempsychosin emigravit primo in Eliam, deinde ex Elia in S. Gregorium, quem propterea Mahumetani omnes summo honore prosequantur. — The latter identification is probably due to a confusion with St. George, with whom al-Khaḍir has certain points of resemblance; cf. thereon Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue archéologique*, vol. xxxii. sq., and Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 275. Clermont-Ganneau further pointed out the relationship between the consonants *kh-d-r* and the North Semitic group *h-s-r*. The name has also been taken as a corruption of *Khasisatra* (Guyard in the *R. H. R.*, i. 344 sq.) or connected with Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew (Lidzbarski in the *Z. A.*, vii. 116).

Very varying dates are given for al-Khaḍir's period. Sometimes he is called a contemporary of Abraham, who left Babel with him (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 415); sometimes he is put in the period of Afridūn; he is a contemporary of Alexander and lived down to the time of Mūsā (Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, p. 886); according to others, he was born in the period of Nāshiyā b. Amūs (i. e. Isaiah b. Amos) (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 415 sq.). The divergence in these statements is partly connected with his immortality (see below).

More important are the explanations of the name given in the Oriental sources. He is said to have become green through diving into the spring of life and thus got his name (Ethiopic Alexander romance; cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 235 sq.). As already mentioned, he lives on an island (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, p. 317); he is also said

to worship God on the islands (al-Sūri, see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 183; al-Thaʿlabī, p. 197). This may point to al-Khaḍir's having originally been a marine being. The following circumstances point in the same direction: he is frequently called the patron of seafaring people (e. g. *Taʾriḫ al-Khamis*, i. 107); he is said to be appealed to on the Syrian coast by sailors in stormy weather. In India he has become a regular river-god under the name *Khawāḍja Khidr* [q. v.], who is represented sitting on a fish. Clermont-Ganneau and Friedländer sought the origin of the figure mainly in this direction, the latter on the assumption that the Greek Glaukos legend reached the Muslims through a Syriac intermediary (*op. cit.*, p. 107 sqq.). But apart from the fact that we know nothing of any such intermediary, a connection between al-Khaḍir and Glaukos would only explain one aspect of the former; nor would it tell us anything about the origin of the figure, indeed one may doubt whether it is right to seek for the origin of a figure so complicated as al-Khaḍir, who has characteristics in common with Utnapishtim, with Alexander's cook and other figures.

There are other things to be considered. In a number of Arabic explanations of the name, al-Khaḍir is conceived not as belonging to the sea but to the vegetable kingdom. "He sat on a white skin and it became green" (e. g. al-Nawawī on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v. 135; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, xv. 168). "The skin", adds al-Nawawī, "is the earth." Al-Diyārbakrī (i. 106) is still more definite. "The skin is the earth when it puts forth shoots and becomes green after having been bare". According to ʿUmāra, al-Khaḍir is told at the spring of life: "Thou art Chadhir and where thy feet touch it, the earth will become green" (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Wherever he stands or performs the *ṣalāt*, it will become green (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*; al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 336). These are statements (especially the last) which remind us of a Messianic passage in the Old Testament: "Behold the man whose name is the branch and he shall grow up out of his place" (Zachariah, vi. 12). Al-Khaḍir is really connected with two Messianic figures — with Elijah (cf. the art. ILYĀS) and with Jesus; these three form with Idris [q. v.] the quartette of those who have not tasted death (*Taʾriḫ al-Khamis*, i. 107).

The variations in the character of al-Khaḍir result in different views regarding his nature. If he is a prophet (see *Iṣāba*, p. 882 sqq.) it remains doubtful whether he is to be included among the Apostles (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 135). He is, however, also human, angelic, mundane and celestial (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 544, 798). Popular piety as well as Sūfī circles readily regard him as a saint (*walī*). According to one Sūfī view, every age has its Khaḍir, in so far as the *Naḥīb al-awliyāʾ* for the time being is al-Khaḍir (*Iṣāba*, p. 891). As *walī*, if three times appealed to, he protects men against theft, drowning, burning, kings and devils, snakes and scorpions (*Taʾriḫ al-Khamis*, i. 107; *Iṣāba*, p. 903). Sky and sea and all quarters of the earth obey his sway; he is God's *khalīfa* on the sea and his *wakīl* on land; he can make himself invisible at will (ʿUmāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 145). He flies through the air, meets Elijah on the dam of Alexander and makes the pilgrimage to Mekka with him every year (cf. *Iṣāba*, p. 904 sqq.).

Every Friday he drinks from the Zamzam well, and Solomon's pond and washes in the well of Siloa (*Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, i. 107; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 148 sq., 151); he can find water below the ground and talks the languages of all peoples (al-Sūfī in Friedländer, p. 184).

His immortality is particularly emphasised (cf. Rückert's poem "Chidher"; 'Umāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Abū Ḥatīm al-Sidjīstānī, *Kitāb al-Mu'ammariin*, p. 1; *Iṣāba*, p. 887 sqq., 892, 895). According to the *Iṣāba*, p. 882, he was given immortality after a conversation with his friend, the angel Rafā'īl, in order to establish the true worship of God on the earth and maintain it. Ibn Ḥadjar describes a meeting between al-Khaḍīr and Muḥammad in various versions (*Iṣāba*, p. 899 sqq.). On meetings with individuals who lived at a later date see *ibid.*, p. 908 sqq.; on the table which was let down to him from heaven see *ibid.*, p. 919; on his presence at the battle of Qādisiyya see *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iv. 216.

He lives in Jerusalem and performs his *ṣalāt* every Friday in the mosques of Mekka, Medina, Jerusalem, Kūbā' and on the Mount of Olives; his food is *kam'a* and water-parsley (*Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, i. 107; *Iṣāba*, p. 889 sq., 904).

On his marriages we have as early as classical Ḥadīth (Ibn Māḍja, *Zuhd*, bāb 23) a legend also mentioned by al-Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ*, p. 193 sqq., which in its main features must have come from Christian sources. It is the motif of the pious youth who married by his parents against his will persuades his young wife to preserve her virginity (cf. the Syriac Acts of Thomas, 2nd Praxis). The story links up with that of Pharaoh's daughter's handmaid.

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KHWĀDJA, a Persian word of uncertain etymology, an honorific title applied to personages of a town, not of military rank, bourgeois. It was generally borne by ministers of sovereigns who were chosen from among the learned. It was later used to designate eunuchs. It is found as early as the beginning of the viith (xiith) century in a verse by the poet Anwari. The derivative substantive *khwādjaḡi* in the sense of "merchant", "tradesman" is found in Meninski and the Sicilian documents published by Michele Amari (p. 212, 2).

It passed into Arabic in the forms *khuwādja* and *khwawādja*, the modern *khwawādja* (eastern dialects) and means "Sir, Mr., Monsieur". It has been borrowed by Ottoman Turkish in the form *khodja* [q.v.] and here means "scribe, clerk, copyist, literate, private tutor"; it is found again in the western dialects of Arabic which have borrowed it with the same pronunciation and the same meanings. It is found in the *1001 Nights* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*). The title of *Khodja*, like that of *Shaikh*, is in Turkestan only given to descendants of the Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar and to those of 'Alī through his wives other than Fātima (Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, ii. 407, N^o. 1; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, Lahore 1888, p. 86).

(CL. HUART)

KHWĀDJA KHIḌR (or **KHIḌR** in India), is in many parts of India identified with a river-god or spirit of wells and streams. He is mentioned in the *Sikandar-nāma* as the saint who presided over the well of immortality. The name was naturalized in India, and Hindū as well as Muslims reverence him, it is sometimes converted by Hindūs into Rādja Kidār. On the Indus the saint is often identified with the river, and he is sometimes to be seen as an old man clothed in green. A man who escapes drowning is spoken of as evading *Khwādja Khizr* (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i. 221). In a poem by a Balōč regarding a fight on the Indus a boat is unloosed "to float on the *Khwādja's* waves", and it is asserted "the *Khwādja* himself will remember that battle". (*Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, i. 74), and by one poet his name is substituted for that of Mikā'il as one of the archangels. His principal shrine is on an island of the Indus near Bakhar, which is resorted to by devotees of both creeds (*Sind Revisited*, ii. 226). Manucci who was present at the siege of Bakhar in 1069 (1658) alludes to this shrine under the name of Coia Quitan. Burnes also mentions it in his "*Bokhara*".

The saint is believed to ride upon a fish, which was adopted as a crest by the Kings of Oudh, and appears on their coins. Possibly in this case there is also a survival of the fish-avatār of Vishnu. Muslims offer prayers to *Khwādja Khidr* at the first shaving of a boy, and a little boat is launched at the same time; also at the close of the rainy season. — See further **KHAḌĪR**.

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KHWĀDJU KIRMĀNĪ. [See KIRMĀNĪ].

KHĀF, a town in Khurāsān, more accurately Khwāf, is first mentioned by al-Muḥaddasī in the form Khawāf as a district of Nisābūr; he describes it as small, rich in pomegranates and grapes which were made into raisins, and he calls the capital Salūmak. According to Yākūt, the district was bounded by Būshendj of Herāt and Zūen of Nisābūr; it included 200 villages and three towns: Sandjān, Sirāwand, Khardjird. Al-Kazwīnī says that Khawāf was near Nasā. According to him, it was large with many inhabitants, and had many villages, gardens and streams. It is perhaps to the same locality that Saiyid al-Murtaḍā refers as Khāf (without w), "a village in the land of the Persians ('adham)".

The modern Khāf lies on the southern road, which does not touch Nisābūr, from the Caspian Sea to Herāt, between Turshiz and Kelai Nādir on a tributary of the Hari-Rūd. Prellberg, following Macgregor, gives the total population as 15,000. According to Clerk, he describes the chief town Khāf as a town of 500 houses with several forts surrounded by pretty gardens; fields and villages stretch along the river for four miles from Khāf, of which latter the largest were Nāširābād with 300 houses and Salama and Sungun with 400 houses. Sungun must correspond to the Sandjān of Yākūt; Salama may be the modern form of al-Muḥaddasī's Salūmak and would have been the capital of the district in older times. According to Yākūt, Khardjird lay near Būshendj and must therefore have been in the eastern part of the district of Khāf, where in modern times there is no longer any settlement except the fort of Kelai Nādir. The total number of villages in the district of Khāf was given by Bunge as 26.

Bibliography: B. G. A., iii. 300, 319; Yākūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 479; al-Kazwīnī, *Athār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 244; *Tādj al-Arūs*, vi. 106; Prellberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, p. 33 sq.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 218; Blochmann, *Āin-i Akbarī*, i. 445. (P. SCHWARZ)

KHAFAḌJA, a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribe of 'Ukail which remained as powerful Bedouins longer than most of the other tribes which inhabited the Arabian peninsula at the dawn of Islām. The genealogists give their affiliation to their kindred clans as Khafādja b. 'Amr b. 'Ukail, and they were subdivided into eleven branches: Mu'āwiya Dhu 'l-Karḥ, Ka'b Dhu 'l-Nuwaira, al-Akra', Ka'b al-'Asghar, 'Amir, Mālik, al-Haiṭham, al-Wāzi', 'Amr, Hazn and Khālid. They had their territory in the time before Islām to the south-east of al-Madīna and owned one or two villages, among which Sarw Lubn and Sharā' in are mentioned. A hundred years later we find them mentioned much further east and at war with the tribe Ḥanifa in the Yamāma (*Agḥ*, vii. 122). Probably the Ḳarmaṭian movement in the Yamāma in the early part of the fourth century of the Hidjra caused them to move further north towards the borders of the 'Irāk. Here we find

them towards the end of the fourth century established as masters of al-Kūfa under their amir Thumāl and his sons. They may have been at first allies of their cousins the Banū Yuzīd (not Bozid as in Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, or Yazid as otherwise stated) who established themselves as rulers of al-Mawṣil and the surrounding country. They were rather in opposition to them. In the year 391 (1000) Ḳarwāsh attacked them in al-Kūfa and they were compelled to leave the country and move along the Euphrates towards Syria, where they remained only till the following year, when the 'Abbasid general Abū Dja'far al-Ḥadj-djadj called them to his aid when the 'Ukailis besieged al-Madā'in. This brought them again back to their ancient dwelling-places and as the Baghdad government had probably supplied them with arms they utilised these a few years later, in 402 (1011), in an attack upon the caravan of pilgrims. They had seized the wells at Wākisa to the south-west of al-Kūfa a short distance into the desert, and prevented the pilgrims from approaching to the water and then fell upon them, slaughtering and plundering, making many of the survivors prisoners. Emboldened by this success they demanded the lands to the right of the Euphrates which had been in the hands of the 'Ukailis, and marched under the command of Sulṭān, 'Ulwān and Raḍjab, sons of Thumāl to al-Anbār, laying the whole neighbourhood waste and besieging the town. An army sent against them from Baghdad and supported by the 'Ukailis drove them out and Sulṭān was actually captured, but released upon the intercession of Abū 'l-Ḥasan ibn Mazyad al-Asadi. No sooner had he been released than in the following year 403, news was received at Baghdad that they were plundering the country round al-Kūfa under Sulṭān. An army was sent against them which was aided by Abū 'l-Ḥasan ibn Mazyad and they were surprised at the river al-Rummān. Sulṭān escaped but his brother Muḥammad was made a prisoner, but this defeat had the result that many of the pilgrims who had been captured in the year 403 were liberated and reached Baghdad, where they had been believed to have been killed. Meanwhile the 'Ukaili Amīr Ḳarwāsh had been captured and released and he now tried to make common cause with the Khafādja, trying to join Sulṭān ibn Thumāl, but after they had joined they were attacked by troops sent from Baghdad and routed. They both asked for pardon which, strangely, was readily granted. This gave a few years of comparative peace but in 417 (1026) Dubais b. 'Alī b. Mazyad al-Asadi and Abū 'l-Fityān Manī' b. Ḥassān, now chief of the Khafādja, made a plundering expedition against the lands which belonged to Ḳarwāsh in the Sawād [q.v.], assisted by troops from Baghdad, and they encountered him near al-Kūfa of which he had made himself master. Ḳarwāsh fled towards the North and was pursued by the combined tribes of Asad and Khafādja, who actually took possession of al-Anbār, but after this success the two tribes dispersed again to the pasturing quarters. Manī' b. Ḥassān then marched, with his followers to al-Djāmī'ain a place between Baghdad and al-Kūfa, which belonged to Dubais b. Ṣadaqa b. Mazyad and plundered the land round it; when pursued by Dubais they turned North and attacked al-Anbār. The inhabitants defended themselves for a while but

as the town was not protected by walls the *Khafādja* entered plundering and burning. When they learned that *Qarwāsh* was coming to drive them out assisted by troops from *Baghdād* they left the town, but soon returned and looted the town for the second time. When finally *Qarwāsh* was able to drive them out he spent the winter in the town and instructed walls to be built to protect the town from further surprise attacks. Now *Manī'* swore allegiance to the *Buyid* ruler *Abū Kālīdjār* and marched south to al-Kūfa where he had the *Khutba* said in the name of *Abū Kālīdjār*, for which he received jurisdiction over the waters of the Euphrates. This had the result that in 420 *Dubais* severed his allegiance to *Abū Kālīdjār* as he was afraid of the depredations of the *Khafādja*. In the following years the *Khafādja* held sometimes with one party and again with another and when in 425 (1033) *Dubais* had a quarrel with his brother *Thābit* they sided with the former but quarrels also arose among the *Khafādja* chiefs during which 'Ali b. *Thumāl* was killed and his nephew al-*Hasan* b. *Abi 'l-Barakāt* became chief of the tribe. When in 428 (1036) the *hādhib* *Bāris Tughān* rebelled in *Baghdād*, the general of the Caliph, al-Basāsiri employed among others the tribe of *Khafādja* to quell the revolt, as a result of which *Bāris Tughān* was executed. We do not hear much about the *Khafādja* for some years, but in 446 (1054) they again made an inroad upon al-Djāmi'ain, belonging to *Dubais*, which they plundered; al-Basāsiri came to his assistance and the *Khafādja* retreated into the desert. They were pursued and their stronghold *Khaffān* was besieged and raised to the ground, except the citadel which was a strong building of cement. When al-Basāsiri rebelled against the Caliph in the same year he took al-Anbār after a prolonged siege and we find that among the prisoners he took there were 100 men of the tribe of *Khafādja*. Again followed a period of comparative peace, but when in 485 (1092) the pilgrims from *Baghdād* had passed al-Kūfa they were attacked by the *Khafādja*. The news having been received at *Baghdād*, troops were sent who caused great slaughter among them and this was the cause that in future they were no longer powerful enough to do serious damage. A few years later, in 499 (1105) the *Khafādja* came into conflict with the *Taiyi'* tribe 'Ubāda over some stolen camels and while the latter could muster about 500 warriors, the *Khafādja* were unable to place a similar number into the field, but they were assisted by *Ṣadaqa* b. *Manṣūr* [q.v.], the chief of *Asa'*, and were victorious. This success was however of short duration as in the following year the tribe of 'Ubāda, now assisted by *Badrān*, son of *Ṣadaqa*, utterly routed *Khafādja* who were compelled to forsake their pasture grounds and wander north towards Syria, while 'Ubāda in future occupied the lands adjoining the *Sawād*. Again in 536 we hear of *Khafādja* making an inroad into the 'Irāk, but the troops sent against them easily drove them off, killing large numbers. How weak the *Khafādja* had become is evident from the fact that in 556 (1161) they assembled in the neighbourhood of al-Hilla and al-Kūfa, asking for the relief-food and dates which had apparently been granted them. The governors of the two towns refused to grant their request and *Qaiṣar*, the governor of al-Hilla sent 250 soldiers to drive them off, a

similar corps being sent by the governor of al-Kūfa. They pursued the fleeing *Khafādja* along, the river Euphrates as far as *Rahbat al-Shām* where the *Khafādja* made a stand as they could not retreat any farther and in the fight which ensued *Qaiṣar*, the governor of al-Hilla, was slain while *Arghash*, the governor of al-Kūfa, took refuge with the governor of *Rahba*. *Khafādja* then pleaded for forgiveness stating that they were constrained to fight by being driven to extremes. Their excuse was accepted as the *wazīr* *Ibn Hubaira* who had marched out against them saw the futility of pursuing them into the desert. The last time we hear of the *Khafādja* is in the year 588 (1192) when they came to the assistance of the town of al-Baṣra when the latter was threatened by the tribe of 'Amir. In addition to the events narrated we find that *Khafādja* were among the Arab tribes who assisted in the siege of *Tiberias* in 507 (1113) when *Baldwin* had taken refuge there after an unsuccessful raid upon *Ḥalab*.

According to al-*Qalkashandī* a branch of the tribe of *Khafādja* was settled in lower Egypt. Among the poets of this tribe in ancient time was *Tawba* b. al-*Humaiyir*, celebrated on account of his love for *Lailā al-Akhyaliya* and the elegies which the latter composed upon his death when he was killed in a raid.

Bibliography: Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. Cairo 1342, ii. 340; al-*Qalkashandī*, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, *Baghdād* 1322, p. 207; *Wüstenfeld*, *Tabellen und Register*; *Ibn al-Athīr*, *al-Kāmil*, passim; *Hilāl al-Ṣābi*, ed. *Amadroz*, *Leiden* 1904, passim; *Ibn Khaldūn*, *Ibar*, ed. *Cairo*, principally in vol. 4; and all historians of the fifth century of the *Hidjra*.

(F. KRENKOW)

AL-KHAFĀDJĪ, AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. 'UMAR AL-KHAFĀDJĪ, called *Shihāb* al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, was born near *Shair* about the year 979/1571 and received his earliest education from an uncle on his mother's side, *Abū Bakr al-Shanawānī*, whom he calls himself the *Sibawaih* of his age, and under him he studied both *Hanafi* and *Shāfi'i* law; the biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Shifā'* by the *Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ* [q.v.] he read under *Ibrāhīm al-'Alkāmī* and he even studied medicine under *Dā'ūd* al-Baṣīr. Later he made the pilgrimage in the company of his father and took the opportunity to hear the lectures of the learned men in the two holy cities. After his return from the pilgrimage he made his first journey to *Constantinople*, where he found several teachers of outstanding merit, among whom he mentions *Ibn 'Abd al-Ghani*, *Muṣṭafā* ibn 'Arabī and the Jewish Rabbi *Dā'ūd* under whom he studied mathematics and the books of *Euclid*. His principal master, however, was *Sa'd* al-Dīn b. *Ḥasan*, and when the latter died and his other teacher soon followed him in death, *Constantinople* became devoid of men of learning. He had meanwhile gained favour and received the post of *Qāḍī* of the province of *Rūmelī* and rising in rank he became *Qāḍī* of *Üsküb* under *Sultān Murād*, who finally appointed him to the same office in *Saloniki*. These offices enriched him considerably and he was ultimately sent as *Qāḍī 'Askar* to *Egypt*. This post, however, he did not hold for long as through intrigues at *Constantinople* he was dismissed. This decided him to make another journey to *Constantinople* and on travelling there he passed through *Damascus* and *Ḥalab*, in

both of which cities he was entertained by the men of learning. His expectations in Constantinople were not fulfilled and he gave vent to his anger in the literary outburst which he entitled *al-Maḥāmāt al-Rūmiya*. Instead of making matters easier for himself he incurred the hatred of the Muftī Yahyā b. Zakāriyā and was ordered to leave the city immediately. As an acknowledgment of his worth as a scholar he received the appointment of an ordinary Kāḍī at Cairo, but he seems to have devoted his remaining years to study and the composition of his works. He died in Cairo on Tuesday the 12th of Ramaḍān 1069 (3 June 1659). Al-Khafādjī enumerates most of his works in his autobiography, many of them of considerable size, while he himself tells us that many of his treatises were never collected in book-form. His most extensive work is a commentary upon the *Tafsīr* of al-Baiḍāwī which he entitled *ʿInāyat al-Kāḍī*, and which has been printed in Cairo in four large volumes. The work follows the usual tedious method of explaining almost every word, and for traditions and explanations he adduces the statements of a large number of other authors who have treated upon the same subject. The same is the case with his second largest work, a commentary upon the *Shifāʾ* of the Kāḍī ʿIyād, entitled *Nasīm al-Riyāq*, which we have seen, he studied under Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlkamī. Here again he quotes all accessible literature dealing with the biography of the Prophet, giving the various authorities who have recorded the same traditions. Neither of these works contain anything original, because the subject did not call for anything new. All that was required of the author was to bring together every detail on his subject he could find in the works on hand. This work has also been printed in Constantinople 1267 A.H. in four volumes. Of an entirely different nature are his two biographical works: *Khabāya ʿl-Zawāyā fi mā fi ʿl-Riḍāl min al-Bakāyā* and *Raiḥānat al-ʿAlibba wa-Nuḥbat al-Hayāt al-Dunyā*. The titles prepare us for the style in which these two books are composed, the evil influence of the *Yatima* of Thaʿlībī and the *Kharīda* of ʿImād al-Dīn is in both works apparent; we get instead of biographies an exuberance of verbosity without any noteworthy information and in most cases we can only infer that the persons named lived during, or shortly before, the time of the author, but the arrangement according to countries gives us the information where the persons lived. For biographical details both works are useless. We get however a fair amount of contemporary poetry to enable us to judge to what miserable depth the art of rhyming had sunk. While the first named work exists only in manuscript, the *Raiḥāna* has been printed three times in Cairo (1273, 1294 and 1306), which shows us that the work is appreciated in Egypt. The most valuable portion of this work is an autobiography of the author (in which he has omitted to state when and where he was born) and the *Maḥāmāt al-Rūmiya* which is directed against the learned men of Constantinople. The autobiography has furnished the material for the account of his life above and in the work of al-Muḥibbī. Of more value are his *Ṭirāz al-Maḥālis* and his *Shifāʾ al-ʿAlil*. The former is a work of the class called *amālī* in 50 sessions (*maʿjīs*), and he tells us in the introduction that Ibn al-Shadjarī, Ibn al-Hādīb, al-Kālī or even Thaʿlab would acknowledge its excellence if they

were able to see the book. Its value consists in having preserved extracts of older works now apparently lost or undiscovered. It is interesting to find him quote from the *Kitāb al-Maʿānī* of al-Uḥṣnāndānī (printed in Damascus 1340), the *Milal* of Ibn Ḥazm, the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm or the *Ansāb* of al-Zubair ibn Bakkār, considering how rare manuscripts of these books are. The book is in fact a curious collection of odd information from all kinds of sources. Apparently there are two editions of this book, one Cairo 1284 and a second without date printed in Tanṭa. The *Shifāʾ al-ʿAlil fi mā fi Kalām al-ʿArab min al-Dakḥil* is, as indicated by the title, a work dealing with words of foreign origin in the Arabic language. The author has used for this purpose the *Muʿarrab* of al-Djawālīqī [q.v.] and similar works, but is not content with explaining, or simply mentioning, words of foreign origin, as he also gives ample specimens of vulgar errors in correct Arabic speech. Closely resembling this book is a commentary on the *Durrat al-Ḥawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, which has been printed together with the *Durra* at Constantinople, in 1299. In this work he not seldom corrects al-Ḥarīrī and frequently gives useful additional information and this work together with his *Ṭirāz* are probably the best of his compositions. His *Diwān* is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī and has actually been preserved in manuscript in Copenhagen, but my knowledge of his poetry is confined to what al-Muḥibbī quotes or he himself cites in his own work. It is not of a high standard, but his whole works are typical of his period and vividly reflect what we may expect from his contemporaries.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥḥār*, i. 331—343; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 285. (F. KRENKOW)

KHWĀFĪ KHĀN (MUḤAMMAD HASHIM NIZĀM AL-MULKĪ), historian; his title of Khwāfī Khān was given him by Muḥammad Shāh and is derived from a family connection with Khwāf, a district of eastern Persia, famous for its distinguished men. He was a son of Khwādja Mir a confidential servant of Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of Shāh Djahān. The place and date of his birth are not known, but it seems probable that he was born in India, and a statement in his history (i. 739) implies that his birth took place about 1664. The statement is that 74 years after the death of Shāh Djahān's minister. Sa'd Allāh, he was 52 plus the age of discretion (14?). In other words he was 66 Muḥammadan years old in 1728 (1066 + 74 = 1140 A. H.). His father was Khwādja Mir, a confidential servant of Shāh Djahān's youngest son, Murād Bakhsh, and was severely wounded at the battle Samōgarh. Khwāfī Khān possibly, like Bernier's friend Dānīshmand, began life as a merchant, or as an official's clerk, and it was in one of these capacities that he visited Bombay in 1693—94 and had an interview with an English official (ii. 424, and Elliot-Dowson, vii. 350). He served under Awrangzēb, Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh in the Deccan and in Guḍjarāt, and was long stationed at Surāt. He also lived at Aḥmadābād, which he defends against the strictures of Dja-hāngir, and at Rahūrī, in Siwdjī's country, and in the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was governor of Campānir (i. 77). Probably he ended his days at Ḥaidarābād in the service of Āṣaf Djāh Nizām al-Mulk (hence our author's title of

Nizām al-Mulkī) about 1732—33. He was an intimate friend of Shāh Nawāz, the author of *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* (who was also a Ḥaidarābādī officer) (v. iii. 680 of the Bibl. Ind. ed. of that work, and Khwāfī Khān, ii. 678).

Khwāfī Khān wrote a history of the Indian branch of Timūrid dynasties, and called it *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* (the Choice Compendium). It is a standard work and is much admired, especially by Orientals, for its style, and its accuracy and impartiality, though it is often too grandiloquent for western taste. Still, it is by far the most human and interesting of native histories of India, with the doubtful exception of Badā'uni, and ought to have been translated long ago. After an introduction beginning with Turk b. Yaphet, and describing the origins, etc., of the Tartars and Mongols, it gives short biographies of Timūr, his third son, Mirān Shāh, and the descendants of the latter, who were the emperor Bābur's ancestors. These are followed by a history of the emperors of Āgra and Dihlī, beginning with Bābur, of whom there is a tolerably full account, and ending with the beginning of the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh. Bābur conquered India in 1526, and the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh was 1732, so that the history covers a period of over 200 years. The last ten years of the history are given in a very abridged form. The most valuable parts of the work are the accounts of Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb, for both of whom the author had a high admiration. The history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (2 vols), but the edition is not complete, for it wants the first part or volume. This last, however, is very rare, and perhaps does not exist in its entirety. There is only a portion of it in the British Museum. The author refers to it in vol. i. p. 49 of the printed edition. Khwāfī Khān also wrote a history of the minor Muḥammadan dynasties of India, but this too has disappeared, though a small portion is preserved in MS. in the India Office Library (Ethé, *Cat.*, N^o. 407). It was apparently of little value, being mainly an abridgment of Farishtā.

The charm of Khwāfī Khān's history consists in his digressions and his frequent use of his own observations, and of information derived from his father and brother. He is a somewhat bigoted Muḥammadan, and he is too favourable to Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb. Thus he slurs over Awrangzēb's treacherous capture and subsequent execution of his younger brother, Murād Bakhsh. The capture he represents as a clever manoeuvre (it certainly was to the public advantage), but he is evidently half-ashamed of it, for he declines to give the particulars. In his account of Murād Bakhsh's attempt at escape, and his trial and execution, which he got from his father, he does not plainly set down Awrangzēb's responsibility, and continues to pay him a compliment for his generosity in rewarding the man who declined to prosecute Murād for the murder of his father. He also deals lightly with Shāh Djahān's conduct to Khusrāw, and to his competitors for the throne, and says nothing about his debaucheries. Still he is far more honest than Abu 'l-Faql. His accounts of Shēr Shāh and Djahāngir are very fair, and in the latter of them he has a very interesting account of Nūr Djahān. He says he got it at Sūrāt in 1695—96 from a very old man, who as a child had accompanied Nūr Djahān's father on his

journey from Persia to Afghānistān and India. Khwāfī Khān too, though, like Tacitus, he may tell us too much about emperors and their wars, does not omit the more interesting subject of plague, and famine, and of internal administration.

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. (which contains a very full abstract, by Prof. Dowson, of the 2nd volume of Khwāfī Khān); Colonel Lees, *Materials for the History of India* (Hertford 1868), p. 57 sq.; there is a manuscript translation of vol. i. by Major Gordon in the British Museum (Add. 26, 617).

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHAFĪF, the eleventh metre in Arabic prosody, containing three 'arūd and five qarḥ:

	<i>Fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun</i>			
I	{	<i>fā'ilātun</i> ..	n	<i>fā'ilātun</i>
		" " " ..	n	<i>fā'ilā</i>
II	{	<i>fā'ilā</i> ..	n	<i>fā'ilā</i>
		" " " ..	n	"
III	{	<i>mustaf'ilun</i> ..	n	<i>mustaf'ilun</i>
		" " " ..	n	<i>mustaf'il</i>

All the feet lose their second quiescent letter when the last quiescent letter of the preceding foot is retained and vice versa. The foot *fā'ilātun* used as first qarḥ is often changed to *fālātun* (= *maf'ulun*) by *tash'īth*. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KHAIBAR, an oasis on the road from al-Medina to Syria, 100 miles from al-Medina. Doughty, who stayed in Khaibar from November, 1877, to March, 1878, describes Khaibar as a group of wide, well-watered valleys, which lie together like a palm leaf on the edge of the lava region (Ḥarra) and all run into one main valley. These valleys are gashes in the lava-field, beneath which lies sandstone which, wherever it crops out, has a burned and discoloured appearance. The oasis lies 2,800 feet above sea level and Doughty puts its population at about 1,000 souls. The bottoms of the valleys are covered with rushes, the springs have a slightly sulphurous taste and are surrounded by incrustations of salt. In spite of its many palm trees, the land has an uninviting aspect and great stretches of ground lie untillied. The commanding height of al-Ḥiṣn, illustrated by Doughty on p. 104, consists of a great basalt rock, which rises out of the Wādī Zaidiyya, like an erratic block. The modern settlement is built on its south side. The length of the walled platform of the citadel is 200 paces and the breadth 90. The floor is deep mould, which may be partly of the old clay buildings that have melted away upon the uneven rock. In digging, potsherds, broken glass, eggshells and horse-dung are brought to light. Two ancient pyramids of clay bricks, the lower parts of which are cased with stone, enclose an ancient covered well, which was used to supply the garrison.

The name Khaibar is said by Yaḳūt to have meant "castle" in the language of the Jews who lived there; according to Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Kātib, it took its name from Khaibar b. Kāniya b. Mahlā'il, who was the first to settle there. The ancient Khaibar, according to the old Arab geographers, lay in a very fertile district which was rich in palms and luxurious cornfields, and consisted of seven castles: Ḥiṣn Nā'im, Ḥiṣn Abi 'l-Ḥukāik, Ḥiṣn al-Shikk, Ḥiṣn al-Natāh, Ḥiṣn al-Sulālim, Ḥiṣn Waṭih and Ḥiṣn al-Katiba. Al-Bakri further mentions Ḥiṣn Waḍjida, in which there were palms and other trees and which later belonged to the Prophet Muḥammad, and the greatest stronghold

of Khaibar, Ḥiṣn al-Kamiṣ, which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, afterwards Caliph, captured, the lower part of which was occupied by the mosque of the Prophet (also called al-Manzila), built after the conquest by 'Isā b. Mūsā. The spring in the fort of al-Shiḥk was called al-Hamma. The Prophet called it *Ḳismat al-Mal'ā'ika* ("the angels' share"). It was much admired for the remarkable properties of its water. Two-thirds of its water flowed away in one channel and the other third in another. Both had the same direction. If three pieces of wood or three dates were thrown into the well, two went into the channel containing two-thirds and one into the other. No one could take more than a third of the spring water out of this channel and if anyone stood in the channel which took two-thirds in order to send more water into the smaller channel, the water overwhelmed him and flowed past him so that none went back into the second channel to increase its share.

The oldest mention of Khaibar in inscriptions is in the bilingual inscription of 568 A.D. of Ḥarrān in al-Ledja, of which E. Littmann has given the correct interpretation in *Osservazioni sulle iscrizioni di Ḥarrān e di Zebed*, in *R.S.O.*, 1911/12, iv. 193 sqq. The inscription bears the date "in the year 463 [viz. of the era of Boṣra], a year after the expedition of Khaibar". According to Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 313, this expedition took place under King al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir (al-Ḥārith b. Djabala), who reigned from 528 to 569/570 A.D.; the inscription now gives as the exact date for this event the year 567 A.D. Much more serious for the history of Khaibar and its Jewish population was Muḥammad's campaign; he set out in the beginning of the year 7 A.H. (628 A.D.) with about 1600 men against Khaibar, presumably with the object of obliterating the unfavourable impression made by the treaty of Ḥudaiḇiya and of offering his followers a rich substitute for the booty they had lost. The Jews of Khaibar had apparently prepared for Muḥammad's attack, but they were not united among themselves. The population was not a solid body living together within one area, but was scattered among the surrounding valleys, where they occupied in little groups fortified houses in the midst of rich palm groves and cornfields. Every settlement had its own particular name. The valley was divided into three territories, called al-Natāḥ, al-Shiḥk and al-Katiba. This strategically unfavourable mode of settlement was from the first a disadvantage, and the position of the Khaibaris became still more precarious when their allies, the Ḡatafān, left them in the lurch, and their 4,000 auxiliaries left Khaibar for their homes. Muḥammad thus had a free hand. The advance was carried out by night and in the morning the Khaibaris found the Muslim troops confronting them; they had taken up their quarters behind the Ḥarra on the edge of the desert. It took Muḥammad about six weeks to conquer the whole district of Khaibar. Every strong house, every fortified place had to be besieged and stormed, frequently after heavy fighting. The castle of al-Natāḥ was the first to be attacked; it resisted for over a week. In revenge for the stubborn defence, Muḥammad had the splendid palm-trees around it cut down. 400 were destroyed before the politic Abū Bakr put a stop to further devastation. Al-Shiḥk was next stormed. The successes of the Muslims had already much weakened the

strength of the defence. Treachery had placed al-Natāḥ in the hands of the Prophet, and as engines of war had also been captured, in the use of which a Jewish traitor instructed the Muslims, the resistance of the Jews diminished considerably so that the other strongholds fell more quickly. The last bulwark of the defence, al-Katiba, fell almost without resistance. The Jews were sentenced to lose all their property and were left with their wives and children and allowed to till the soil which they had previously owned. Half of the harvest had to be handed over to Muḥammad. This tribute continued to be paid until the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb drove the Jews out of Arabia. Later, however, the Jews returned in certain numbers to Khaibar. Benjamin of Tudela says that in 1173 A.D. a Jewish colony, 1150 strong, which must have formed a closed community, lived in Khaibar. Not too much stress need be laid on his statement. Burckhardt, who saw Khaibar at the beginning of the sixth century, mentions that the Jewish community once settled here had entirely disappeared.

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KHAIBAR PASS, the northern route between Afghānistān and India, leading from Kābul to Peshāwar. The pass runs from Dakka to Djamrūd and is about thirty-three miles long, its centre lying in 34° 6' N. and 71° 5' E. Its highest point, Landī Kotal, is 3,378 feet above sea-level.

Alexander the Great probably sent the division of his army under Hephaestion and Perdikkas through the Khaibar, while he himself followed the northern bank of the Kābul river and crossed the Kūnar valley into Bādjāwr and Sawād. Maḥmūd of Ghazna used the pass only once, when he marched to meet Djaipāl in the Peshāwar valley. The Amīr Timūr used it when invading India in 1398 and when retiring in 1399.

Bābur invaded India by the pass in 1525 and Humāyūn, after capturing Kābul, on his return from exile, traversed it. It was the route regularly used by Akbar and his successors between the Pandjāb and Kābul, and Djalālābād, first fortified by Humāyūn, was named after Akbar. The pass was held in Mughal times, as now, by the Afridis, a turbulent tribe extremely jealous of foreign encroachment, and in the reign of Akbar their hostility was accentuated by the establishment in this region of a heretical and fanatical sect, the Rawshaniyas [q.v.], who commanded the adherence of the Afridis, Yūsufzais, and other tribes. In 1586, on the death of Mirzā Muḥammad Amin, ruler of Kābul and younger brother of Akbar, Rādjā Mān Singh, marching to take possession of Kābul in the name of the emperor, was obliged to force the pass, an operation which was performed with

difficulty, and the suppression of the Rawshaniyas cost much blood and treasure. In 1672 the tribes attacked Muḥammad Amin Khān Awrangzībi, governor of Kābul, in the pass, annihilated his army of 40,000 men and captured the women and children and the imperial treasure and elephants.

Nāḍir Shāh, advancing by it to attack Nāṣir Khān ṣūbādār of Kābul under the Mughal government, was opposed by the tribesmen, but led his cavalry through Bāzār, took Nāṣir Khān by surprise, and overthrew him near Djamrūd. Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni and Shāh Zamān used the pass on several occasions when invading the Panḍjāb.

The British first used the Khaibar Pass in 1839 in the attempt to establish Shāh Shujā' in Afghānistān, and have since used it on several occasions, more than once suffering disasters in traversing it.

By the treaty of Gandamak (1879) between the British and the Amīr Ya'qūb Khān, the control of the pass was left to the former, who have exercised it latterly by maintaining an experienced political officer for the pass, at whose disposal are the Khaibar Rifles, a corps of militia composed of Afridis under British officers. The arrangement has not been entirely satisfactory, but was probably the best that could be made with so turbulent and treacherous a tribe.

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KHAIR AL-DĪN, an important Turkish architect of the time of Sulṭān Walī Bāyazīd II (1481—1512). As a result of the habit of Turkish historians of mentioning favourably every pious founder, writer of chronograms, and calligrapher, but only exceptionally giving the name of the creator of a masterpiece of architecture, or even giving any biographical notice of him, Khair al-Din's activities are veiled in obscurity. It is certain, however, that he is a historical personality. He is said to have been the son of the architect Ustād Murād. His masterpiece is the Bāyazīd Mosque, a vigorous piece of architecture, in Constantinople (built between 1501 and 1507) (on which see Ewliyā, *Siyāhat-nāma*, Stambul 1314, i. 142; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Taḍj al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1279, ii. 211; von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, Pest 1822, i. 402; Skarlatos Byzantios, *Konstantinopolis*, Athens 1890, i. 421).

The popular Turkish view of the importance of Khair al-Din, who is considered the real founder of Ottoman architecture and is approached by none of his predecessors (Elyās b. 'Alī, Mehmed al-Maḍjūn, Mūsā, etc.) or his successors (M. Kāsim, Kamāl al-Dīn) down to Sinān [q. v.], the greatest of Ottoman architects and one of the greatest of the world's architects, is confirmed by his masterpiece, the Bāyazīd Mosque.

The scheme of two half-domes supporting the

principal dome is modelled, it is true, on the Aya Sofia, but dominated by another conception and deliberately developed further. Pious legends are associated with the building.

There is also a little mosque by him which bears his name, not far from the *türbe* of the Grand Vizier Sinān Pasha at Parmaḳ Kapusu. His tomb is in front of this *türbe*.

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(TH. MENZEL)

KHAIR AL-DĪN (BARBAROSSA), the famous Turkish corsair and Beylerbey of Algiers and brother of 'Arūdj [q. v.]. In spite of the statement to the contrary by Haëdo, it is he who is referred to by the epithet Barberousse (Barbarossa, Aenobarbus) in the diplomatic correspondence of the French court. Born at Metellin about 888 (1483) he was at first a pirate under the command of his brother and acquired a great reputation for skill and bravery. When 'Arūdj set out on his expedition against Tlemcen he gave his brother the governorship of Algiers, which he had just taken. When the news of the death of 'Arūdj arrived, Khair al-Din was unanimously chosen by his companions to succeed him. But he soon found himself in a very critical position. The towns of Cherchell and Tenès had rebelled; the Kabyls of Ibn al-Kādī, king of Kuko, deserted him; Abū Ḥammū, king of Tlemcen, had invaded the Chelif valley; finally the Algerians, tired of the cruelty of the Turks, were only waiting an opportunity to throw off the yoke. Thus feeling unable to cope with all his opponents with the forces at his command, Barbarossa sought the help of Selim, Sulṭān of Constantinople. He paid homage to him for the lands conquered by his brother and promised to pay him tribute. The Sulṭān, who had just conquered Egypt (1517), eagerly seized this opportunity of placing the shores of the Western Mediterranean under his sway. He accepted the homage of Khair al-Din and gave him the ranks of Pasha and Beylerbey (cf. the article BEG). At the same time he sent 2,000 men with artillery to Algiers and authorised the enrolment of volunteers, to whom he granted the rights and privileges of the Janissaries [q. v.]. 4,000 Turks or Levantines thus came to serve under Barbarossa and formed the *odjak* or militia of Algiers.

The arrival of these reinforcements enabled Khair al-Din to meet the dangers which threatened him. A conspiracy of the Algerians who had agreed with the tribesmen to set fire to the fleet and massacre the Turks was put down and the heads of the ringleaders fixed on the gates of the Pasha's palace. A Spanish force under Ugo de Moncade was repulsed. The Christians landing at the mouth of the Ḥarrash (al-Ḥarāsh) had taken up their position on the heights of Kudyat al-Ṣābūn and began to bombard the town. Barbarossa succeeded in drawing them out of their entrenchments by attacking their ships drawn up on the shore and forced them to re-embark (1519). In the east, on the other hand, he was less fortunate. A Tunisian

army was advancing on Algiers. He set out against that and met the enemy in Kabylia on the territory of the Flissat Umellil. In the middle of the battle, the Sultān of Kūko, secretly won over by the Ḥafṣid Sultān, deserted and turned against the Turks. The latter were cut to pieces and Barbarossa, with his road to Algiers barred, had to take refuge in Djidjelli [q. v.]. During this time the Kabyls laid waste Mitidja and occupied Algiers, while Cherchell and Tenès again revolted (1520).

Taking refuge in Djidjelli, Khair al-Dīn began to reconstitute his army and to gather reinforcements. He resumed his old trade of pirate and from 1520 to 1525 he ravaged the coasts of the western Mediterranean, amassing considerable booty and gathering numerous adventurers around him. He was soon strong enough to seize Collo (1521), Bône (1522) and Constantine. He also secured the help of the natives of Little Kabylia by making an alliance with 'Abd al-'Aziz, chief of the Banū 'Abbās, rival of the Sultān of Kūko. Thus he was able in 1525 to resume the offensive against Ibn al-Kādi. Defeated at the Wādī Bugdura and again at the pass of the Banū 'Ā'isha, the latter was killed by his own soldiers. Mitidja and Algiers were reoccupied by the Turks, the rebel chiefs of Tenès and Cherchell were put to death and the inhabitants of Constantine, who had in 1527 expelled their kaid and massacred the Turkish garrison, severely punished. Finally, Ḥusain, who had succeeded Ibn al-Kādi, tendered his submission and agreed to pay an annual tribute (1528).

The capture of Peñon, a Spanish stronghold built on an islet within cannon-shot of Algiers, completed the restoration of Turkish power. In the beginning of May, 1529, Barbarossa began the bombardment of this fortress, the garrison of which the Spaniards had neglected to strengthen; it was taken by storm on May 27 when there were only 25 unwounded defenders left. Khair al-Dīn had the governor, Don Martin de Vargas, put to death and ordered the outer walls of Peñon to be razed to the ground. The debris were used to build a mole joining the island to the mainland. This jetty protected the roadstead from the west winds and enabled the corsairs to leave their ships in shelter which they had previously been obliged to draw up on shore during bad weather. This created the harbour of Algiers, a refuge and base for operations for the Barbary fleets. Disturbed by this new success of Khair al-Dīn, the Spaniards tried to secure a landing place on the coast by taking Cherchell, but the expedition led against this town by Andreas Doria ended in failure (1531).

Now definitely installed in Algiers, Barbarossa set himself to increase still further his military forces by organising, alongside of the Janissaries, whose insolence and insubordination rendered them dangerous, bodies of troops personally devoted to him. He formed a guard of 500 renegades, for the most part Spaniards, raised 7,000 to 8,000 Greeks and Albanians, enrolled Kabyls, and entrusted the command of this new force and of his artillery to *ra'is*, his old companions. He thus found himself able to undertake an expedition against Tunis, with the inhabitants of which he had long had secret negotiations. By taking this town he wished to anticipate the designs of the Spaniards and secure himself the control of all the eastern shore of Africa. The Sultān, to whom he had communicated his plans, gave him the required au-

thorisation and sent him auxiliaries. Leaving the government of Algiers to his *khalifa*, Ḥasan Agha, Barbarossa entered Tunisia, seized La Goulette (Aug. 16, 1534) and from there advanced on Tunis. Mūlay Ḥasan, who tried to stop him, was defeated in a battle fought near the gate of al-Djazira, and had to flee (Aug. 18). The Turks entered Tunis and plundered the town. The rest of the kingdom submitted without resistance.

Barbarossa's success was, however, of short duration. In the month of June, 1535, Charles V appeared on the coast of Tunis. On July 14th the Spaniards captured La Goulette and on the 20th became masters of Tunis. The Christian slaves, whom Khair al-Dīn had refused to massacre, burst their chains and joined the attackers. Fearing he might be surrounded by the enemy, the Beylerbey fell back on Bône, where he found his fleet, which he had sent there on receiving news of the preparation of the Spanish expedition. From there he sailed for the Balearic Islands, sacked Mahon and brought back to Algiers 6,000 captives and considerable booty.

A little later, Khair al-Dīn went to Constantinople by order of Sultān Suleimān, who in 1533 had appointed him *Kapudan pasha* and wished to entrust him with the direction of the naval campaign against Charles V and his allies. He had not to return to Algiers, where authority was exercised in his name by a *khalifa*. At Constantinople Barbarossa devoted himself entirely to his new office. He reorganised and increased the Turkish fleet and took an active part personally in the naval war. In 1537 he ravaged the coasts of Apulia, tried unsuccessfully to take Brindisi by surprise and took part in the siege of Corfu. Not having been able to capture the latter place, he turned his attention to the Venetian possessions in the Aegean Sea and occupied the islands of the Dodecanese. The following year he completed the conquest of the Archipelago by taking Sciotos, Scyros and Carpathos; he then made a descent on the island of Crete where he burned two towns and 80 villages. In the Ionian Sea he gained two victories over Andreas Doria, at Preveza and St. Maura. In 1539, with the help of his lieutenants, Ḥasan Corso and Dragut, he recaptured Castelnuovo in the Gulf of Cattaro and Malvasia and Nauplia in the Morea. The Venetians were forced to submit to concluding a truce with the Porte.

These successes secured Barbarossa a position of preponderating influence in Constantinople. Honoured by the friendship of the Sultān, he persuaded Suleimān to continue the war in the Western Mediterranean. He was also decidedly in favour of the French alliance. From 1534 he had been in correspondence with Francis I; after the conclusion of the treaty of Baghdād, he was the confidant of the ambassadors of the most "Christian King" and leader of the French party in the Grand Diwān. Charles V endeavoured to win him over to his cause by secretly offering to recognise him as sovereign of the whole of North Africa on payment of a small tribute. Barbarossa, while pretending to lend himself to the Emperor's plans, at once revealed them to the Sultān. The disastrous end of Charles V's expedition to Algiers (1541) still further increased Khair al-Dīn's prestige, although he had taken no share at all in the defence of the town.

Hostilities, suspended since the truce of Nice (1538), began again between Francis I and Charles

V (1541). Barbarossa was given command of the Turkish fleet, which was to co-operate with the French forces. In 1543 he operated along the Italian coasts, took Reggio, ravaged the coasts of Calabria, then, after joining the Duc d'Enghien at Marseilles, laid siege to Nice. The town of Villefranche, where the Turks landed, was taken and destroyed. Nice was occupied but the castle could not be taken. The arrival of Doria's fleet and the Marquis del Vasto's army forced the Turks to withdraw. A portion of their fleet wintered at Toulon while the rest went along the Catalan coast and sacked Palamos and Rosas. The peace of Crespy (1544) ending the war, Khair al-Din returned to the Levant, pillaging the islands and shores of Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples.

After this campaign, Barbarossa retired to Constantinople. He had great wealth in this town, including several palaces on the Bosphorus.

He died on July 4, 1546, at the age of 63, and was buried in the mosque which he had built at Büyükdere (see the art. DERE). By his will he ordered all his slaves under 15 years old to be liberated and left the others, 800 in number, to the Sultān as well as 30 armed galleys. The rest of his wealth was divided between his nephew and his son Ḥasan, whose mother was a Moresco, and who on three different occasions filled the office of governor of Algiers (see the art. ḤASAN PASHA, above, ii. 281).

Barbarossa was not only a successful corsair and a remarkable soldier; he also possessed certain of the qualities of a statesman, an indomitable resolution which enabled him to surmount the greatest difficulties, and a very accurate sense of the conditions on which the establishment of a permanent state in Barbary depended. He understood that Turkish rule, being restricted to the coast, naturally tended to be precarious; he therefore tried to make himself master of the interior. His ambition was to unite in one vast state, of which he would be the sovereign, the whole of North Africa. If circumstances did not permit him to realise this plan, at least he finished the work begun by 'Arūdj, and he may be regarded as the real founder of the Regency of Algiers.

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KHAIR AL-DĪN PASHA. [See ÇENDERELI].

KHAIR AL-DĪN PASHA, a statesman of the time of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II. He was of Circassian origin, but spent his early years in Tunis, where he rose to important offices as a result of his brilliant abilities. He ultimately became *bash müdür*. His great aim was to achieve a closer relationship with Turkey, which was recognised in a firmān of Sultān 'Abd al-'Aziz. As a result of a quarrel with Şadiḳ Pasha, then Wali of Tunis, he left the Tunisian service and retired to Paris. In 1294 (1877) 'Abd al-Ḥamid summoned him to Constantinople and appointed him president of the commission on financial reforms and later of the Council of State. In the difficult period after the loss of the Russo-Turkish war he was appointed Grand Vizier in 1295 (1878), the eighth in the short period 'Abd al-Ḥamid had been reigning.

Khair al-Din was very liberal in his views and endeavoured to further the reform movement now beginning by introducing improvements, especially in the administration of justice, and tried to strengthen the Grand Vizier's power as much as possible in opposition to 'Abd al-Ḥamid's wish to make the Grand Vizier a mere instrument for the execution of instructions given by the Yildiz Kiosk. He brought upon himself the opposition of the 'ulamā', who would only allow the Grand Vizier the right of presiding at the council of ministers. After only eight months of office he was dismissed. He died in Constantinople in 1307 (1889) at the age of nearly 70 and was buried in Aiyūb. He bore the reputation of being reliable, fearless, steadfast and liberal. He wrote an Arabic work entitled *Aḳwām al-Masālik fī Mu'rifat Aḥwāl al-Mamālik*, said to have also been translated into Turkish and French.

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(TH. MENZEL)

KHAIRĀBĀD is a town in the District of Sitāpūr, United Provinces, India. Population (1901), 13,774. It was formerly a place of importance, and is said to have been founded by one Khaira, a Pāsi, in the xth century. It is, however, more probable that the name was given by Muḥammadans to an older town on the same site; and it has been identified with Masachhatra, an ancient holy place. A number of temples and mosques are situated here, some of them dating from the reign of Akbar, but none is of much

interest. It has been a municipality since 1869. Trade has suffered owing to the rise in importance of Sitāpūr, but there is a daily market, and a small industry in cotton printing survives.

At the time of Akbar the *Sarkar* of Khairābād consisted of 22 mahals or parganas, but many of these lay in the present districts of Kheri and Hardoi. This pargana consisted of the Southern portion of the country lying between the Gond and Zarayan rivers. It was bounded on the North by Hargram, on the east by Lakarpūr and Biswan, on the west by Sitāpūr and Ramkot, on the South-east by Machhrehta, and on the South-east by Pirnagar. The whole of the Southern half of the pargana is a high lying tract with a high soil and good natural drainage producing in favourable seasons fine crops of wheat. North of the road from Sitāpūr to Khairābād and from the latter to Biswan, the land lies low, the soil being stiffer and liable to flooding from numerous jhils and water-courses. However the cultivation is generally poor, the majority of the tenants belong to the inferior cultivating classes, the holdings are large, the cattle are wretched; many of the landlords are heavily in debt and means of irrigation are deficient.

Bibliography: H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, xl. 125, 126; Hunter *Imperial Gazetteer*, xv. 207. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

KHAIRPŪR, a state in Sind, laying between 26° 10' and 27° 46' N. and 68° 20' and 70° 14' E. The state has no separate history until the fall of the Kalhora dynasty of Sind in 1783, when Mir Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān Tālpur, a Balūč chief, established himself as ruler of Sind. Subsequently his nephew, Mir Suhrāb Khān Tālpur founded the Khairpūr branch of the family. His dominions at first consisted of the town of Khairpūr and its environs, but he enlarged them by conquest and intrigue until they extended to Sabzalkot and Kashmor on the North, to the Djaismal desert on the East, and to the borders of Kačch Gandāva on the West. About 1813, during the troubles attending the establishment of the Bārakzai dynasty in Kābul, the Mirs withheld the tribute which they had hitherto paid to the rulers of Afghānistān and became virtually independent, but jealousy between Rustam, who had succeeded his father Suhrāb in 1811, and his brother 'Alī Murād, contributed to the crisis which led to British intervention. In 1832 the individuality of the state as a political entity was recognised by the British government, which secured for itself the use of the Indus and the roads of Sind. The Mirs of Sind were loth to permit the passage of British troops through their dominions during the first Afghān war, but 'Alī Murād of Khairpūr supported the British policy, and after the battles of Miāni and Daba, his state retained its political existence.

Bibliography: E. A. Langley, *Narrative of a Residence at the Court of Meer Ali Moorad*, London 1860; *Sind Gazetteer*, 1876; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1904—1909.

(T. W. HAIG)

KHAIRULLĀH EFENDI, an important Turkish historian. Born in Constantinople, of a family which had over 160 years unbroken service with the Sultān, the son of the famous 'Abd al-Hakḥ Efendi (d. 1270 = 1853/1854, a theologian and physician, who was thrice *Ser-i*

Atibbā and from 1269 bore the honorary title *Ra'is al-'Ulamā*), he began by following in his father's footsteps and adopted a theological career, his first office being Mollā of Smyrna (1258=1842). Later he turned to science, medicine and education. In 1265 he became a member of the Board of Education, the Agricultural Council and second president of the Academy of Sciences (*Endjümen-i Dānīsh*), president of various learned bodies, and filled high offices in the newly formed Ministry of Education, was for long head of the School of Medicine, till in 1281 (1864) he was sent as ambassador to Teherān, where he died suddenly in 1283 (1866).

His sons are 'Abd al-Hakḥ Hāmid, the most important poet and dramatist of the new Turkey, and 'Abd al-Khālīk Naṣūhī, who have both served their country as ambassadors and envoys.

Khairullāh left a large number of historical, geographical, medical, scientific and agricultural works, the latter of which are mainly translations; some of them have been printed, like the *Mes'ul-i Hikmet*, *Bait-i Dihkāni*, his journey to Europe (*Auropa seyāhat-nāmesi*). But his importance rests on his work as a historian. Besides the *Wakāyī-i Miṣriye*, he wrote a history, planned on a grand scale, of the Ottoman empire entitled *Devlet-i 'Alīye-i 'Othmāniye Tārikhi*, which began to appear almost at the same time as the excellent 12 volume history by the historian of the empire, Aḥmed Djewdet [q.v.], which covers the period 1774—1826.

Khairullāh Efendi aims at giving the whole of Turkish history in one continuous work. He is the first Turkish historian to attempt to deal with Turkish history in its place in the world's history, in contrast to the method hitherto in vogue among Ottoman annalists of limiting themselves entirely to Turkish sources and affairs; he was actually the first to succeed to some degree in producing a *Tārikhi-i 'Umūmī*, a world history. With the exception of von Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, it is almost entirely French sources that he uses, as is obvious from the fact that he always writes foreign names as they are pronounced in French. At the same time he not infrequently draws upon hitherto not fully utilised Turkish sources.

A special volume is devoted to the introduction and to the early history of the Ottoman empire, the period before the reign of 'Othmān I. The further work is planned to have a volume to the period of each Sultān. At the same time a survey of contemporary Muslim and Christian rulers is always given. The treatment of the material is no longer annalistic but pragmatic. In comparison to the inflated style of early historians, his language is simple, clear and intelligible. His history is also meritoriously distinguished from those of his predecessors by the absence of bias and the lack of any fanatical hatred of non-Muslim culture and conditions.

Of his history, 15 volumes in all appeared (1271—1281 = 1853—1864), from 'Othmān I to the time of Aḥmed I (1603—1617), when death put a stop to his work. 'Alī Shewḳī, inspector in the *Divān-i Ahkām-i Adliye*, then tried to finish the book, of which Khairullāh had written barely half; but only three further volumes, 16—18, appeared (1289—1292 = 1872—1875) bringing the work to the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm (1639—1648).

Bibliography: *Khairullāh's* history itself, i. 2; xvi. 3; Ahmed Rif'at, *Rawḍat al-'aziziya*, lithogr., Constantinople 1282, p. 181 and 205; Djemāl al-Din, *'Othmanī Tarih ve-Müverrikhleri*, Constantinople 1314, p. 125; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-'Aṭam*, iii. 2274; Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 319; v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Bericht über die zu Konstantinopel im Druck erscheinende Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches von Chairullah Efendi*, in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, xii. 533; O. von Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Ausführl. Bericht über die in Konstantinopel erschienenen orientalischen Werke*, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, xiv. 77, N^o. 299; xvii. 169, N^o. 308; xx. 461, N^o. 309; xxvi. 344, N^o. 319. (TH. MENZEL)

AL-KHAIYĀT, YAḤYĀ B. GHĀLIB ABŪ 'ALĪ, an Arab astrologer, pupil of Māshāllāh, often mentioned in Christian writers of the middle ages under the name of ALBOHALI. The exact dates of his birth and death are unknown but the latter may be put with some certainty between 210 and 230 (825—844). Of his works there still survive: *Kitāb Sirr al-'Amal* ("the book of the secret of action") dealing mainly with the formulation of astrological questions etc. (in Berlin); *Kitāb al-Mawālīd* ("book of births") (in Oxford and Cairo(?)). The book on births was translated into Latin by Plato of Tivoli (1136) and later again (1153) by Joh. Hispalensis; the latter translation was printed in Nürnberg in 1546 with the title: *Al-bohali Arabis astrologi antiquissimi ac clarissimi de iudiciis nativitatum liber unus antehac non editus. Cum privilegio D. Ioanni Shonero concessio*. In place of Albohali simply we find in MSS. also Albohali Alghihac, Alboali Alchait, Albenahait, etc.

Bibliography: *al-Fihrist*, p. 276; Steinschneider, in the *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 1890, 2nd Series, vol. iv. 69—70; Wüstenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Latein. seit dem 11. Jahrh.*, 1877, p. 41—42; H. Suter, in the *Abhandl. z. Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 9—10. (H. SUTER)

KHĀKĀN, Arabic transcription of the Turkish regal title KAĞHAN. We find this title already borne by the rulers of the earliest people who called themselves "Turk" (vith cent. A.D.) and it had been taken by them from their predecessors, the "genuine Avars" or the Zoan-Zoan of the Chinese (Kiessling in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyklopädie*, viii. 2587, s. v. HUNNI; also among the so-called Pseudo-Avars, cf. e. g. *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 233). In one of the oldest inscriptions, that of Tonyukuk (W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd Series, St. Petersburg 1899), we find *Kan* alongside of *Qaghan* with the same meaning, perhaps only the result of a contraction of *Qaghan*. Later a distinction was made between *Kan* or *Khān* and *Qaghan* or *Khākān* and *Khākān* used in the meaning of "Khān of Khāns", like the Persian *Shāhānshāh*; this we find as early as the fourth (xth) century in Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khwarizmi, *Mafātih al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, p. 120; the word *Kān* which appears in the Mongol period and was not used later has the same significance. *Khākān* is still regarded as the Turkish national title *kar-ēxoxān* and has been used quite recently by champions of the nationalist idea in Turkey in preference to *Sulṭān* and *Khālifa*.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KHĀKĀN. [See FATH 'ALĪ SHĀH].

KHĀKĀNĪ (AFḌAL AL-DIN IBRAHĪM HAQĀ'IKĪ, surnamed *Khākānī*), a Persian poet, born at Gandja (Elisavetpol) in 500 (1106—1107), the son of a carpenter, 'Alī, and a Nestorian wife whom he had purchased from a slave-dealer. His grandfather was a weaver. His uncle Kāfi b. 'Uthmān, who was his benefactor, was a physician and druggist. He was taken charge of by him when his father, sunk in poverty, abandoned him. Trained in the school of Abū 'l-'Ulā, the latter accepted him as his son-in-law and obtained from the *Khākān* Manūčīhr permission to give him the *takhalluṣ* of *Khākānī*. Later they quarrelled most bitterly and exchanged scathing epigrams (between 538 and 540). It was then that the poet quitted his native town to go to Bākū where the *Shīrwānshāh* Akhsatān, son of Manūčīhr, was settled. Obtaining, not without difficulty, permission to perform the pilgrimage to Mekka he was well received on his return by the governor of Mosul, Djemāl al-Din, which earned him the disfavour of his patron and imprisonment in the fortress of *Shābirān*. Retiring to Tibriz after the death of his wife, he died there probably in 595 (1200) and was buried in the cemetery of Surkh Āb. Although the majority of his biographers say that his name was Ibrāhīm, it should be noted that his father called him Badil "the substitute" because he had come to replace the great mystic Hakīm Sanā'ī.

The *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqān* = "Gift to the two 'Irāks", a poetical description of his journey to Mekka and back, was autographed at Agra by Mirzā Abū 'l-Hasan (1855). His *Diwān* entitled *Khulliyāt-i Khākānī* was lithographed at Lucknow in 1293—1295 (2 vols.); it is arranged in the order of subjects: — religious and moral poems, panegyrics, poems with refrains, funeral elegies, short mystical pieces, epigrams, satires; 44 *qaṣīda*'s were annotated at the beginning of the xth (xvth) century by Muḥammad b. Da'ūd of Shādi-Ābād (= Mandū, capital of Malwa in India).

Bibliography: N. von Khanikof, *Mémoire sur Khâcâni*, in the *J. A.*, 1864, Series 6, vol. iv. 137 and v. (1865), p. 296; Muḥammad 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii. 221; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 78; J. von Hammer, *Gesch. der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, p. 125; Riḍā Qulīkhān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣṭā'*, i. 200—213; Djāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, p. 707; Sprenger, *Cat. of the MSS. of the King of Oudh*, p. 461; *Mélanges asiatiques*, iii. 114; Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue As. Soc. Bengal*, Calcutta 1924, p. 201.

(CL. HUART)

KHĀKĀNĪ, a Turkish poet of the second half of the xvth century. His proper name was Muḥammad Bey and he was a descendant of Āyās Pasha [q. v.] who was Grand Wazīr under Suleimān I. His life was not eventful; according to *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī* he was *mutafarrika* and *sandjak-bey*. *Khākānī* owes his fame to a not very long *māthnawī* called *Ḥilya-i Sharīfa*, written in a tripodic *ramal*-metre. This poem is a paraphrase of an Arabic text known as *al-Ḥilya al-Nabawīya* containing a traditional account of the prophet's personal appearance; each of the enumerated features is commented on by the poet in twelve to twenty *bai*'s. According to Nāḍī the poem has acquired the same degree of popularity as the *Mawlid-i Sharīf* of Suleiman Čelebi. It was printed in Constantinople in 1264 and almost the whole

of it is incorporated in vol. iii. of Diyā Pasha's *Kharaḥāt* (Constantinople 1291). As Khākānī states at the end of his poem, it was completed in 1007 (1598—1599); at that time he had already attained a great age. The poet Djewri (d. 1065) wrote a *naẓīra* to the *Hilya*. Of other poems by Khākānī — he is said to have composed a *Diwān* — are only known a mathnawī called *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥāt* an a *ghazal*, both in a Gotha MS. (Cat., p. 171). He died in 1015 (1606—1607) and is buried in the cemetery of the mosque of Edirne Kapı.

Khākānī is a striking figure in the transition period of Ottoman poetry after Bākī, which is characterised by a growing taste for religious subjects.

Bibliography: Mu'allim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Iṣtambul 1308, p. 130; do., *Lughat-i Nādjī*, p. 396; Bursalī Muḥammad Tāhīr, *Oṭhmanī mī'ellifleri*, Iṣtambul 1338, ii. 163; *Sidjill-i Oṭhmanī*, 1311, ii. 264; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1904, iii. 193—198.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KHĀL (A.), maternal uncle. The *khāl*, although, according to the traditional patriarchal family law in Arabia, not actually considered a relative of his sister's son, was in popular regard equal to the latter's father and his father's relatives. It usually took a good deal of effort to fight on the side of one's paternal relatives against those of one's mother, and to avenge the death of paternal relatives also on one's *khāl*'s. Special stress was generally laid on the noble blood of one's *khāl*'s because the sister's children in particular were considered to inherit all noble or ignoble traits of character of their *khāl*'s.

The Muslim law, which, following the old Arab family law, paid most attention to paternal relationship, however forbids (on the authority of Sūra iv. 27) the *khāl* to marry his sister's daughter because the blood-relationship is too close.

The word *khāl*, which often has the more general meaning of "maternal ancestor", does not seem to go back to one of the original Semitic names of relationship.

Bibliography: J. G. Wetzstein, in the *Z. f. Ethnologie*, xii. 244 sqq.; G. A. Wilken, *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren*, Amsterdam 1884, p. 31 sqq. (*Ind. Gids*, 1884, i. 116 sqq.; *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 1 sqq.); W. Rob. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, p. 42, 58, 158, 165, 290; cf. Th. Nöldeke's review in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1886, xl. 172; J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in the *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1893 (Nº. 11), p. 476—478.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL)

KHAL'A. [See **KHIL'A**.]

KHALADJ, a Turkish tribe; the Turkish name was probably *Qalač* (see below). As early as the fourth (tenth) century we find the *Khaladj* living much farther south than the other Turks, in the southern part of the modern Afghānistān between Seistān and India. They are said even then to have come thither "in ancient times" (*fī qadīm al-aiyām*) (al-Iṣṭakhṛī, ed. de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. 254). The word is variously vocalised in Arabic manuscripts, e.g. al-Khaladj in al-Iṣṭakhṛī, p. 281 infra; *Khaldj* also in M. Longworth Dames (see the art. **AFGHANISTAN**, J. Marquart (*Erānsahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 253) connects the *Khaladj* with the *Xolādrui* of the By-

zantine sources and the *Kūlas* of the anonymous Syriac narrative of the year 554—555 and proceeds to deduce an original pronunciation *Khūladj*. In favour of *Khalač* we have two later Turkish popular etymologies, given in the legend of Oghuz Khān (cf. the art. **GHUZZ**): *kal ač* "remain hungry!" in Rashīd al-Dīn, text and translation in W. Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, vol. i., St. Petersburg 1891, Introduction, p. xxi., and *kal ač* "remain open!" (imperative) in the anonymous legend preserved in the Uighur character (*ibid.*, text p. 240, translation p. xii.): The *Khaladj* are never mentioned as an independent political unit but always as mercenaries or guards of foreign rulers; their leaders, like those of other Turkish guards, sometimes succeeded in founding independent dynasties, especially in India, where the pronunciation *Khildjī* for *Khaladjī* prevails (see the articles following). It is usually assumed that the Afghān speaking *Ghalzai* of the present day in the upper valleys of the Tarnak, Arghandāb and Afghasān are Afghanised descendants of the Turkish *Khaladj*. This assumption is disputed by M. Longworth Dames (cf. the art. **AFGHANISTAN** and **GHALZAI**), although he grants that the *Ghalzai* have a good deal of Turkish blood.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KHALAF B. 'ABD AL-MALIK [q. v.]. [See **IBN BASHKUWĀL**.]

KHALDĪ, the adjectival form of *Khaladj*, the name of a Turkish tribe which migrated from Turkistān at a period which cannot be precisely ascertained and settled in Western Afghānistān. From long residence in this country they were regarded, even as early as the end of the thirteenth century, when Firūz Khaldjī ascended the throne of Dihli, as Afghāns. They bore a high reputation as statesmen and soldiers, many served the early kings of Ghazni and Ghūr, and many afterwards attained to the highest rank in India, as, for instance, Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār, the conqueror of Bengal, Firūz, just mentioned, who founded the the dynasty which reigned at Dihli from 1290 to 1320, and Maḥmūd, founder of the *Khaldjī* dynasty of Mālwa (1436 to 1531), who was descended from Nāsir al-Dīn, the eldest brother of Firūz. The Lodis, the dynasty founded by Bahlūl, which reigned at Dihli from 1451 to 1526, were a clan of the *Khaldjis*.

The late Major H. G. Raverty objected strongly, but with little apparent reason, to the identification of the *Ghilzais* with the *Khaldjis*. Their identity cannot be conclusively established, but the *Ghilzais* claim a Turkish descent and are found in the region where we should expect to find the *Khaldjis*; the corruption of the name is not unnatural among Afghāns, and if the *Ghilzais* are not *Khaldjis* it is difficult to say where the latter are to be sought, for no trace of them is found elsewhere, and there is no record of their extermination.

Bibliography: Minhādī-i Sirādī *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, and translation by H. G. Raverty, London, 1873—1881; Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and translation by B. Dhé (Bibl. Ind. Series, A. S. B.); Muḥammad Kāsim Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832.

(T. W. HAIG)

KHALDĪ or **KHILDĪ**, the dynasty of Dihli, was founded by Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz (see **FIRUZ SHĀH KHILDĪ**) of the *Ghilzā'i* or *Ghildjā'i* tribe of Afghānistān. A Turkī descent has been claimed for this tribe but they had long been domiciled in Afghānistān and were regarded as Afghāns.

Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz ascended the throne in Kīlōkhri on June 13, 1290, and was murdered at Karra by his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, on July 19, 1296. 'Alā' al-Dīn ascended the throne in Dihli on Oct. 3, 1296, and captured the two sons of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz, Arkatī Khān, governor of Multān, and Qadr Khān, who had been proclaimed emperor in Dihli under the title of Rukn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. Having blinded his two cousins and imprisoned their mother, 'Alā' al-Dīn punished with death and confiscation those *amīrs* who had deserted his uncle for himself. He annexed Guḍjarāt, Ranthambhor, and Čitor and in a series of expeditions to the Dakhan commanded by his favourite eunuch Kāfūr Hazārdināri, entitled Malik Nā'ib, the Kingdoms of Warangal and Dvāravatipūra were added to the empire. Five rebellions which occurred early in his reign were crushed with merciless severity and vigorous laws were issued with the object of suppressing disaffection. 'Alā' al-Dīn was dissuaded from a design of declaring himself a prophet and promulgating a new religion. The most famous decrees of his reign were those by which he regulated the price of all the commodities of life and its most disgraceful act was the massacre of between twenty and thirty thousand Mughul converts to Islām, suspected of disaffection. After 'Alā' al-Dīn's death on Jan. 2, 1316, the eunuch Malik Nā'ib, having set aside Khidr Khān, the heir apparent, raised to the throne Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, 'Alā' al-Dīn's youngest son, a boy of five or six years of age, and attempted to blind Kuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, the second son, but the prince corrupted the eunuch's emissaries and persuaded them to murder their master. Kuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak then assumed the regency, and, on April 1, 1316, blinded and imprisoned his young brother and ascended the throne. The new emperor gained a fleeting popularity by the reversal of all his father's harsher measures but his debauchery soon converted the love of his people into contempt. Like his father he was addicted to unnatural vice and was entirely ruled by Khusraw Khān, a vile favourite belonging to one of the scavenger castes of western India. A rebellion in Guḍjarāt was suppressed and in 1318 Kuṭb al-Dīn marched to Dewagiri, where he put to death Harpāl Dewa, son-in-law of Rāmacandra and appointed a Muḥammadan governor to Devagiri. On his return the emperor caused his three brothers, Khidr Khān, Shādī Khān, and Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, to be put to death, and, after scandalizing his court by indecent debauchery, proclaimed himself supreme pontiff and vicegerent of God under the title of al-Wāṭhiḳ bi-'llāh.

Khusraw Khān, who had been recalled from the Dakhan under a just suspicion of treasonable designs soon regained his master's confidence and on April 14, 1320, caused him to be murdered in the palace and ascended the throne under the title of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw. His brief reign was marked by the advancement of his profligate caste-fellows and an attempt to restore the predominance of Hinduism in Dihli, but Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Djawnā fled from the capital to Multān and persuaded his father, Ghāzī Malik, governor of that province, to march to Dihli for the purpose of restoring the supremacy of Islām. Khusraw marched out to meet him but was defeated at Indarpat and captured and beheaded. On the following day, Sept. 6, 1320, Ghāzī Malik was proclaimed emperor

under the title of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Taghlaḳ Shāh.

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KHALDĪJĪ (KHILDJĪ), the dynasty of Mālwa, was founded in A.D. 1436 by Maḥmūd Khildji, of the same tribe as the Khaldjis of Dihli [q. v.]. Dilāwar Khān, founder of the Ghori dynasty [q. v.], had been accompanied to Mālwa by his cousin, Malik Mughith, and on the deposition of Dilāwar Khān's grandson, Ghaznin Khān (Muḥammad Shāh), Maḥmūd offered the crown to his own father, Malik Mughith, who declined it in favour of his son. Maḥmūd's long reign was at first disturbed by rebellions on behalf of the late dynasty, fomented and supported by Aḥmad I of Guḍjarāt and the rānā of Čitor. After the suppression of these he was engaged in almost continuous warfare with Guḍjarāt, Čitor, Khandesh, Kherla, the Dakhan, Dihli and Djawnpūr, and was usually successful, except against the Dakhan. He died on May 30, 1469, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a mean-spirited monarch who occupied himself chiefly with the administration of his harem, for the management of which he drew up elaborate regulations, leaving the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of this advisers and, latterly, of his elder son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, whom he made his prime minister. The later years of his reign were troubled by quarrels between Nāṣir al-Dīn and his younger brother 'Alā' al-Dīn, who was supported by Rānī Khurshid, the mother of both princes. The King, too feeble to keep the peace, fell alternately under the influence of either faction until, in the autumn of 1500, Nāṣir al-Dīn captured Māndū, put his brother to death, imprisoned his mother, and seized the crown. A few months later Ghiyāth al-Dīn died, poisoned, it was suspected, at the instigation of his son. Nāṣir al-Dīn's warlike qualities found employment in the suppression of rebellions among his *amīrs*, due to his harshness and in war with the rānā Rāyamāl Simha of Čitor. His later years were disgraced by debauchery and cruelty, his victims being chiefly his most faithful servants. He nominated his second son, Shihāb al-Dīn, his heir, passing over Ṣāhib Khān, the eldest, but Shihāb al-Dīn rebelled and fled from his father's wrath and Nāṣir al-Dīn was succeeded on his death (May 2, 1511) by his third son, who ascended the throne as Maḥmūd II. Maḥmūd was brave to rashness, but possessed no other virtue and was entirely devoid of political wisdom and administrative ability. He first forfeited the allegiance of his *amīrs* by the elevation of unworthy favourites, one of whom avenged his dismissal by proclaiming Maḥmūd's eldest brother, Ṣāhib Khān, king, under the title of Muḥammad Shāh. Muḥammad, the creature of a faction, reigned nominally and intermittently from 1510 to 1515, and issued coins. The adherents of Shihāb al-Dīn, Maḥmūd's next elder brother, also rebelled and proclaimed their leader king, and on his death professed allegiance to his son, whom they styled Hūshang II. After the removal of these pretenders Maḥmūd II became a mere instrument in the hands of Mednī Rāya, a Rāḍjpūt whom he raised to the position of prime minister of the kingdom and who could command a force of 40,000 horse. He made spasmodic attempts to free himself from his ignominious

position but the result of these was to throw the Rāḍjpūts into the arms of Sangrama Simha, rānā of Čitor, and Mālwa would have become a Rāḍjpūt state but for the first apprehensions of a coalition of the neighbouring Muḥammadan states. In 1517 Maḥmūd II was compelled to implore the aid of Muẓaffar II of Guḍjarāt against the Rāḍjpūts and, having been restored to his throne, reigned as a vassal of Guḍjarāt. After his restoration Maḥmūd II, aided by a contingent from Guḍjarāt, made war against Čitor but was totally defeated and made prisoner by the rānā Sangrama Simha, Bābur's Rānā Sangā, who, from motives of policy and generosity, restored him to his throne. His ingratitude to Sangrama's son Ratan Singh and his foolish encouragement of a pretender to the throne of Guḍjarāt, where Muẓaffar II had been succeeded by his son Bahādur II, drew on him the wrath of Bahādur Shāh, who invaded Mālwa, captured Māndū, and imprisoned Maḥmūd, who was slain on April 12, 1531, by his guards, who suspected an attempt at a rescue. The Khaldjī dynasty ended with Maḥmūd II, and Mālwa became for a time a province of Guḍjarāt.

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(T. W. HAIG)

KHĀLID B. 'ABD ALLĀH' AL-KASRĪ, governor of the 'Irāk. The Kasr family to which Khālīd belonged was a branch of the tribe of Badjlā [q. v.]; his mother was a Christian. In the year 89 (707/708) or 91 (709/710) he was appointed governor of Mekka by the Caliph al-Walīd. Here he remained during the life time of al-Walīd; after the accession of Sulaimān in 96 (715), however, he was dismissed and lived in retirement until in Shawwāl, 105 (March, 724), Hishām appointed him successor of the governor 'Umar b. Hubaira and gave him the administration of the whole of the 'Irāk. He made his headquarters in Wāsiṭ. Khālīd had been brought up in the school of al-Ḥajjīdjādī, and if he was not the latter's equal in ruthlessness he was not lacking in vigour or tenacity. He did not hesitate to express his opinions freely to the Caliph, and, when Hishām was planning to exclude his nephew al-Walīd from the succession in favour of his son Maslama, Khālīd vigorously resisted this scheme. In place of winning military glory he preferred to devote himself to peaceful activities and to the economic development of his province, and during his long tenure of office peace and quiet prevailed generally in the 'Irāk. He paid special attention to the improvement of agriculture. The marshes were drained and great stretches of virgin soil made arable. With this fertile activity for the welfare of the state he was at the same time very successful in furthering his personal interests, and in time acquired immense riches, which, however, aroused the envy and dissatisfaction of the people. Other circumstances also contributed to make the doughty Khālīd unpopular. His predecessor in office, 'Umar b. Hubaira, had been a prominent champion of Kaīsī opinions. Khālīd's appointment as 'Umar's successor made the Kaīsīs regard him as an intruder who had driven 'Umar from the

position to which he was entitled, and from the first created an unsympathetic feeling against him, which in spite of his impartiality estranged him from the Kaīsīs and threw him closer to the Yamanīs. His tolerance of members of other creeds brought upon him the charge of religious indifference. To please his mother he built a church in Kūfa and granted Christians and Jews generally the privilege of building churches and synagogues, and did not hesitate to give Zoroastrians posts in the government. Khālīd was very little troubled by rebels. In 119 (737) there was a conspiracy of a few Shi'īs led by al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd in Kūfa, but it was promptly discovered and the culprits were publicly burned. In the same year a Khāridjī named Bahlūl b. Bishr preached a rebellion against Khālīd in the neighbourhood of al-Mawṣil and twice defeated the troops sent against him, but was finally overcome. About the same time a certain Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī was active around Kūfa, where he was responsible for assassinations and incendiarism. When he fell into the hands of Khālīd he succeeded by his eloquence and his knowledge of the Kur'an in so moving the governor that the latter wished to spare him, but the Caliph was inexorable and had him executed forthwith. In the same year the Khāridjī al-Sahārī b. Shabīb collected a force and rendered the region of Djabbul on the Tigris unsafe, but was soon overcome and put to death with his followers.

Hishām could not in the long run resist the pressure of Khālīd's enemies. In 120 (738) he dismissed him and appointed as his successor Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thakafī, who had been for long governor of the province of Yaman. In Djumādā I (April-May, 738) the latter arrived in Kūfa. Khālīd was arrested and taken from Wāsiṭ to al-Hīra, where he was kept in prison with his family for eighteen months, and had to defend himself against charges of embezzlement. After his release in Shawwāl, 121 (Sept.-Oct., 739), he wanted to go to the Caliph but was not allowed. In the following year he settled down in Damascus. Here also he was followed by the hatred of Yūsuf but was able to live in freedom during the last years of Hishām's reign. He was again thrown into prison by Hishām's successor al-Walīd, and sold for a vast sum to his mortal enemy, Yūsuf, who had him brought to Kūfa and there tortured to death. Khālīd died in Muḥarram, 126 (Oct.-Nov., 743), and was buried in al-Hīra. According to another statement, he was dead by Dhū'l-Ḳa'da, 125.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA AL-MAKHZUMĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad and a Muslim general. In the battle of Uḥud,

where Khālīd commanded the right wing of the Mekkan forces, and by his intervention at the right moment decided the battle in favour of the enemies of the Prophet he first displayed that brilliant talent for leadership to which in later days Islām owed so many successes. After Khālīd had gone over to Islām with 'Amr b. al-Āṣ at the beginning of the year 8 (629) he took part in the unsuccessful campaign against the Byzantines, and after the defeat at Muṭa it was with difficulty that he succeeded in bringing back the defeated army to Medina. As a reward the Prophet gave him the title of honour "Sword of God", and in the same year he took part in the entry of the Muslims into Mekka. After the capitulation of the town he is said to have destroyed the sanctuary of the heathen goddess al-'Uzzā by order of Muḥammad. He was soon afterwards sent as ambassador to the Banū Dīdhima [q.v.] and in Radjab of the next year (Oct./Nov., 630) he undertook an expedition against Ukaidir, the Christian king of Dūmat al-Djandal (see the art. DJAWF AL-SIRHĀN). At the beginning of the year 10 (summer of 631) Muḥammad sent him to Naḍrān to convert the Banū 'l-Hārith b. Ka'b to Islām, which was also done without bloodshed. In the following year he was sent by Abū Bakr against Tulaiḥa b. Khuwailid and defeated him at Buzākhā (see the art. ASAD) and next turned his attention to the Banū Tamīm who dwelled in the vicinity. One clan, which was under Mālik b. Nuwaira, was at feud with the others. When the latter submitted, Mālik also laid down his arms but was nevertheless taken prisoner and put to death and Khālīd then married his widow. When an accusation was laid before the Caliph against Khālīd he is said to have excused himself by saying that the incident was due to a misunderstanding. He said he had ordered warm clothing to be given to the prisoners and had therefore said to the soldiers: "adfi'ū asrākum" which was interpreted by the Beduins to mean "kill your prisoners". In any case Abū Bakr was satisfied with administering a reprimand to him and kept him in office in spite of vigorous protests from 'Umar. Soon afterwards Khālīd took the field against the false prophet Musailima. At 'Akrabā, on the frontier of al-Yamāma, the latter was defeated and killed, whereupon his followers submitted (beginning of 12 = beginning of 633). Khālīd was then sent against the Persians. In Rabi' I, 12 (May—June, 633), or perhaps some months later he conquered al-Hira and soon afterwards occupied the whole Euphrates area. The Byzantines are said to have finally crossed the Euphrates and to have been defeated at al-Firāḍ (Dhu 'l-Ka'da, 12 = Jan., 634) and in Muḥarram of the following year (March/April, 634) or, according to others, not till Rabi' II (June) Khālīd set out on his campaign against Syria. In Djumādā I or II (= summer of 634) the Byzantines were completely defeated at Adjnādain and retired to Damascus. Defeated again by Khālīd, they were surrounded and besieged and in Radjab, 14 (Aug./Sept., 635), Damascus had finally to surrender. About the same time Khālīd was deprived of the supreme command and replaced by Abū 'Uḃāḍa b. al-Djarrāḥ [q.v.] but continued to take part in the military operations in Syria. In the battle of the Yarmūk on Radjab 12, 15 (Aug. 20, 636), he commanded the cavalry and contributed largely to the victory of the Muslims. Ḥimṣ was recaptured

soon afterwards. Khālīd then advanced against Ḳinnasrīn and after he defeated a Byzantine army under Minās the town had to surrender and Khālīd took up his quarters here for the time. He was for a time governor of a part of Syria but was later dismissed. He died in Ḥimṣ or Medina in the year 21 (641—642). A. Müller (*Der Islam*, i. 257) has admirably described him as follows: "He was one of those characters whose military genius is the whole of their intellectual life; like Napoleon, he cared for nothing but war and did not want to learn anything else."

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KHĀLID ZIYĀ, 'USHAKI-ZĀDE, the leading writer of prose and fiction in modern Turkish literature. Born in 1282 (1866) in Constantinople of a prominent family which came originally from the carpet town of 'Ushak — hence the epithet 'Ushaki-zāde — he spent his youth in Constantinople and Smyrna. He received his education from the Mechitarists in Smyrna. This laid the foundations of his love for and knowledge of the west. He translated industriously from the French and made literary attempts of his own. The collection called *Nākil* in 6 volumes contains stories of his own alongside of translations from the most important French writers of fiction. In Constantinople he founded the paper called *Neurūz* and published the introduction (*Medkhal*) to his never finished *Gharbden Sharḡa Siyāle-i Edebiye* (Literary Current from West to East) in Constantinople in 1303 (1888). In Smyrna he continued his literary activity with the foundation of the periodical *Khidmet* in which his novel *Sefile* and his *Menthūr Shi'rler* ("Poems in Prose") appeared in 1307 (1887); their unusual form aroused a storm of indignation until Ekrem defended them (specimens in Bikerman, *Tureckij sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1909).

In Smyrna he published in five series his *Kütük Kitāblar* which contain various literary productions, e.g. *Bir Mukhtirānīn soñ Yaprakları* ("The last Leaves of a Notebook"); *Bir İndiwādīñ Tāriḡ-i Mu'āshakası* ("The Love-story of a Marriage"); *Hikāye, Temāshā* (his *Menthūr Shi'rler* re-appeared in it) and *Mezārden Sesler* ("Voices from the Grave"), Smyrna 1307 (1889). At the same time he published a whole series of popularly written scientific treatises, with which he endeavoured to spread European learning, for example: *Ḥaml ve-Waḍ' i Ḥaml*; *Kānūn ve-Fenn-i Wilāde*; *Mebhath al-Kiḡf*; *Mebhath al-Kiyāse*; *'Ilm-i Simā*; *'Ilm-i Nudjūm*; *Ḥisāb Oyunları*; *Hikmet Oyunları*;

Būkalāmūn-i Kīmīyā; *Simiyā-i Kīmīyā*; and the anecdotal *Tuhfe-i Letā'if* (1308). It is characteristic of his versatility that he even studied Sanskrit which, however, involved him in difficulties with the ever suspicious government.

Next came the novels *Nümide* ("The Hopeless Woman"), Constantinople 1311 (1893); *Bir Ölümlün Defteri* ("The Diary of a dead Man", Constantinople 1311), still bearing the imprimatur of the Aidin censor, which has been translated into German by Ḥabīb Edib in 1918 (*Romane des neuen Orients*, Berlin), and *Ferdi ve-Shürekāsi* ("Ferdi & Co.", Constantinople 1312; dramatised by Mehmed Re'uf, Constantinople 1325).

A new period began with his taking over the editorship in 1896 of the periodical *Therwet-i Funūn* to which he with the poet Tewfīk Fikret [q.v.] gave an entirely new form. He opened the new period, which is known as the Tewfīk Fikret and Khālid Ziyā period, with his masterly novel *Māwi we-Siyāh* ("Blue and Black") (1317 second ed.; 1338 eighth ed.). In the *Edebiyāt-i Djedide Kütüb-khānesi*, a new foundation important for modern literature, appeared his next works, the novels *Bir Yazın Tarih-i* ("The Story of a Summer") as No. 3 (Constantinople 1316) and *Ashk-i Memnū* ("Forbidden Love"), No. 4 (1316; with *Māwi we-Siyāh* his best novel), and the collection of short stories *Solghun Demet* ("The Withered Wreath"), No. 8 (Constantinople 1317), from which a whole series of stories has been translated into French and German (Kaufmann, *Türkische Erzählungen*, Munich 1916; *Die Neue Türkei*, Constantinople 1908, etc.). The series ended with his *Kırık Hayatlar* ("Broken Lives").

When, as a result of an article by H. Djāhid, the paper was suppressed, Khālid wrote absolutely nothing till the revolution and confined himself to his official work as first secretary to the Tobacco Regie. After the revolution he displayed a feverish literary activity and lent his collaboration to every possible periodical. The novel *Nesli-i Akhīr* ("The last Family") in the *Şabāh* and many contributions to the *İkdam*, *Therwet-i Funūn*, *Resimli Kitāb*, *Meḥāsīn* etc. are evidence of this. At the same time for a certain period he lectured at the University of Constantinople on aesthetics and foreign literatures and wrote letters from Germany describing his travels there. His activities in this direction were interrupted by his appointment as first secretary to the palace of Sulṭān Mehmed V in 1909.

It came as a surprise when in 1918 he suddenly entered the ranks of dramatists with his *Kābūs* (1334), in which he demanded the same rights of divorce for women as for men. The play *Furūzān* (1334) is one of the adaptations of the "Francillon" of Dumas fils now so popular in Turkish literature.

A third drama, *Fāre*, is now announced as well as new collections of stories: *Bir Hikāye-i Sevdā* (1338); *Bir Shīr-i Khayāl* and *Onu beklerken*, and works on literary history: *Kenārde Qalmış* and *Eski Şeyler*.

With the poets Tewfīk Fikret and Djenāb Shēhāb ed-Dim, Khālid Ziyā is the principal founder of the modern occidentalising literature. Deliberately turning from the East, rejecting the eastern spirit and the Turkish Muslim attitude to life, they sought to create a modern literature with European affinities with the motto "art for art's sake", after the compulsion to write in Persian and Arabic forms had first been cast off by their predecessors.

With Sezāyī, Khālid is the founder of the modern literary novel. He worked especially at the short story, of which he seems to be the greatest master. He is an artist and a poet. He is marked by great sentimentality and a pessimistic outlook, which only later gave place to a more reconciled attitude. He is an acute psychological observer. But he is an absolute Westerner, a Frenchman in Turkish dress. He has not unjustly been called the Turkish Alphonse Daudet. His writings contribute little to our knowledge of the Turks. In spite of the Levantine milieu he is strictly moral. He tells a story, vividly and attractively; his style is clear. But his language is still markedly laden with Persian and Arabic words. He paid most attention to style, which owes much to him, for it is he who created the language of modern Turkish fiction.

He has taken no part in the recent nationalist development in Turkey. He has remained the old cosmopolitan.

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AL-KHĀLIDĀT, full form AL-DJAZĀ'IR AL-KHĀLIDĀT, probably with allusion to the Arabic *Khuld*, the Eternal Islands, are usually called *Djazā'ir al-Sa'āda* "Isles of Bliss" by the astronomers, a translation of the Greek *Μακάρον Νήσοι* which probably came to the Arabs through the translation of Ptolemy. Al-Bakrī also knows the Latin name *Fortunatae Insulae* in the form *Fortūnātash*. They are the Canary Islands. Al-Bērūnī and al-Idrīsī speak of six islands, al-Makḳarī of seven, and al-Idrīsī mentions two by name: *Masfahān* and *Laghūs*; according to Dozy and de Goeje, the former corresponds to the modern Tenerife, the latter probably to Gran Canaria. According to al-Bērūnī, they are nearly 200 parasangs (600 miles) from the mainland, while al-Makḳarī says that on a clear day they are visible from Salā.

The meaning of the name given by al-Bakrī points to the flourishing vegetation of the islands. "Trees and shrubs bring forth all kinds of pleasant fruits without it being necessary to plant or tend them, and the soil yields grain instead of weeds

and valuable fragrant herbs instead of thorns". On Masfahān as well as on Laghūs there was a high pillarlike building (*ṣanam*) of hewn stone, a hundred ells high and crowned by a figure of brass pointing backwards with his hand to the high seas. In Masfahān this red column stood on a round hill; the column on Laghūs could not be climbed. These were regarded as warnings to shipping to sail farther to the west (al-Maḳḳārī says that each of the seven islands had a similar column; according to him, they were idols [*aṣṇām*] in the form of men. He distinguishes the *Djazā'ir* al-Sa'āda from the *Djazā'ir* al-Khālīdāt and says that the former were north of the latter and the first of them is Britain).

Among legendary features of the Arab descriptions of the islands we may mention the following. Since in Ptolemy and the Arab geographers who follow him the longitudes are calculated from the meridian of one of these islands (cf. the older European calculation from the meridian of Terro), it was thought that there was a race of astronomers living on the island; according to al-Maḳḳārī the "Christian Magicians" came from the *Djazā'ir* al-Sa'ādāt, but, as he includes Britain among them, he is apparently thinking of the Druids of the Celts. *Dhu 'l-Karnain* [q. v.], i. e. Alexander the Great, is said to have reached the Khālīdāt. The Ḥimyarite As'ad Abū Karib is said to have built the column in Masfahān and he also is given the epithet *Dhu 'l-Karnain*. The column of Laghūs is said to have been built by another South Arabian of the legendary past, Tubba' *Dhu 'l-Marāṭhid*; his tomb is said to exist there in a temple of marble and brilliantly coloured glass. The stories regarding "terrible wild beasts" on the island of Laghūs given by the author of the "Book of Marvels", which al-Idrīsī hesitates to repeat, are probably the same as those given by al-Kazwīnī on the authority of Abū Ḥamid al-Andalusī in his description of the Western Sea. There is also a description of a column on an island called *Madjma' al-Tura'*.

We may assume that there was trade (indirect) between the Canary Islands and Arabia even in the days of the ancient Arabs, if 'andam "dragon's blood" came from *Dracaena Draco*; probably, however, it came from another (Indian) plant.

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KHALĪFA, "successor, vicegerent", title of the supreme head of the Muslim community, the *Imām* [q. v.], as successor or vicegerent of the Prophet (*khalīfat rasūl Allāh*).

I. The word appears, frequently both in the singular and the plural (*khalā'if*, *khulafā'*) in the *Qur'ān*; in the latter case, the persons referred to are called "successors" as entering into the blessings enjoyed by their forefathers (e.g. vi. 165; xxiv. 54; xxvii. 63, used of the righteous; vii. 67, 72, of the idolatrous tribes of 'Ad and *Thamūd*); the singular is used of Adam (ii. 28), either as successor

of the angels who lived on earth before him, or as representative of God, and of David (xxviii. 25). "We have made thee a *khalīfa* in the land; then judge between men with the truth, and follow not thy desires, lest they cause thee to err from the path of God." In none of these verses is there any clear indication that the word was intended to serve as the title of the successor of Muḥammad. Muslim historians commonly assert that it was first so used by Abū Bakr; it is doubtful, however, whether he ever assumed it as a title (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* II A. H., § 63 n. 1). But from the reign of 'Umar, it has been the common designation of the *Amīr al-Mu'minin* [q. v.]. The designation *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, "successor of the apostle of God", implies assumption of the activities and privileges exercised by Muḥammad, — with the exception of the prophetic function, which was believed to have ceased with him; the later phrase, *khalīfat Allāh*, "vicegerent of God", implies a bolder claim, and is said to have excited the indignation of Abū Bakr, but it was used as early as 35 A. H. by Ḥassān b. Thābit in an elegy he wrote on the *Khalīfa 'Uthmān* (ed. H. Hirschfeld, xx. 1. 9), and it became quite common under the 'Abbasids and later princes (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 61).

In the course of Muslim history, however, the term *khalīfa* has not been confined to such exalted reference. As early as the first century of the *Hidjra*, it was used in the Aphrodito papyri for the ἀποκρισιάρχος or agent at the capital through whom the local official of the finance department made payments of taxes (*Greek Papyri of the British Museum*, vol. iv, pp. xxv. 35; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. p. 257). It has frequently been used as a personal name (see Index to *Ṭabarī*, etc.). In the religious orders, especially among the *Kādiriya*, the *Khalīfa* is the delegate of the *Shaikh* of the order and is invested with a certain amount of his powers and represents him in countries remote from the parent *zāwiya*. Among the *Tidjāniya*, the *Khalīfa* is the inheritor of the spiritual power (*baraka*) of the founder of the order, to whom alone the title *Shaikh* is applied (O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, pp. 194—195, Alger 1897; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 78, Alger 1884).

In the Mahdist movements, the *Khalīfa* is the successor of the Mahdī; Mīr Dilāwar was thus *Khalīfa* of Saiyid Muḥammad Mahdī (ob. 910 A. H.) the founder of the *Mahdawis* [q. v.]; 'Abd Allāh was the *Khalīfa* of Muḥammad Aḥmad the Mahdī of the *Sūdān*; and the son and successor of Ghulām Aḥmad *Kādiyānī* (s. i. p. 206) is so described by his followers at the present day. Humbler persons have also received this designation, e.g. in the household of the Emperor Bābur, *khalīfa* denoted a woman who exercised surveillance over other women-servants, (Gul-badan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, translated by A. S. Beveridge, p. 136). In more modern times, the word *khalīfa* was commonly applied in Turkey to any junior clerk in a public office (C. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*², vii. 271), and is still a title of respect for an assistant teacher in a school. In Morocco it indicates the deputy of the governor of a city (B. Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 224). In modern India it is used even of such insignificant persons as a working tailor, a barber, a fencing master or a cook (H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the*

Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, ii. p. 490. Lahore 1911). In Togo and neighbouring parts of W. Africa, *alfa* (= *khalīfa*) denotes a Muslim teacher or even Muhammadans generally (*Die Welt des Islams*, ii. p. 200).

Bibliography. In addition to the works already quoted, see Goldziher, *Du sens propre des expressions Ombre de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam* (R. H. R., xxxv., 1897); D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalīfah* (A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne, p. 322—328).

II. As a distinction can be drawn between the history of the *Khilāfa*, or of the political institution of which the *Khalīfa* was the head, and the theories connected with it, and as the former was chronologically prior, it is proposed here to deal with it first.

I. History. The immense wealth and power acquired by the early successors of Muḥammad, through the conquest of such provinces of the Roman Empire as Syria and Egypt, together with the dominions of the Persian king, raised them to a status and a dignity which gave to the humble title they bore a new significance; so even before the Arab conquests had reached their limit, the *Khalīfa* had become one of the most powerful and wealthy monarchs in the world. As *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* [q.v.] he was commander of these conquering armies and so he described himself on his coins; as *Imām* [q.v.], he took the foremost place in public worship and delivered the *Khuṭba* [q.v.] in the mosque; as *Khalīfa* he claimed from his Muslim subjects some of the reverence that had previously been paid to the founder of their faith. The civil war that broke out in the reign of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib laid the foundation for those rival theories as to the qualifications of the *Khalīfa*, which took definite shape in political and sectarian doctrines. Under the Umayyads [q.v.] the religious associations of the office of the *Khalīfa* were not emphasised, though many of them kept up the practice of leading the public worship, for (with the exception of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [q.v.]) religious considerations appear to have had little weight with them, and it was mainly in Medina that the foundations of Muslim dogma and the systematisation of the *Shari'a* [q.v.] were laid, with little encouragement from the *Khalīfa* in Damascus. The claim of the descendants of 'Alī to the leadership of the Muslim world found expression in the formation of the *Shi'a* party [q.v.], but for some generations their efforts met with no political success. The 'Abbāsids [q.v.] came into power largely through their pretended support of Alid claims, and largely too through their professions of religious zeal. In Baghdād the *Khilāfa* took on a new character; the *Khalīfa* became a generous patron of the 'ulamā' and laid emphasis upon his function as protector of the religion of Islām, and under his fostering care the capital took the place of Medina as the chief centre of theological activity, and the great schools of law (see the art. *FIQH*) received definite shape. The *Khalīfa* was no longer regarded as a mere secular monarch, as many of the Umayyads had appeared to be in the eyes of devout Muslims, and the awe with which he was regarded was enhanced by the elaboration of court etiquette and ceremonial. The Umayyads, especially in their early days, had generally been readily accessible to their subjects; Mu'āwīya [q.v.] had preserved in a great

measure the frank, familiar manners of an Arab chief of pre-Islamic times, and moved among other Arab chiefs as *primus inter pares*. But in the new capital, the traditions of the Persian monarchy reasserted themselves, the 'Abbāsīd sat on his throne in solemn majesty, surrounded by his guards, the executioner with drawn sword by his side. At the same time he emphasised the religious aspect of his office by wearing the mantle of the Prophet, and his relationship to the Prophet was reiterated in official documents and in the lucubrations of eulogists and court flatterers.

From the 9th century onwards, the direct control of the *Khalīfa* over the administration weakened in consequence of the increasing delegation of power to the Wazīr [q.v.] and the growing elaboration and efficiency of the government offices (v. art. *LIWĀN*). About the same period began the decline of the temporal power of the *Khalīfa*, in consequence of the break-up of the empire and the rise of independent principalities in the various provinces, until at last his authority hardly extended beyond the precincts of the city of Baghdād. Concurrently with this decline of his temporal power, increasing stress was laid on his position in the religious order, as *Imām* [q.v.] and as the defender of religion, and the persecution of heretics and of the adherents of non-Muslim faiths increased. By the year 946 all effective power had passed out of the hands of the *Khalīfa*, and there were to be seen in Baghdād three personages who had held this high office, but now deposed and blinded were dependent for their livelihood upon charity. From this period until 1055 the *Khalīfa* for the time being was but a puppet in the hands of the Būyids [q.v.] and the Seldjūks [q.v.] successively. But in spite of his entire lack of administrative authority, men could not forget the great position once held by his ancestors, and the impotent *Khalīfa* was still regarded by theorists as the source of all authority and power in the Muslim world. Accordingly, there were to be found independent rulers who sought from him titles and diplomas of appointment, e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna [q.v.], when he renounced his allegiance to the Sāmānid prince in 997, received from the *Khalīfa* recognition of his independent position, together with the titles Yamin al-dawla, Amin al-milla; and about a century later, Yūsuf b. Ṭāshfin, the founder of the Almoravid dynasty of Spain, received the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn from the *Khalīfa* Muḥtādī. When in 1175 Saladin [q.v.] assumed the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria, he was confirmed in this rank by the *Khalīfa* Mustādī, who sent him a diploma of investiture and robes of honour. The founder of the Rasūlīd [q.v.] dynasty in the Yaman, Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, likewise asked the *Khalīfa* for the title of Sulṭān and a diploma of investiture as his lieutenant, and Mustansīr in 1235 sent a special envoy with the required document. This same *Khalīfa* had in 1229 responded to the request of Ilutūmish [q.v.], the Turkish ruler of Northern India, for the title of Sulṭān and for confirmation in the possession of his dominion; and succeeding kings of Dihlī continued to put the name of Musta'ṣim, the last *Khalīfa* of Baghdād, upon their coins for more than thirty years after this unfortunate prince had been put to death by the Mongols.

In contrast to this recognition of the *Khalīfa* in Baghdād as the legitimate source of authority,

is the establishment of two rival *Khilāfats*; in 928 'Abd al-Rahmān III of Spain assumed the title of *Khalifa*, which continued to be borne by his descendants; these Umayyads of Spain, like their predecessors in Damascus, were Sunnīs; but the Fātimids of Egypt, whose founder styled himself *Khalifa* first in Mahdiyya in 909, were Shī'īs, and were serious rivals to the 'Abbāsids in Baghdād until the destruction of their dynasty by Saladin in 1171.

In 1258 Hulāgū [q. v.] captured Baghdād and put to death the *Khalifa* Musta'sim, who perished leaving behind him no heir. The catastrophe was without parallel in the history of Islam, and for the first time the Muslim world found itself without a theoretical head whose name could be mentioned in the *Khuṭba* in the mosques on Fridays. Two members of the 'Abbāsīd family, who had escaped the massacre in Baghdād, took refuge one after the other with the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt; the first, an uncle of Musta'sim, was invited by Baibars [q. v.] to Cairo, and was there installed with great pomp as *Khalifa* in 1261. Baibars is said to have conceived the idea of re-establishing the 'Abbāsīd dynasty in Baghdād and left Cairo with a large army, but after he had reached Damascus he provided the *Khalifa* with only a small body of troops, which was destroyed by the Mongols on its way through the desert, and nothing more was ever heard of the *Khalifa*. The second claimant arrived in Cairo in 1262 and was similarly installed as *Khalifa*, but no attempt was made to repeat the rash experiment of regaining Baghdād, and the *Khalifa* was kept a virtual prisoner in Cairo, though treated with outward marks of respect. For more than two centuries and a half, his descendants one after another continued to hold this shadowy office in Cairo, dependent on the bounty of the Mamlūk Sultān, who found the *Khalifa* useful as lending a show of legitimacy to his rule. Each new Sultān was ceremoniously installed by the *Khalifa*, to whom he in his turn paid allegiance. But not a single one of them (with the exception of Musta'in, who was made the plaything of rival political factions in 1412 and for six months was styled Sultān) ever exercised any function of government or enjoyed any political power. Maḳrīzī [q. v.] describes the *Khalifa* as spending his time among the nobles and officials, paying them visits to thank them for the dinners and entertainments to which they had invited him (*Histoire d'Égypte*, ed. E. Blochet, p. 76).

The rest of the Muslim world outside Egypt for the most part ignored the existence of the 'Abbāsīd *Khalifa* in Cairo. From the 13th century there had been Sunni *Khalifa* in the Maghrib, and from time to time various princes in the eastern lands of the Muhammadan world assumed this title, Seljūks, Timūrids, Turkomans, Uzbegs and Ottomans.

But a small number of independent princes, desiring to legitimize their claim to the obedience of their subjects, asked for formal recognition of their position and a grant of titles from the *Khalifa*, e. g. the first two princes of the Muzaffarid dynasty in southern Persia (1313—1384); Muḥammad ibn Tughlaḳ (1325—1351) and his successor on the throne of Delhi, Firūz Shāh (1351—1388); even Bayazīd I [q. v.] is said to have applied in 1394 to the 'Abbāsīd *Khalifa* in Cairo for a formal grant of the title of Sultān

(v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*², i. 195), but doubt has been cast upon the accuracy of this report. For, from the latter part of the 14th century, when after the conquest of Adrianople, Philippopolis etc. his father, Murād I, was styled "the chosen *Khalifa* of God" (Firidūn, i. 93, l. 22), it became common for the Ottoman Sultāns, as for other contemporary Muhammadan potentates, to claim for themselves the *Khilāfa* and to find this claim recognised by their subjects and their correspondents in other lands. The qualification of belonging to the tribe of *Kuraish* was ignored and sanction was sought for the usage in such verses of the *Kur'an* as xxxviii. 25: "We have made thee a *Khalifa* on the earth", and this and similar verses (e.g. vi. 165; xxv. 37) are constantly quoted in the diplomatic correspondence of the period. So when Selīm [q. v.] made his victorious entry into Cairo in January, 1517, and made an end of the 'Abbāsīd *Khilāfa*, by transporting the last representative of it, Mutawakkil, to Constantinople, he had already been accustomed to the use of the title *Khalifa* as applied to himself, and to his ancestors for a century and a half. The legend that Mutawakkil made a formal transfer of his dignity to Selīm was first published by Constantine Mouradgea d'Ohsson in 1788 (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 269—270, ed. 8^{vo}., Paris, 1788—1824). None of the contemporary authorities who record the conquest of Egypt make any mention of such a transference of the office, and after the death of Selīm, Mutawakkil was allowed to return to Egypt and was *Khalifa* there until his death in 1543. For the next two centuries, there were only two Muhammadan potentates whose extent of territory and power could add dignity to the title of *Khalifa* (in contrast to the indiscriminate use of it by insignificant princes) namely, the Ottoman Sultan and the Mughal Emperor in India. With the fall of the Mughal empire in the 18th century, the Ottoman Sultan became manifestly the greatest figure in the Muslim world; but even his power was being threatened by his aggressive neighbour on the north, and after the war with Russia (1768—1774) he was obliged to surrender territories on the north shore of the Black Sea and recognise the independence of the Tartars of the Crimea. Catherine II claimed to be the patroness of the Christians of the Orthodox Church dwelling in Ottoman territories, and the Ottoman plenipotentiaries who negotiated the treaty of Kučuk Kainardji in 1774, took advantage of the title of *Khalifa*, to make a similar claim for the Sultan, and get inserted in the treaty a clause asserting the religious authority of the *Khalifa* over the Tartars who had ceased to owe him allegiance as a temporal sovereign. From this period onwards, it became a common error in Christian Europe to regard the *Khalifa* as the spiritual head of all Muslims (just as the Pope is the spiritual head of all Catholics), and to credit him with the possession of spiritual authority over his co-religionists, though they might not owe him civil obedience as Sultān of Turkey. There is reason to believe that this widespread error in Christian Europe reacted upon opinion in Turkey itself. Particularly in the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II (1876—1909), emphasis was laid on his position as *Khalifa*, and in the Constitution promulgated at the beginning of his reign it was affirmed that "H.M. the Sultan, as *Khalifa*, is the protector of the Muslim religion." He appears to have sent emissaries

to different parts of the Muhammadan world to encourage reverence for his own person as *Khalīfa*, and his efforts met with a certain response, since thoughtful Muhammadans (and especially those whose minds were disturbed by the growing control of European Powers over the affairs of the Muhammadan world) recognised that Turkey was the only independent Muslim power left, which was of any account in the civilised world. But the despotic and reactionary character of 'Abd al-Ḥamid's government, his cruel suppression of all liberal movements and all efforts for constitutional reform, alienated the more enlightened sections of his own subjects, and when he was deposed in 1909, the affairs of Turkey passed under the control of a body of men who had little sympathy with the Islāmic spirit and realised the impossibility of reconciling an autocracy that claimed to be based on divine revelation with modern constitutional methods of government. In November, 1922, Turkey became a republic and abolished the Sultanate, leaving the *Khalīfa* shorn of all temporal power; but it had not become clear what were to be the functions of the new *Khalīfa* before, in March, 1924, his office was abolished altogether.

In the above account, attention has been confined to the historic Sunni *Khilāfa* which has played the most important part in Muhammadan history. The two other Sunni *Khilāfats*, that of Spain and that of the Maghrib, have been only of local importance, and did not inspire loyalty in any other parts of the Muhammadan world; nor has the assumption of the title *Khalīfa* by some of the princes of Java been recognised except by their own subjects.

Among the *Shī'īs*, the attempts made from time to time to secure for the Alids a position of power and independence, met with but scant success, and the *Fātimids* [q.v.] of Egypt represent the only *Shī'ī* *Khilāfa* of any importance. In Persia the establishment of the *Ṣafawid* [q.v.] dynasty in 1502 did not succeed in making *Shī'ism* the State religion in Persia until long after the doctrine of the hidden *Imām* had become a cardinal doctrine of the *Shī'a* faith in that country.

Bibliography: An enumeration of the sources for the history of the *Khilāfa* would comprise the major part of the historical literature of the whole of the Muhammadan era. For the Arabic sources F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, and C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* may be consulted. Among the more important sources may be mentioned: Tabarī, *Annales*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*; al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Khulafā'* and *Husn al-Muhādḍara*; al-Makrizī, *al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifaṭ Duwal al-Mulūk* (partly translated by Quatremère in *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*); al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*; *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld; Rashid al-Dīn, *Ḍiyā' al-Tawārikh*; Aḥmad Firūdū Bey, *Munsha'āt al-Salāṭīn*; Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī al-Tūkārī, *al-Nakir 'alā munkiri 'l-ni'mati min al-dīni wa 'l-khilāfati wa 'l-umma*, Bairut, 1924. Among European writers, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* (Milano, 1905 sqq.); G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, 5 vols. (1846—1862); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* (1885, 1887); W. Muir, *The Caliphate*; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*; A.

de la Jonquière, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, 2nd ed. Paris 1914; *Oriente Moderno* (Rome 1921 sqq.); C. A. Nallino, *La fine del così detto Califato ottomano* (*Oriente Moderno*, iv. 137 sqq.); R. Hartmann, *Wesen u. Ende des osm. Chalifats*, Leipzig 1924; H. Ritter, *Die Abschaffung des Kalifats* (*Arch. f. Politik und Geschichte*, ii. 343 sqq., Berlin 1924).

2. Political Theory. As stated above, the theory of the *Khilāfa* was largely an outgrowth from the political circumstances of early Muhammadan history, but speculation has elaborated many forms of the doctrine that have failed to secure for themselves expression in actual historical facts. Al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton, p. 12) says that no article of faith has given rise to such bloodshed and contention in every period of Muslim history as this. (a) The orthodox Sunni doctrine first found expression in the *Hadīth*, which emphasised preeminently two essential characteristics of the *Khalīfa*; one, that he must be of the tribe of the *Quraysh* (*Kanz al-'Ummāl*, iii., N^o. 2983; vi., N^o. 3452, 3469), and the other, that he must receive unhesitating obedience, for whosoever rebels against the *Khalīfa*, rebels against God (id. iii., 2580, 2999, 3008). This claim on obedience to the despotic power of the *Khalīfa* as a religious duty was impressed upon the faithful by the designations that were applied to him from an early date, — *Khalīfa* of God, and Shadow of God upon earth. The first systematic exposition of the generally accepted doctrine is found in Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniya* (ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853; Cairo 1298, 1327; trans. E. Fagnan, Alger 1915). Māwardī insists upon the following qualifications in a *Khalīfa*: — membership of the tribe of *Quraysh*, male sex, full age, good character, freedom from physical or mental defects, competency in legal knowledge, administrative ability, and courage and energy in the defence of Muslim territory. In spite of the fact that the office became hereditary in two families successively, the *Umayyad* and the 'Abbāsīd, Māwardī maintained that it was elective, and was at pains to reconcile the doctrine of election with the historic fact that from the reign of Mu'āwiya (661—680) [q.v.] almost every *Khalīfa* had nominated his successor. The fiction of election was preserved in the practice of *bai'a* [q.v.], the taking of the oath of allegiance, first by the nobles of the court and then by the general assembly before whom the new *Khalīfa* was proclaimed. The functions of the *Khalīfa* were defined by Māwardī as follows: the defence and maintenance of religion, the decision of legal disputes, the protection of the territory of Islām, the punishment of wrongdoers, the provision of troops for guarding the frontiers, the waging of *jihād* [q.v.] against those who refused to accept Islām or submit to Muslim rule, the organisation and collection of taxes, the payment of salaries and the administration of public funds, the appointment of competent officials, and lastly, personal attention to the details of government. About three centuries later Ibn Khaldūn [q.v.] approached the subject in a more critical spirit and discussed the institution of the *Khilāfa* in his *Mukaddima* (chap. 25—8), written between 1375 and 1379; he faced the facts of history and recognised that with the disappearance of the Arab supremacy there was nothing left of the *Khilāfa* but the name. His account of the origin and purpose of the institution agrees with that given by

Māwardī; the Khalifa is the representative (*nawīb*) of the Prophet, the exponent of the divinely-inspired law (*sharī'a*), and his functions are the protection of religion and the government of the world; he must belong to the tribe of the Kuraish, and possess the other personal qualifications laid down by Māwardī. But there were other legists who frankly faced the fact that force had taken the place of theory in the Muslim world, and worked out a constitutional theory accordingly; of such writers Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamā'a (ob. 733 = 1333) is a typical example; in his *Tahrir al-Ahkām fī Tadbir Millat al-Islām* (K. K. Hofbibl., Wien 1830), he lays it down that the Imām may obtain his office either by election or by force; in the latter case allegiance must be paid to an Imām who by force of arms seizes the office, and such usurpation is justified in consideration of the general advantage and unity of the Muslim community gained thereby (foll. 7—8). Another school of legists abandoned all such attempts to justify the fluctuating course of Muslim history and based their doctrine on the Ḥadīth that the Khilāfa endured for only thirty years, i.e. up to the death of 'Alī (*Kanz*, iii., N^o. 3152); this was the view of al-Nasafi [q. v.] (ob. 537 = 1142) (see *al-Akḥād*, ed. Cureton, London 1843, p. 4), and it was adopted by the great Turkish jurist, Ibrāhīm Ḥalabī (ob. 1549), whose *Multaḥa 'l-Abḥur* became the authoritative code of Ottoman law. (b) The Shī'ī theologians made the doctrine of the Imamate a cardinal principle of faith; they laid stress on legitimacy, and confined the office of the Khalifa not merely to the Kuraish but still further to the family of 'Alī; with the exception of the Zaidīya [q. v.], they rejected the doctrine of election, and held that 'Alī was directly nominated by Muḥammad as his successor and that 'Alī's qualifications were inherited by his descendants, who were pre-ordained by God for this high office. Muḥammad is said to have communicated to 'Alī certain secret knowledge, which was in turn handed on to his son and was thus carried on from generation to generation; each Imām possesses superhuman qualities which raise him above the level of the rest of mankind, and he guides the faithful with infallible wisdom, and his decisions are absolute and final. According to some, 'Alī owed this superiority to a difference in his substance, for from the creation of Adam a divine light passed into the substance of one chosen descendant in each generation and has been present in 'Alī and in each one of the Imām's that succeeded him. The sectarian development of Shī'a doctrine was considerable, see art. ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYA, ISMĀ'ĪLIYA, SĀFIYA, ZAIDIYA. (Bibliography: al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, p. 108 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomenes*, i. p. 400 sqq.). (c) The antithesis of Shī'ī doctrine was taught by the Khawāridj [see KHARIDJITES], who so far from confining the office of Khalifa or Imām to any one tribe or family, held that any believer was eligible, even though he were a non-Arab or even a slave; they further separated themselves from other Muslims in maintaining that the existence of an Imām is not a matter of religious obligation and that at any particular time the community can fulfil all the obligations imposed upon them by their religion, and have an entirely legitimate form of civil administration, without any Imām being in existence at all; when, under special circumstances, it may

be found convenient or necessary to have an Imām, then one may be elected, and if he is found to be in any way unsatisfactory, he may be deposed or put to death (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i. p. 85 sqq.).

All the above classes of political theory found expression in some form or other of actual political organisation, but there were also statements of the doctrine of the Khilāfa that never emerged out of the sphere of speculation, especially those elaborated by thinkers of the Mu'tazila school e.g. that the office of Imām should not be filled during periods of civil war but only in times of peace; that no one could be Imām except with the unanimous consensus of the whole Muslim community (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Goldziher, *Hellenistischer Einfluss auf mu'tazilitische Chalifats-Theorien*, in *Der Islam*, vi. 173—7).

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(T. W. ARNOLD)

KHALĪFA SHĀH MUḤAMMAD, author of a collection of letters in Persian, entitled *Djāmi' al-Kawānīn* or *Inshā'-i Khalīfa*, written while he was a student at Kānnūdj and collected by him at the request of his friends in 1085 (= 1674/5); it is much appreciated in India, and has been printed several times.

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AL-KHALĪL, the ancient Hebron, so called after the "friend of God" (θεοφιλέ), Abraham (see the art. IBRĀHĪM), a town in South Palestine (also called Habrūn, Habrā or Masjdīd Ibrāhīm). It lay in an exceedingly fertile valley between the heights of the Djabal Naṣra (? reading uncertain) noted especially for its richness in fruits. According to a widely disseminated legend, Muḥammad is said to have granted the four districts Habrūn, al-Marṭūm (so Yāqūt, ii. 194; in Nāṣir-i Khusrav, *Safar-nama*, ed. Kawiani 1923, p. 46, 14; Maṭlūn, varr. Maṭlūn, Maṭūn; in al-Kāḷkashandī, *Subḥ al-Aṣḥā*, ed. Cairo, xlii. 120, 6; al-Ruṭūm), Bait 'Ainūn (i. e. Αἰνών, St. John's Gosp., iii. 23 etc., Khirbet Bēt 'Enūn) and Bait Ibrāhīm as a fief to the oil and lamp-dealer Tamīm b. Aws al-Dārī, a convert to Islām, and to his descendants. To Tamīm al-Dārī is traced the custom of having lamps continuously lighted in the mosque (Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.*, viii. 216—220). Al-Khalīl is still regarded as the *wakf* of the Tamīmīs. There is no doubt, however, that the alleged letter of the Prophet to Nu'aim b. Aws al-Dārī, the brother of Tamīm, is a later forgery intended to confirm the claims of the Tamīmīs (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, II/i. 298, 9 A. H., § 69).

Our only information regarding the history of the town in the early centuries A. H. comes from a few scanty Frankish sources of which the most important is the full account of the examination of the sepulchral caves by Christian monks in the year 1119/1120 (publ. by Riant in the *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades, hist. occid.*, v. 302—316). According to this (p. 309), the Jews showed the Arab invaders the entrance to the sanctuary, which had been walled up by the Byzantines, and in return they received permission to live on in peace in al-Khalīl and to build a synagogue before the entrance to the "Abramium". When the Byzantine church was turned into the *Masjdīd Ibrāhīm* cannot be exactly ascertained; the first information regarding the mosque is given by al-Iṣṭakhīrī and Ibn Ḥawkal in the tenth century (not the eighth, as wrongly stated by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 309, and Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 160). According to al-Muḥaddasī, who is the first to give us a more detailed description of al-Khalīl, Abraham's tomb was covered over by a dome built in Muslim times (according to Muḍjir al-Dīn, translated by Sauvaire, p. 11, it was already done under the Umayyads). The tomb of Isaac was in a part covered over (*mughaffā*) and Jacob's was on the opposite side. This writer is also the first to mention the rich endowments which were given to the sanctuary by pious princes from remote lands, and the hospitable reception and provision of oil and lentils which the Tamīmīs in the hospice gave to pilgrims, but he thought for purely religious reasons it better to abstain from them. The Maghribī theologian al-'Abdarī of Fās (d. 737 = 1336) later denounced the eating of these lentils (which were known as *'adas khalīlī*) and

issued a warning against praying inside the mosque (instead of in front of it), as the exact site of Abraham's grave was not known; he is particularly rigorous against the dances associated with the "parade-music of Khalīl" (from which comes the name *khalīliya* for a band intended for parades), which one could see every day in the sanctuary (Goldziher, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1894, xvi. 115—120; cf. also Schreiner, *Z.D.M.G.*, liii. 51 sqq.).

Half a century before the beginning of the Crusades Nāṣir-i Khusrav visited the town (1047), which in those days lay on the north side of the Ḥaram only; in his journal he gives a minute description of the sanctuary. According to him, a gate was first made in the middle of the north-(east) wall by the Fātimid Caliph al-Mahdī (918 A.D.); the Ḥaram had previously been inaccessible. The covered part of the sanctuary (*maḥṣūra*), which contained the graves (cenotaphs) of the patriarchs, was richly decorated and provided with numerous niches (*miḥrāb*).

After the capture of al-Khalīl by the Crusaders, Godfrey de Bouillon granted the seigneurie of Hebron in 1100 to Gérard d'Avesnes (d. 1102). He was followed by Hugo de Rebègue, Rohardus (Rorgius), Galterius Mahomet and lastly Baldwin, in whose time (in 1119) the graves of the patriarchs were discovered (see above). He and his successors were apparently simply governors of Hebron and were at first under the King of Jerusalem, and later, from about 1155, under the Lord of al-Karak. In 1168 Hebron was made a bishopric.

'Alī of Herāt, who visited Jerusalem and al-Khalīl in 567 (1171/1172), says that he made the acquaintance of a Christian knight in Bait Laḥm, who had once visited the sepulchral caves of the patriarchs, when a boy of thirteen, with his father; these, he said, were afterwards restored by command of King Bardawil (Baldwin II) by a knight named Djufri b. Djurdj (Godfrey, son of George). It was perhaps at King Baldwin II's instigation that the buildings around the Ḥaram arose, in which the formerly flat roof of the *maḥṣūra* was replaced by a system of arches with sloping roofs (Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 166).

After the battle of Ḥaṭṭin, al-Khalīl again passed into the hands of the Arabs. According to a supposition of Muḍjir al-Dīn (ed. Bülāḳ, p. 56 below; transl. Sauvaire, p. 16), which is not quite improbable (cf. Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 242—250), the *minbar* which stands beside the niche (*miḥrāb*) in the Ḥaram and, according to a still extant Kūfic inscription, was originally donated by the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in 484 (1091/1092) for the martyrion (*Mashhad*) of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī in 'Asḳalān, was brought to al-Khalīl by order of Salāḥ al-Dīn (apparently in 588 = 1192 after the razing of the walls of 'Asḳalān) and put up in the Ḥaram (van Berchem in the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau gewidmet*, Berlin 1915, p. 298—310; Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 219—250). After the death of Salāḥ al-Dīn, al-Khalīl passed to al-Nāṣir Da'ūd of al-Karak; it was, it is true, taken from him with other towns in 1244 by the armies of the Sultān al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb but he recaptured it next year with the help of the Khwārizmīs.

To this period belong two full descriptions of the Ḥaram, that of Abu 'l-Fidā' Iṣḥāk al-Khalīlī, whose account written in 1351 was copied by al-Suyūṭī (1470) and Muḍjir al-Dīn (1496), and

that of Ibn Battūṭa, who visited al-Khalil in 1355. The latter defends (as al-Iḍrisi had done previously [Z.D.P.V., viii. 127]) the correctness of the location of the tombs of the patriarchs (which others doubted, like his countryman al-ʿAbdarī; see above). Iṣḥāk of Hebron quotes, giving a number of intermediate sources, the story handed down by an attendant of the mosque of Abraham, Muḥammad b. Bakrān al-Khaṭīb (c. 320 = 932), which is already found in shorter forms in ʿAlī Harawī. In it a benefactor of the sanctuary, Abū Bakr al-Uskāfī, relates how by his own request he was taken down into the sepulchral cave, to reach which he had to descend 72 steps. The details of the story, however, are obviously invented; the same Muḥammad b. Bakrān is responsible for the fantastic "translation" by a learned *Shāikh* of Halab of a still extant Greek inscription (Mader, *Altchristl. Basiliken*, p. 135, note 3; Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 160 sq.).

The Mongols took the town in 1260 but were driven out by Baibars the same year. When Sulṭān, the latter visited al-Khalil in May, 1266. Jews and Christians were then strictly forbidden access to the Ḥaram (Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 929). In 1267, by command of Baibars, the mosque was rebuilt and in 1268 the town (al-Makrizī, transl. Quatremère, ii. 48, 51); this can only refer to quite unimportant structural alterations at the Ḥaram (Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 190). Qalāʾūn (1279—1290), as we learn from his inscriptions in al-Khalil, also had decorations and facings for the walls made at different parts of the Ḥaram.

Mudjir al-Dīn gives us some further information regarding the embellishment and structural alterations in the sanctuary. The viceroy (*nāʾib*) of Syria, Tankiz, Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ's contemporary, had the four inner façades of the masjid covered with marble in 732 (1331/32) (van Berchem, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1896, xix. 111 sq.). Considerable alterations took place under Sulṭān Barqūk at the instigation of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Yaghmurī, governor of Jerusalem and al-Khalil and guardian of the two sanctuaries. In 796 (1394), besides the erection of a new *miḥrāb* for Mālikis in the Women's Mosque, a new door was put on the west side of the former Byzantine church immediately behind the tomb of Abraham and another in the west wall of the Ḥaram (in the so-called "Wall of Solomon"), the latter near the Maḳām of Joseph. This sanctuary had been built by Sulṭān Nāṣir Ḥasan (1347—61) beside the mediaeval Kalʿa (the later Madrasa). Its entrance lay opposite the "well of the eunuchs" (*Ain al-Tawāshī*). Al-Yaghmurī had a dome built over the Maḳām which was similar to those over the tombs within the Ḥaram. In the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (1293—1341), the Amīr Sandjar al-Djāʾulī had already built the mosque against the north-east wall of the Ḥaram in 718—720 (1318—1320), which is called Djāʾulīya after him, into the rocky sides of the Djabal Djāʾabira. The Mamlūk Sulṭāns al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ināl (859 = 1454) and al-Zāhir Khosh-kadam (867 = 1462/63) were also benefactors of the Ḥaram and of the Djāʾulīya Mosque.

We know nothing further of the history of al-Khalil and the architectural history of its Ḥaram after 901 (1496) when Mudjir al-Dīn wrote his book; probably building in the Ḥaram had finished about this time. From the 400 years of Turkish rule (1517—1917) we only possess a few inscriptions of the years 1008 (1599/1600) to 1313 (1895/1896,

of ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, in Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 206, fig. 79), apart from the notices by western travellers.

The modern al-Khalil consists of the seven quarters Ḥaret el-Shēkh (scil. Shēkh ʿAlī Bakkā), Ḥ. Bāb el-Zāwiye, Ḥ. el-Qazzāzin, Ḥ. el-ʿAkkābī, Ḥ. el-Ḥaram, Ḥ. el-Mushārīka and Ḥ. el-Kiṭūn. It lies in the Wādī ʿl-Khalil between the hills of el-Rumaide, on which lay the ancient town, and Dahr Abū ʿl-Rummān in the south-west and the Djebel Djāʾabire in the north-east.

The number of its inhabitants was 17,000 in 1922, of whom 1,500 were Jews. Of the buildings in al-Khalil, the Ḥaram is by far the most important. As a result of the fanatical suspicions of the people so far only a very few Europeans have managed to make a brief visit to its interior. It was not till the week from Jan. 26 to Febr. 2, 1920, that, after some preliminary work by Major Richmond, the French archaeologist L. H. Vincent and Capt. E. J. H. Mackay were able to make a more detailed archaeological investigation and to survey the system of buildings. The tombs of the patriarchs, said, according to old tradition, to exist under the Ḥaram, have so far not been explored.

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AL-KHALIL B. AḤMAD B. ʿAMR B. TAMIM AL-FARĀHĪDĪ AL-AZDĪ, Arab grammarian and philologist, a native of ʿUmān, died at al-Baṣra, aged 75, between 170 and 175 (786 and 791).

He studied Islāmic traditions and philology with Aiyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, al-ʿAwwām b. Ḥawshab, etc. On the advice of his master Aiyūb he abandoned the Abāḍī doctrine for Sunnī orthodoxy; he was very pious and lived in poverty. Among his pupils may be mentioned Sibawaih, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Naḍr b. Shumail, al-Laiṭh b.

al-Muzaffar b. Naṣr, etc. All the biographers agree in attributing to him the discovery of Arabic prosody and its rules; and in spite of several other attempts made, it is his system that still holds sway to-day. However, there has only survived to us of his works on the subject the specimen verses reproduced in various treatises.

Al-Khalīl was also the first to compile an Arabic dictionary: *Kitāb al-ʿAin*. He seems to have followed the alphabetical order of the Sanskrit grammarians which begins with the gutturals and goes on to the labials: 'ain, ḥā', hā', khā', ghain, kāf, kāf, ḍīm, shīn, ḍād, ṣād, sīn, zā', ṭā', dāl, tā', zā, dhāl, *thā'*, za'y, lām, mīm, fa', nūn, wāw, alif (hamza), yā'. It has been asserted that al-Khalīl is not the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿAin* but his pupil al-Laith; others say that al-Naḍr compiled it on lines drawn up by his master or that he finished it. We may believe that these are only attempts to minimise the fame of al-Khalīl. In any case all that survives of this dictionary is the synopsis *Mukhtaṣar* made by the learned Spanish lexicologist, Abū Bakr al-Zubaidī (Berlin, *Verz.*, No. 6950—6952; Madrid, *Bibl. Nac.*, No. 5; *Bibl. de la Junta*, Nos. 35 and 49; Constantinople, *Köprülü*, No. 1574; *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Derenbourg, No. 569, 570, 571).

Other works attributed to al-Khalīl have survived but their authenticity, at least in their present form, is suspect: 1. *Kit. fī Ma'nā 'l-Hurūf*, *Cat. Cod. Arab.*, i. 81; Berlin, No. 7015/7016; 2. *Kit. Sharḥ Sharf al-Khalīl*, fragment Berlin, No. 6909; 3. *Kit. fihī Djumlat Alāt al-l-rāb*, Aya Şofya, No. 4456; 4. Fragment on the conjugation of the verb, *Bodl.*, i., No. 1067, 4.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KHALĪL B. IṢḤĀK B. Mūsā B. Shu'ayb, Abū 'l-Mawadda Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, known as (Ibn) al-Djundī, commonly called Sidi Khalīl in Algeria, a great Mālikī jurist of Egypt, died in Cairo on Rabī' I 13, 776 (= Aug. 22, 1374), according to others in 767 or 769.

He studied under Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, al-Rashīdī and notably 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī. Born of a Ḥanafī father, he adopted the Mālikī school at the instance of al-Manūfī. On the latter's death in 749 (1348) Khalīl devoted himself to teaching and lectured at the al-Shaikhūniya school.

He also saw service in the victorious guard and in this capacity took part in the capture of Alexandria from the Christians in 767 (1365—1366).

He later lived retired from the world and devoted himself to study and works of piety. He made the pilgrimage to Mekka and spent some time in Medina.

From the legal point of view Khalīl, like his model Ibn al-Hāḍib, represents the school of law a little affected by Shāfi'ism formed by the fusion of Egyptian and Maghribi tendencies in the Mālikī school. His *Mukhtaṣar*, in spite of its conciseness which verges on obscurity, is the manual of law which has been and still is most studied in Algeria. It was printed in Paris in 1855 and again and again till 1883; in 1900 a new edition was brought out in Paris by G. Delphin. E. Fagnan has published *Concordances du Manuel de droit*, Algiers 1889, based on the edition of 1883. Dr. Perron has given a substantial translation in which he has combined the text and the commentary: *Précis de jurispr. musulm. ou Principes de législ. musulm. civile et relig. selon le rite malékite*, Paris 1848—1854. Several partial translations have appeared since: Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *Du Statut personnel et des successions*, Paris 1873—1874; Seignette, *Code musulman par Khalil, rite malékite*. — *Statut réel*, Constantine 1878; Fagnan, *Le Djihad ou Guerre Sainte*, Algiers 1908; do., *Mariage et répudiation*, trad. avec comment., Algiers 1909. — Among other works by Khalīl b. Iṣḥāk are mentioned: 1^o. *al-Tawḍīḥ*, commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Hāḍib, Algiers, *Bibl. Nat.*, Nos. 1077—1084; 2^o. *Kit. al-Manāṣik*, *Brit. Mus., Cat.*, No. 259, ii., *Bibl. Khéd.*, *Fihrist*, iii. 184; 3^o. *Manāḥib al-Shaikh 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī*, biography of his teacher, *Bibl. Khéd.*, *Fihrist*, v. 159; 4^o. *Ḍaḥl al-Muwadḍiḥāt wa-Tarīfuhā*, *Bibl. Khéd.*, *Fihrist*, vii. 278.

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KHALĪL, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, was the second son of Sulṭān Ḳalā'ūn; his oldest brother is said to have been poisoned by him. As he lay under this suspicion and was also of an immoral and irreligious life (he was accused of pederasty and of drinking wine in Ramaḍān), Ḳalā'ūn could not bring himself to sign Khalīl's appointment as heir-apparent. Nevertheless he was regarded as successor to the throne and acclaimed Sulṭān on Ḳalā'ūn's death in 689 (1290). His first official act was to dismiss the high officials of his father's court with whom he was on bad terms and to prosecute them and appoint his favourites to important posts. But he continued his father's foreign policy, the goal of which was the destruction of the Crusaders in Syria, and again took up the plan of besieging 'Akkā. After

careful preparations he advanced with such superiority against the town that, in spite of a brave defence and help from Cyprus by sea, it could not hold out for long. The town itself was first taken, then the strongly fortified towers of the Knights which formed a kind of donjons within the town. The male inhabitants were put to death and the women and children deported to Egypt; but the women were later permitted to go to Cyprus. The other towns still in possession of the Crusaders offered no resistance worth mentioning. Saidā (Sidon), Tyre, *‘Athlith*, Haifa and Bairūt fell. The last named alone had surrendered so that it was not destroyed like the others. The Christian inhabitants who did not migrate had to pay poll-tax. Rejoicings were held for a month in Damascus and the Sultān's name became celebrated as that of the final liberator of Syria for all time. Khalil afterwards planned a campaign against the Tatars in the Trāk, but he contented himself with the occupation of their fortress Kal‘at al-Rūm. The king of Armenia, who felt himself threatened, ceded him several towns to secure peace. Khalil also carried out his father's plans for the fortification and development of the Syrian cities; in the citadels of Aleppo, Ba‘albek, Damascus and the great mosque of Tripoli we find him named as the builder.

He was after his fashion fanatical; for example he demanded that the Christian officials in Damascus should adopt Islām; those who refused were fined up to 1,000 dinārs. He was personally hated by those around him for his evil life and his cruelty. He treated contemptuously even the highest officials, like his Atabek Baidarā. The high dignitaries therefore could stand him no longer and conspired against his life in 693 (1293) and took advantage of a hunting expedition in Upper Egypt to murder him. This able and energetic prince thus only ruled four years. As he left only two daughters, the throne passed to his younger brother Muḥammad [q. v.].

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KHALİL EFENDI ZĀDE, MEHMET SA‘İD EFENDI, one of the ‘ulamā’ of the time of Sultān Mahmūd I (1730—1754). He was the son of Birgili Khalil Efendi who was twice Kādī-askar of Anatolia. He studied under his father, then passed through the usual Madrasa course and beginning as mollā of Yeni-şehir in 1135 (1722—1723) ascended the various steps of the ‘ulamā’ hierarchy to the highest office. He was appointed *Shāikh al-Islām* in 1162 (1749) but was dismissed within ten months in 1750 on account of his stern and unyielding disposition and banished to Brusa where he died in 1168 (1754/55) and was buried near Amīr Sultān.

He was regarded as a learned man, ready with his pen, and well fitted for all the claims of his office. Besides a commentary, he left the Turkish translation of a part of the history of ‘Aini († 762). Of his sons and grandsons several were notable theologians.

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KHALİL PASHA, name of three Turkish Grand Viziers.

1) ÇENDERELİ **KHALİL PASHA** in the reign of Murād II, vide ÇENDERELİ.

2) KAİŞARİYELİ **KHALİL PASHA**, Grand Vizier under Aḥmad I and Murād IV. He was an Armenian by birth, born in a village called Ruswān in the neighbourhood of Kaışariya (Münadjjim Bashi; the statement of the *Sidḥill-i ‘Othmānī*, ii. 286, that he came from Mar‘ash is incorrect). The date of his birth is not given but must be about 1560. Having been educated at court as *lê Oghlan*, he entered the corps of the falconers and became *doghandji bashi*, in which capacity he was in Sultān Muḥammad's II immediate entourage during the Hungarian campaign of 1596. In 1016/1607 he became Agha of the Janissaries and fought bravely under the Grand Vizier Murād in the campaign against the rebels in Anatolia. Next year Khalil was appointed *Kapudan Pasha* as a successor of Hāfiz Aḥmad Pasha [q. v.]. In this office he was very successful and captured many Maltese and Florentine ships, especially in 1018/1609, when he took, in a battle with the Maltese near Cyprus, a big and famous galleon, called by the Turk *Kara Djehennem* (in Europe known as “the red Galleon”). This success procured him the rank of *wazīr*. From the end of 1020/1611 to 1022/1613 he was replaced as *Kapudan* by Öküz Muḥammad Pasha, who had become a *dāmād*, but the latter, having been defeated by the Spanish when convoying Egyptian ships to Constantinople, Khalil was made Grand Admiral a second time. In 1023/1614 he went on an important expedition, first raided Malta, and then went to Tripoli in Africa, where he captured and killed a usurper called Safar Dā‘ī. During his admiralship Khalil displayed much diplomatic activity in trying to form a confederation against Spain with Holland and Morocco. Therefore he encouraged the Dutch to enter into relations with the Porte and became a powerful protector to the first Dutch ambassador Haga who arrived in 1612. Ever afterwards he showed himself a friend of the Dutch interests, although the planned confederation did not materialise.

In Muḥarram 1026/January 1617 he was appointed Grand Vizier in succession to Öküz Muḥammad Pasha, who had been unsuccessful in the war against Persia and to the disappointment of the latter's *Kā'im maḳām* Atmakdji Zade. In February of that year he showed his liberal-mindedness by protecting the Christian ambassadors in the capital against an attempt of the ‘ulamā’ to impose the *kharāj* on them. In the same year the Austrian envoy Count Czernin after the failure of his negotiations left Constantinople and in Ramaḍān [September] preliminaries were signed with Poland at Busa. Khalil, however, seems to have been more interested in entertaining good relations with Venice, Holland, France and England and pacifying the Algerian corsairs. He did not play a prominent part in the course of events, when after Aḥmad's I death (23 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1026/22 Nov. 1617), Muṣṭafā I was placed on the throne and three months afterwards replaced by ‘Othmān II (1 Rab. I 1027/26 Febr. 1618). In the beginning of 1618 he took command of the army sent against Persia. The vanguard of the Turkish army was defeated in the plain of Sarāw, but Khalil, marching against Ardebil, induced the *Shāh* to

negotiate a peace treaty, which was signed on the same plain (6 Shawwāl 1027/26 Sept. 1618) on the same conditions as the former treaty. On his return to the capital he was dismissed from the office of Grand Vizier and had even to take refuge with the great Shaikh Maḥmūd of Skutari, one of whose adepts he was (1 Šafār 1028/18 Jan. 1619). Sulṭān 'Oṭmān reproached Khalil, that he had not helped him to succeed to the throne immediately after Aḥmad's death, but, on the intercession of Shaikh Maḥmūd the ex-Grand Vizier was appointed Ḳapudan Pasha a third time. With an interruption of six months in 1621 he occupied this position successfully. In May 1622 'Oṭmān II was murdered by the Janissaries and Muṣṭafā restored. During the reign of terror of the Janissaries and their chiefs that followed, Khalil did not sympathize with them and even refused three times the Grand Vizierate offered to him by al-Wālide Sulṭān (5 Febr. 1623). Two months before, he had been the object of a hostile demonstration by the Janissaries who accused him of protecting their enemy Abāza Pasha [q.v.]. Still he had great influence and protected in December 1622 the Polish ambassador against anti-Polish demonstration. But after Mere Ḥusain Pasha had become Grand Vizier, he was dismissed from the office of Ḳapudan Pasha and banished to Malghāra, where he went in April 1623, not without opposition, especially from the Sipāhis, for he was the most popular of the then living viziers. Abāza Pasha, who in Erzerūm had rebelled against the Government claiming revenge for 'Oṭmān's death, was a former protégé of Khalil's, who, as Ḳapudan, had given him the command of a galley and, as Grand Vizier, had appointed him governor of Mar'ash; his rebellion, however, was contrary to Khalil's advice. Three years after the removal of Muṣṭafā (4 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1032/30 Augustus 1623) and the succession of Murād IV, when Abāza's rebellion continued, it was due to this fact, that Khalil was appointed a second time Grand Vizier — in accession to Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pāshā [q.v.] — in a large assembly in presence of the highest 'ulamā', as it was hoped that he would succeed in pacifying his former client (Dec. 1626). Three days afterwards he crossed the Bosphorus, visited his old friend Shaikh Maḥmūd, and reached Aleppo in March 1627. In July the army went to Diyār Bekr. At first an expedition was sent against Akhiskha, threatened by the Persians, while Khalil tried to obtain Abāza's submission and collaboration in this enterprise. But Abāza, fearing an ambush, declined and, having at first adopted a conciliatory attitude, he massacred the Janissaries at Erzerum. Khalil was obliged to march against him and began in September the siege of Erzerum. After 70 days, however, in November, an extremely severe winter began. The army was obliged to retreat to Tokat with heavy losses occasioned by snow and cold. This campaign was the cause of Khalil's dismissal; he returned to Constantinople, where he kept his position as vizier (1 Shīa'bān 1037/6 April 1628). In the next year (1039/1629) he died.

Khalil Pasha is praised by European as well as by the Turkish authors for his moderation and love of justice. His personality contrasts favourably with the other Turkish statesmen of his time, nearly all of whom died a violent death. He is described as a religious man which accounts for his friendship with Maḥmūd of Skutari;

he also built in Constantinople a mosque in the neighbourhood of the mosque of Muḥammad Fātiḥ. There exists an anonymous biography of Khalil Pasha, the Tārikh-i Khalil Pasha or Ghazā-name-i Khalil Pasha. The MS. used by von Hammer is now in the National Library at Vienna (Flügel, *Die Arab. Pers. u. Türk. Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, ii. 253, 254).

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3) ARNĀND KHALİL PASHA, Grand Vizier under Aḥmad III. He was an Albanian from Elbaṣān, born about 1655, and had entered the Bostāndji corps where his elder brother Sinān Agha was Bostāndji Bashī. Having served some time in Baghdād, he returned to Constantinople as Khāzaki and became Bostāndji Bashī in 1123/1711. In Muḥarram 1128/January 1716, when the war against Austria was in preparation, he was appointed Beyerbey of Erzerūm and sent to Nish to fortify this place. Six months later Khalil became Beyerbey of Diyār Bekr and in Sha'bān (1st July 1716), when the Grand Vizier Dāmād 'Alī Pasha [q.v.] had entered Belgrade for the Austrian campaign, he became commander of that town. Dāmād 'Alī having been killed in the battle of Peterwardein (Aug. 5, 1716), the Sulṭān appointed Khalil Grand Vizier, while the Sulṭān's favourite and future Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm [q.v.] became his Ḳā'im Maḳām. The latter, however, was by far the more influential. After Temesvár was lost (13 October) a mutiny was feared and the army returned to Adrianople. In the next year the campaign was reopened and Khalil marched to Belgrad, where the Austrian army under Eugen of Savoy was already awaiting the Turks. In the battle of Belgrade (16 Aug. 1717) Khalil was completely beaten, which was due for the greater part to his own incapacity and his bad advisers. Belgrade was occupied by the Austrians and the Turks retired to Nish. Khalil was dismissed in October 1717 and had to hide himself for two years, after which he was restored in the Sulṭān's favour. From 1133—1140 (1721—1727) he was banished to Mytilene, then he was given successively the command of several towns in Greece and Crete and died in 1136/1733. He is described as a mild, pious man, but seems to have had so little reputation, that the European historians writing on the battle of Belgrade were not aware of his existence.

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KHALİL SULTĀN, a ruler of the Timūrid dynasty, grandson of Timūr, son of Mirān-shāh and Suyūn-beg Khānzāda, grand-daughter of the Khān of the Golden Horde, Özbek; born in 786

(1384), died Wednesday, Rādjab 16, 814 (Nov. 4, 1411), reigned in Samarqand 807—812 (1405—1409). His education was entrusted to Timūr's eldest wife, Sarāi Mulk Khānum. He is said to have distinguished himself on Timūr's India campaign (1399) when only 15 years of age; he also took part in the so-called "Seven Years" (actually only 802—807 = 1399—1404) war in the west; in 1402 Timūr gave him supreme command in the east "on the frontier of Turkestan". In 1404 he aroused the wrath of his grandfather by his runaway marriage with a woman of low rank, Shād Mulk, but was pardoned and in the same year during the preparations for the campaign to China appointed leader of the right wing mobilised in Tāshkent and the surrounding country. After the death of Timūr on Feb. 18, 1405, the army acclaimed him as sovereign and he entered Samarqand on Rāmādhān 16, 807 (March 18, 1405). The title of Khān was given to Timūr's minor great-grandson Muḥammad Djahāngīr, son of prince Muḥammad Sultān who had been designated Timūr's successor but had died before him. Khalil Sultān held out in Samarqand till 1409 but his rule was nowhere recognised outside of Mā-warā'-al-Nahr; to the north of this region, on the Sir Daryā, he had to fight continuously against rebellious generals. The Tatars of the Golden Horde who had conquered Khwārizm in Rādjab, 808 (Dec., 1405—Jan., 1406), extended their raids up to Bukhārā. Khalil Sultān was generally victorious in open battle against his enemies; even Shāh Rukh's final triumph was not so much won by military successes as by intrigues and skilful diplomacy (including negotiations with the 'ulamā in Bukhārā, at the head of whom was Muḥammad Pārsā). In the spring of 1409, when Shāh Rukh's army was ready for battle in Bādghīs and Khalil Sultān's in Shahr-i Sabz (Kash), a rising again broke out in the north under the leadership of the Amir Khudāyād; Khalil Sultān was forced to leave his army and attack Khudāyād but could only take 4000 men with him. On Dhū'l-Ka'da 13, 811 (March 30, 1409), he was taken prisoner north of Samarqand by Khudāyād and taken to Samarqand; later he was taken to Farghāna and his wife, who was left behind, was cruelly treated by Shāh Rukh; in the end he went to Otrār and through the intermediary of the Amir Shaikh Nūr al-Din concluded a treaty with Shāh Rukh by which he renounced his sovereignty over Mā-warā'-al-Nahr and received the town of Rayy in exchange where he lived till his death. His wife was also restored to him and on her husband's death put an end to her own existence. On account of this happening, which was embellished with all kinds of romantic touches by his contemporaries, Khalil Sultān is called a "sentimental shepherd" by A. Müller (*Der Islām im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1887, ii. 315; Khalil Sultān is wrongly described there as the son of 'Umar Shaikh), a description which hardly fits the able young prince whose military skill was undoubted; his devotion to his wife and the magnanimity which he showed to all his enemies, even to traitors, were, as a matter of fact, in complete contrast to the characters of the other members of his dynasty and the manners of his time.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego wryemya*, Petrograd 1918, Index (with references to the sources, for the most part still in manuscript). (W. BARTHOLD)

KHALİLĪ, Ottoman poet and mystic of the time of Sultān Mehmed II, belonged to the neighbourhood of Diyārbakr and came to Iznīk to study theology where he formed an attachment for a youth and so succumbed to this homosexual passion then so prevalent particularly in the most cultured circles that he entirely abandoned his studies and gave expression to his woes in a book which is known as the *Firkat-nāma* ("book of separation"). The title *Firkat-nāma* is equally well known, which Sehi gives first and which is also the title of a book by Qāḍī Ḥasan b. 'Alī of Monastir. The poem, which reminds one of the *Hewes-nāma* of Dja'far Čelebi (d. 1514) with its sincere unaffected verses, bears witness to Khalilī's deep passion faithfully described. The book was finished in the year 866 (1461/62). It is written in epic and lyric metres, a varied alternation of *mathnavī* and *ghazal*. Many biographers of poets interpret the poem as purely Šūfī, which does not seem to be correct.

Khalilī died in 890 (1485) as superior of a monastery in Iznīk. His *Diwān* has not yet been printed. A number of his poems are contained in the *Djāmi' al-Negā'ir* compiled by Ḥādjdī Kamāl in 918, according to Brusallī Tāhir.

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 147; Sehi, *Tedhkere*, Constantinople 1325, p. 64; Brusallī M. Tāhir, *Othmanlī Müellifleri*, Constantinople 1333, ii. 159; Sāmi, *Kānūs al-ʿĀlām*, Constantinople 1308, iii. 2060; v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. osm. Dichtkunst*, i. 225; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 379; Pertsch, *Katalog der türkischen Handschriften in Gotha*, p. 370, N^o. 377. (The Berlin manuscript of the year 1485 is contemporary with the poet). (TH. MENZEL)

KHALK (A.) is the term applied in the Qurʾān (Sūra ii. 159; xl. 59; lxvii. 3) to God's creative activity, which includes not only the original creation *ex nihilo* but also the making of the world and of man and all that is and happens. The verbal forms *khalaka* and *khalakna* are of the most frequent occurrence.

Among the most beautiful names of Allāh in the Qurʾān (cf. Sūra lix. 24) are *al-Khālīk* (Sūra vi. 102, et passim), *al-Khālāq* (Sūra xv. 86; xxxvi. 81), *al-Bārī* (besides Sūra lix. 24 only ii. 51) and *al-Muṣawwir*. Epithets like the Almighty, the All-knowing etc. are also applied to the Creator. Their meaning is as a rule clear. The only obscure expressions are (cf. H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 44, 47) "Allāh created *bi'l-hakk*" (Sūra xvi. 3; xxxix. 2—7; xlv. 39; xlvii. 2) or as "*al-Hakk*" (Sūra xxii. 5 sq.). If we are justified in supposing gnostic speculations in the Qurʾān it may be recalled that in the Gnosis objectified or personified truth coalesces with higher reality (cf. St. John's Gospel, xiv. 6; also S. v. d. Bergh, *Die Epitoma der Metaphysik des Averroes*, p. 218 sq.).

Allāh is the Creator of all things (Sūra vi. 101 sq., et passim). He creates what He will (Sūra xxxvi. 82, et passim) but the Qurʾān describes at greatest length the creation of man from dust, earth or clay, drops of semen and congealed blood (Sūra xv. 15 sqq.; xxii. 5; xxiii. 12 sq., et passim) and the resurrection of the dead on the day of judgment, a new creation not more wonderful than the first creation (Sūra ii. 26, et passim). How important the creation of man is, is evident from Muḥammad's coming forward (in Sūra xcvi. 1,

generally regarded as the earliest revelation) in the name of his Lord "Who created, created man from congealed blood". Everything on earth was created for man (Sūra ii. 27, et passim), especially the animals (Sūra xvi. 5). The same thing is shown in the stages of the creation; it is regarded as taking place from the lowest upwards. In six days the world was completed, the earth first in two days, all that is in it in two more days and in the last two days the world of the seven heavens. Allāh is only formally called the Creator of heaven and earth (Sūra vi. 101, et passim) and it is announced as a secret (Sūra xl. 59) that the creation of heaven and earth is greater than the creation of man, i. e., according to the usual explanation, heaven and earth were created out of absolutely nothing but man was made from dust.

There is no creator but God. He is the One (Sūra xiii. 7, et passim; Sūra xliii. 14 is no exception). He has begotten no children, only created things and beings, none of whom are like Him (Sūra cxii.). But passages like Sūra xv. 29, xxxviii. 72, where it is said that Allāh, after forming man, breathed of His spirit (*rūḥ*) into him, make the difference between the Creator and creature appear less rigidly marked.

The creation of man is above all a mark of divine power or, in so far as that which has been created is useful to man, of divine goodness. Reference to the harmony of the heavens (Sūra lxxvii. 3) and the beauty of the human form (Sūra lxiv. 3) are rare. Finally we may mention that God created all things after one *ḡadar* (Sūra liv. 49 sq.; *ḡadar* is here perhaps a synonym for *amr*?) and heaven and earth "for a definite period" (Sūra xli. 2) i. e. probably to the last day.

The earlier traditions added very little to this (as Prof. Wensinck kindly informs me). Before the creation Allāh was in the clouds (al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xi., bāb 1) and He created in darkness (do., *Imān*, bāb 18; cf. Sūra xxxix. 8). He wrote a *kitāb* before the creation (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 55). The *ḡalam* was the first thing created (al-Tirmidhī, *ḡadar*, bāb 17). Allāh created man after his own image (Muslim, *Birr*, Tr. 115; cf. Sūra lxiv. 3; lxxiii. 8).

In the later traditions the process of creation is elaborated with speculations regarding God's throne, primeval water etc. and influenced by ideas of Hellenistic and Oriental origin regarding the manifestation or emanation of God in the world. The Neoplatonic expression put in Allāh's mouth is often quoted: "I was a hidden treasure but wished to be known and therefore I created the world". Knowledge (*ʿilm*) or intelligence (*ʿaql*) is therefore said to have been the first creation.

Just as God's superiority over man and the world is particularly apparent from the Qurʾān, so we find throughout the theology of Sunnī Islām the distance between the Creator and the creature emphasised. In general it is concluded from the transitory character of this world that its Creator is eternal. In favour of God's omnipotence causality in Nature (cf. *Atomic Theory* in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*) and freedom of action on the part of man, if not absolutely denied, are suppressed as much as possible. Dījāhm [q. v.], one of the first Dījābaris, wished to define God simply as the omnipotent Creator. Ibn Ḥazm (*Kitāb al-Faṣl*, i. 39; ii. 161 sq.) asserts that one can only show with

regard to God that He is the Eternal, the Unique, the True, the Creator (*al-Awwal*, *al-Wāḥid*, *al-Ḥaqq*, *al-Khālīq*) for only by these qualities is He absolutely distinguished from this world.

But misgivings against this sharp distinction were raised, particularly under the influence of Christian dogmatics and philosophical speculation, from three sides i. e. by the Muʿtazilis, the mystics and the philosophers. The Muʿtazilis emphasised the wisdom of God in His creation much more than His omnipotence and His will. According to their teaching, God only creates what is good and man is the creator of his own actions. Nazzām said that God could only create what is good and His creating is thought i. e. not an act of volition in the proper sense. According to others, like Abu 'l-Hudḡail and Muʿammar, God's will is a kind of intermediary between the Creator and the created world. Al-Dījāḡ teaches that God cannot destroy the created world (arguing on Platonic lines, like Philo etc.).

In contrast to this estimation of the world and of human activity, mysticism appears as a depreciation of all that is worldly — but only of the material world. While the mystics regarded this world simply as a ladder to God, they could intensify their spiritual life of the soul up to the feeling of godlike creative activity (cf. L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, p. 513 sq.).

Two schools may be distinguished among the philosophers: one older, more neo-Platonic (e.g. the *Iḡhrwān al-Ṣafā*), according to which the emanation of a series of spirits precedes the creation of a temporal material world, and a second more Aristotelian school (notably Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Ruṣḡd) which makes the development of the intellectual and material world proceed by stages, but without beginning and parallel, after the first *ʿaql* has emanated from the divine being. Both schools regard God only as the first cause between Whose activity and this world there are many intermediaries.

The attitude of orthodox Islām to these tendencies developed in very different ways in course of time. The Muʿtazilī doctrine of the *ḡhalḡ al-afʿāl* could only be accepted in a modified form; a *ḡasb* (Ashʿaris) or an *ikḡtiyār* (according to al-Māturīdī) was ascribed to man instead of *ḡhalḡ*. The philosophic assumption of a world without beginning was decisively rejected, but the theory of the spheres connected with it was adopted while the spirits of the stars were interpreted as angels of heaven. It was very easy to make common cause with mysticism, which, of course, always insisted that there was no creator except Allāh. The creation of man in God's image and the breathing of the divine spirit into him were of more importance to the mystic than the creation of the physical world and of human activities (see the art. *ḡADĀʿ* and *ḡADAR*) (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 599 sq.).

In the struggle then against the Muʿtazilīya and philosophy, the Sunnī doctrine developed — in part in alliance with mysticism — and with the greatest success in the Ashʿarī school. According to the latter, Allāh is the Omnipotent from eternity, Who can create if and when and what He will but does not need to create, Who with the creation of the material world at the same time places limits of time and space to it and every moment creates the world anew. Allāh is

also the eternally Speaking as regards the word of creation, especially the word of creation in the *Kur'ān*. If the eternalness of the word is taught contrary to the Muṭazilī view, there is hesitation, as regards the activity of creation in calling God the eternally creating, and therefore, the so-called *ṣifāt al-fi'l* (*khalk*, *raṣṣ*, etc.), which are regarded as temporal relations, are distinguished from the eternal qualities of His nature. In this respect the system of al-Māturīdī differs from the teaching of the Ash'ari school: he assumes as an eternal quality in the divine being *takwīm*, creative production. This means an approximation to the teaching of the philosophers that, because there is no cause without effect, God as the first cause created the world from eternity, and thus is really an eternal Creator, Whose being and actions are alike unalterable. Some philosophers and certainly many mystics got over the difficulty of this doctrine by the assumption that before the manifestation of His creation "the eternal Creator" was concealed in God (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 657).

We find the bond between orthodox Ash'ari beliefs and gnostic-mystic speculation in al-Ghazālī. On the one hand he teaches quite definitely the temporal creation of the world as an act of divine freedom. After eternal but free deliberation out of pure goodness He created this world and He is creating it down to the last day. He is also the originator of human activities; man has only a *kash*. On the other hand, however, al-Ghazālī is fond of adopting mystic theories of intermediation. God and man are not simply to one another in the relation of Creator and creature. The world is divided (e.g. in *al-Maḍnūn al-Ṣaḡhir*, on Sūra xvii. 87; cf. Sūra vii. 72) into the *ʿālam al-khalk*, i.e. the material spatial world, and the *ʿālam al-amr*, the non-spatial world of the angels and the human spirits (the former in the *Iḥyā*, iv. 20 sqq., is also called *ʿālam al-mulk wa 'l-shahāda*, the latter *ʿālam al-ghair wa 'l-malakūt*). As a member of the world of spirits (*al-Maḍnūn al-Ṣaḡhir*, on the tradition that Allāh or al-Raḥmān created Adam in his own image), man in his being, qualities and actions shows similarity to God. The human will acts in his body (microcosm) like the Creator in the macrocosm. Besides the above-mentioned division into sensible and supersensual world, al-Ghazālī also gives the threefold division (*al-Durra al-fākhira*, p. 2 sqq.; cf. Sūra v. 20 etc., where there is mention of the "kingdom of the heavens and of the earth and what is between"): *ʿālam dunyawi* (= *al-mulk*), *ʿālam malakūti* and *ʿālam djabarūti* (cf. the art. *DIABARŪT*). Man thus appears as a citizen of three worlds, corresponding to the old triad: body, soul, spirit, as it was developed by gnosticism in the system of the heavenly hierarchy. On *mulk*, *malakūt* and *djabarūt* cf. *Κυρίως*, *ἄρχαι*, *ἐξουσίαι* in St. Paul, Ep. to Col., i. 16. According to al-Ghazālī, the human spirit, related to God, will survive not only this material world and the spiritual world of the angels and *djinn* but also the spiritual world of the highest angels.

In spite of the authority of this "father of the church in Islām", the development of the idea was not yet finished. Ibn Rushd then advanced against him (*Tahāfūt al-Tahāfūt*) the doctrine that the world had no beginning; many theologians (from al-Rāzī, d. 605 = 1209, onwards) followed more closely the conceptions of the so-called Aristotelians, and extreme mystics, like Ibn

al-ʿArabī, let the distinction between *al-Hakk* (the Creator) and *al-khalk* (the creature) disappear in the absolute primeval being (cf. the art. *AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL*).

Bibliography: There is no comprehensive work on the subject. Besides books mentioned in the text we may mention: M. Worms, *Die Lehre von der Anfangslosigkeit der Welt bei den mittelalterlichen arabischen Philosophen des Orients und ihre Bekämpfung durch die arabischen Theologen* (Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.A., ed. by Baemker and v. Hertling, iii. 4, Münster 1900); A. Rohner, *Das Schöpfungsproblem bei Moses Maimonides, Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin*, ibid., xi. 5, Münster 1913; Tj. de Boer, *Die Widersprüche der Philosophie nach al-Gazzālī und ihr Ausgleich durch Ibn Roṣṣ*, Strassburg 1894; do., *De Wijsbegeerte in den Islam*, in the *Volkuniversiteitsbibliotheek*, xi., Haarlem 1921. See also the articles ALLĀH and ŠIFA. (TJ. DE BOER)

KHALKHA, the name of a lake and of a river flowing from it into the Buyir-Nor on the frontier between Manchuria and Mongolia. The river *Khalkha* is mentioned in the xiiith century in the "Secret History of the Mongols" (Russian translation by Palladius in *Trudī Ross, Dukhovnoi Missii v Pekinie*, iv., St. Petersburg 1866, p. 90, 91, 102 and 118 (the edition of the text promised by Pelliot has not yet appeared); in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, in *Trudī Vost. Otd. Russkogo Arkh. Obsč.*, xiii., St. Petersburg 1868, Pers. text, p. 216, vol. xv., ibid. 1889, Pers. text, p. 3 sq.: *Kālā*). Since the xvth century the same name *Khalkha* has been given to the north-eastern part of Mongolia (from the western frontier of Manchuria to the eastern frontier of the district of Kobdo and from the Russian frontier to the Gobi desert) and its population. Ssanang Ssetsen (*Gesch. der Ost-Mongolen*, ed. I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg 1829, p. 191 and 197) speaks of twelve tribes of the *Khalkha*; a distinction was made between five "nearer" and seven "remoter" tribes (*op. cit.*, p. 205, and p. 191 and 285). Geresen (full name and title Geresentse Djalair *Khun Taidji*) was considered the ancestor of all the chiefs of the *Khalkha*; he was grandson of the last ruler over all Mongolia, Dayan *Khān* (d. 1543); on the genealogy see A. Pozdniev, *Mongolia i Mongolī*, i., St. Petersburg 1896, p. 472. The four *aimak* [q. v.] into which the *Khalkha* were nominally divided (the Manchu emperors long since deprived the chiefs of any power) have taken their names from the different branches of this dynasty; they are the *aimak* (from E. to W.) of Tsentsen-*Khān*, of Tushtetu-*Khān*, of Sayin-Noyon (after 1725) and of Tsasaktu-*Khān*. Another division is also mentioned (as early as the occasion of the submission of the *Khalkha* to the Emperor K'ang-Hsi in 1691; Mongol inscription in Dolon-Nor, in text and Russian transl. publ. by A. Pozdniev, *op. cit.*, ii., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 291 sqq.): Geresen is said to have had 7 sons, wherefore the population was divided into seven divisions (*khoshun*, written *Koshūn* in Arabic); it is not known whether there was a connection between this division and the seven "remoter tribes". Since about 1585, Buddhism has been dominant among the *Khalkha*; at that date a grandson of Geresen, Abatai-*Khān*, was reigning, called Abtai *Ghalsagho Taidji* in Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 253. (W. BARTHOLD)

KHALKHĀL ("anklet"), the name of a place in *Ādhārbaīdān*. Its position nearly corresponds to 37° N. Lat. and 49° East. Long. It does not occur on modern maps, but see the map in G. Le Strange, *The Lands*, etc., facing p. 87. It was situated in the mountains which in this region were beset with fortresses. Yākūt passed through this region when he fled before the Tatars in 617 = 1220/21.

According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī it was formerly a fair sized town, which in his days had sunk into a mere village with about a hundred hamlets belonging to it. It was the seat of the governors of the province, after Firūzābād had gone to ruin.

There is another place of the same name situated at the mouth of the Oxus on the Caspian.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 198; ii. 459; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kuṭūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. xxiii., index; see chiefly p. 81 sq. of the text, p. 84 of the translation; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, index.

KHALWA, KHALWATĪ, etc. [See TAṢAWWUF].

KHAMR (A.), wine. The word, although very common in early Arabic poetry, is probably a loanword from Aramaic. The Hebrew *yain* has in Arabic (*wain*) the meaning of black grapes. The question has been fully treated by I. Guidi in his *Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici in Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, series iii., vol. iii. p. 603 sqq.

Arabia and the Syriac desert are, in contradistinction to Palestine and Mesopotamia, not a soil fit for the vine; there are, however, exceptions, among which may be mentioned al-Ṭā'if (see H. Lammens, *Ṭā'if*, p. 35 sqq., *M. F. O. B.*, viii. 146 sqq.), Shībām and other parts of Yaman. Wine, probably of an inferior quality, is also mentioned in Madīna (see below). Usually, however, it seems to have been imported from Syria and 'Irāk; in early Arabic poetry the wine-trade is chiefly connected with Jews and Christians, who pitched their tent (*ḥanūt*, also a loanword from Aramaic) among the Beduins and provided it with a sign denoting its character. In it little orgies were held, in the company of female singers who often also belonged to the establishment. The wine was kept in jars or skins, provided with a mouth-piece which was closed by means of a string.

In the days of Muḥammad the people of Mekka and Madīna used to indulge in drinking wine as often as an occasion offered itself, so that drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence in a second vice, gambling, which together with wine, incurred Muḥammad's condemnation. Tradition has not refrained from describing how Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's uncle, in a fit of drunkenness mutilated 'Alī's camels (Bukhārī, *Sharḥ*, bāb 13; *Khums*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, Trad. 1, 2; *Maḡhāzī*, bāb 12; Abū Dā'ūd, *Kharāj*, bāb 19). And the commentaries on the Qur'ān relate how Muḥammad's companions held drinking-parties which caused them to commit faults in ritual prayer (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* ad Sūra xiv. 44; Muslim, *Fadā'il al-Sahāba*, trad. 44; cf. 45; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 185 sq.).

The prohibition of wine was not on Muḥammad's programme from the beginning. In Sūra xvi. 69 we

even find it praised as one of the signs of Allāh's grace unto mankind: "And of the fruit of palm-trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment". But the consequences of drunkenness manifesting themselves in the way just mentioned are said to have commoved Muḥammad to change his attitude. The first revelation giving vent to these feelings was sūra ii. 216: "They will ask thee concerning wine and gambling (*maisir*). Answer, in both there is great sin and also some things of use unto men: but their sinfulness is greater than their use". This revelation, however, was not considered as a prohibition. As people did not change their customs and the order of prayer happened to be disturbed in consequence thereof, a new revelation was issued, viz. Sūra iv. 46: "O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk, until ye understand what ye say" etc. But neither was this revelation considered as a general prohibition of wine, until Sūra v. 92 made an end to drinking: "O true believers! surely wine and *maisir* and stone pillars and divining arrows, are an abomination, of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper".

This sequence of revelations regarding wine is the accepted one among the traditionists and commentators of the Qur'ān (see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 351 sq.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 58 ad sūra iv. 46).

The prohibition of wine may, however, also be looked upon from a wider aspect, as Islām is not the only monotheistic religion which has taken a negative attitude towards wine. It is well known that, according to the Old Testament (Numbers vi. 3 sq.) the Nazarite who had wholly devoted himself to Yahwe, had to abstain from wine and spirits, just as the priests before administering the sacred rites (Lev. x. 9). The Nabataeans, according to Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94, 3), likewise abstained from wine and one of their gods is called in their inscriptions "the good god who drinks no wine". Likewise, the abstention from wine belonged to the rule of many Christian monks. All this has its roots in remote Semitic antiquity which ascribed a demoniac character to wine and spirits. The same is true for music, especially singing, which is also prohibited by Islām. It is not improbable that negative feelings of this kind may have worked together with the motives mentioned above, to induce Muḥammad to prohibit wine.

The prohibition of the Qur'ān has been taken over by the doctors of the law; all *maḏḥḥab's*, and also the Shi'a, call wine *ḥarām* and the wine-trade is forbidden. For an exposition of the Shāfi'i view, see al-Nawawī, *Minḥādī*, ed. v. d. Berg, iii. 241; for that of the Ḥanafis, *Fatāwā 'Ālamgiri*, vi. (Calcutta 1835), 604 sqq.; for that of the Mālikis Zurkānī in his commentary on the *Muwaffa'* (Cairo 1280), iv. 26; for that of the Shi'a *Sharā'i' al-Islām* (Calcutta 1839), p. 404. Theology reckons the drinking of wine among the gravest sins (*kabā'ir*).

Ḥadīth has many utterances regarding this theme. Wine is the key of all evil (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 238; Ibn Mādjā, *Ashriba*, bāb 1). Who drinks wine in this world without repenting it, shall not drink it in the other world (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 73, 76—78 etc.). Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells wine or causes others to drink it (Abū Dā'ūd,

Ashriba, bāb 2; Ibn Mādjā, *Ashriba*, bāb 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 316; ii. 25, 69, 71, 97, 128 etc.). Who drinks a draught of wine on purpose shall have to drink *pus* on Doomsday (Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 1134). Prayer of him who drinks wine is not accepted by Allāh (Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 43; Dārimī, *Ashriba*, bāb 3), and faith is incompatible with drinking it (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 1; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 42, 44). It is even inadvisable to use it as medicine (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 311, 317 bis etc.); and it is prohibited to use wine for manufacturing vinegar (Tirmidhī, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 59; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal iii. 119, 260 bis). But times will become ever worse and there will be people who declare wine allowed (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 6; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 41 etc.) and so it will be drunk by the generation of the last days (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 176, 202, 213 sq.).

The prohibition of wine, although unanimously accepted, gave rise to dissensions between the juridical schools, dissensions which are reflected in *ḥadīth*, in a historical disguise. The discussions start from the question: what is wine? It is said that, when the use of wine was peremptorily prohibited, the people of Madīna poured out in the streets all that they possessed of the appreciated liquor (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 132 sq.; iii. 26, 189 sq., 217, 260 bis; iv. 335 sq.). Ibn 'Umar declares, on the contrary, that at the time of the prohibition, there was no wine in Madīna at all (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2). Anas b. Mālik (*ib.*) says that there was scarcely any wine from grapes in Madīna, when the prohibition was revealed; people used wine from *busr* and *tamr* (two kinds of dates). In another tradition (*ib.*, bāb 3) wine from *faḍikh* and *zahrw* (two other kinds of dates) is mentioned. 'Umar is represented delivering a *khuṭba* which was meant to settle the question; according to his son 'Abd Allāh he said: Wine has been prohibited by the Qur'ān; it comes from five kinds of fruits, from grapes, from dates, from honey, from wheat and from barley; wine is what obscures the intellect (*wa-l-khamr mā khāmara al-'aql*; Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2). The question remained, whether beverages prepared from grapes in a different way, were prohibited. There was e. g. a kind of syrup. "When 'Umar visited Syria, the population complained of its unhealthy and heavy climate and they added: This drink alone will heal us. Then 'Umar allowed them to drink honey. Then they said: Honey cannot heal us. Thereupon one of the natives of Syria said to him: May we not prepare something of this drink for you? It has no inebriating power. He said: Well. Then they cooked it till two thirds were evaporated and one third of it remained. They brought it 'Umar, who put his finger into it and licked it. Then he said: This is *ṭilā'* like camels' *ṭilā'* (viz. the pitch with which they smeared their skins). Then he allowed them to drink it" (Mālik, *Ashriba*, bāb 14). According to the first chapter of the same *kitāb*, however, 'Umar punishes a man who had become drunk on *ṭilā'*. Juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, is considered as wine. Ṭarīk b. Suwaid al-Ḥaḍramī said to the Prophet: We have in our country grapes which we press. May we drink the juice? He said: No. This negative answer is given three times and when Ṭarīk asks whether the juice may be given the sick to drink,

Muḥammad answers: It is no medicine, it is sickness (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 292 sq.). And not only those who drink and sell wine are cursed by Muḥammad, but also those who press grapes and have them pressed in order to drink the juice (Ibn Mādjā, *Ashriba*, bāb 6).

Another question of importance arose, in connection with spirits: Had they to be considered as wine or not? All the *madhhab*'s, except the Ḥanafīs, have answered the question in the affirmative sense. They have consequently extended the prohibition of wine, in accordance with the intention underlying it. Tradition, which is the best source for the history of the origin of several institutions, shows that the question belongs to the much debated ones. The standard *ḥadīth* which is found very frequently in the classical collections runs as follows (I pick out Muslim's version *Imān*, trad. 26, because it contains important details): „Some men of 'Abd al-Kais went to the Apostle of Allāh and said to him: O Prophet of Allāh, we are a tribe belonging to Rabī'a; between us and yourself dwell the infidels of Muḍar, so that we can only reach you in the sacred month. Tell us therefore what we have to tell our tribespeople which will open Paradise for us if we to cling to it. The Apostle of Allāh answered: I order four things and I forbid four things. Serve Allāh without associating anything with him. Perform *ṣalāt*, deliver *zakāt*, fast the month of Ramaḍān and deliver the fifth part of booty. And I forbid four things: *dubbā'*, *ḥantam*, *nuzaffat* and *naḥir*. They asked: O Apostle of Allāh, how do you know what the *naḥir* is? He said: Well, it is a palm-trunk which you hollow out; then you pour small dates into it and upon them water. When the process of fermentation has finished, you drink it with the effect that a man hits his cousin with the sword. — Now among these men there was someone who had received a blow of the sword in this way. He says: I had concealed it out of shame before the Apostle of Allāh. Then I said: But from what vessels should we drink then, O Apostle of Allāh? He answered: From leather skins, the mouthpieces of which are smeared with pitch. They answered: O Prophet of Allāh, our country teems with mice so that no single skin can be kept whole. Then the Prophet of Allāh answered: Even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them".

This tradition did not meet with general approval. It is said that the Anṣār or other people complained of their difficulty in finding the skins necessary for preserving drinks without their becoming fermented. Thereupon the Prophet is said to have withdrawn his prohibition, wholly or partly (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 63—66 etc.). In some versions of this tradition there occurs the restriction, that all fermented inebriating drinks remain prohibited. Innumerable are the traditions which only contain the rule: All drinks which may cause drunkenness are prohibited in any quantity (*kull muskir ḥarām kathīruhu wa-qalīluhu*) and this rule has passed into many books of *fiqh* (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 60; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 67—75; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 145; ii. 16 bis; iii. 38; iv. 87; v. 25 sq.; vi. 36 etc.). Of special traditions prohibiting fermented drinks may be mentioned the following. It is forbidden or disapproved of to

sell raisins if they are to be used for preparing *nabīdh* (Nasā'i, *Ashribā*, bāb 51, 52). It is prohibited to mix together different kinds of fruits so that the mixture should become intoxicating. This tradition occurs frequently; see e.g. Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Ashribā*, trad. 16—29; Nasā'i, *Ashribā*, b. 4—17; Ibn Sa'd, viii. 360; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 276; ii. 46; vi. 242, 292. But each of these kinds may be used separately for preparing a non-fermented drink (Muslim, *Ashribā*, trad. 81—83; Nasā'i, *Ashribā*, bāb 14—18 etc.).

It can easily be seen that the difficulty in this matter was caused by two circumstances. People were accustomed to prepare from all kinds of dates, from raisins and other fruits, drinks which only became inebriating if they were preserved a long time and probably also if they were prepared after special methods. Where was the line of demarcation between the allowed and the prohibited kind? Several collections of traditions went so far as to mention *nabīdh* among the drinks prepared by Muḥammad's wives and drunk by him (Muslim, *Ashribā*, trad. 79—89; Aḥmad, i. 232 sq., 240, 287, 320 sq., 336, 355, 369, 374; ii. 35; iii. 304, 307, 313 sq., 326, 379, 382 etc.). Abū Dā'ūd (*Ashribā*, bāb 10) and Ibn Mādjā (*Ashribā*, bāb 12) have preserved a tradition on this subject which is instructive. I translate Ibn Mādjā's version: Says 'Ā'isha: "We used to prepare *nabīdh* for the Apostle of Allāh in a skin; we took a handful of dates or a handful of raisins, cast it into the skin and poured water upon it. The *nabīdh* we prepared in this way in the morning, was drunk by him in the evening; and when we prepared it in the evening he drank it the next morning". In another tradition of the same bāb Ibn 'Abbās says that the Prophet used to drink this *nabīdh* even on the third day; but what was left then, was poured out.

All this could, however, not persuade the majority of the *faḳīh's* to declare *nabīdh* allowed; three of the *madhhab's* as well as the Shī'a prohibit the use of *nabīdh*. The Ḥanafī school, on the other hand, allows it, when used with moderation, for medicinal purposes etc.

It would take us too far to give here a detailed survey of the opinions of the *faḳīh's* of all *madhhab's*; it would be superfluous, to some extent at least, because the more important differences regard chiefly *nabīdh* only. The following rapid survey is based on the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgiri*, vi. 604 sqq. (cf. Shā'rānī's *Mizān*, Cairo 1279, p. 192 sq.).

Allowed according to the *idmāc* is every non-fermented, sweet drink.

Prohibited (*ḥarām*), according to the *idmāc*, are wine and *sakar* of every kind. As to wine there are six cases: to drink it in any quantity or to make use of it is *ḥarām*; to deny this is *kufr*; to buy, sell, present it etc. is *ḥarām*; no responsibility (*ḍimān*) rests on him who spoils or destroys wine (*mutlifsha*); whether wine is a possession (*māl*) is an unsettled point; it is *nadjis* just as blood and urine; who drinks any quantity of it is liable to punishment.

Several kinds of products prepared by means of grapes (*bādhik*, *munaṣṣaf*, etc.) are prohibited according to the majority (*amma*) of the *faḳīh's*.

Allowed, according to the majority of the *faḳīh's* are *filā* (vide supra) or *muthallath* and *nabīdh*

from dates with the restrictions mentioned above. So is juice from grapes when the process of cooking has made to evaporate two thirds. Muḥammad (viz. al-Shaibānī, q. v.) has a deviating opinion on this point.

As to the punishment of him who drinks wine, ḥadīth tells us that Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were wont to inflict forty blows by means of palmbranches or sandals (Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, bāb 2—4; *Hudūd*, trad. 35—37). Under 'Umar's caliphate, however, Khālīd b. al-Walīd reported to him that people were indulging in prohibited drinks. Thereupon 'Umar consulted the *ṣaḥāba* who advised him to fix the number of blows at eighty, a number suggested by the Qur'ān which prescribes that those who accuse *muḥṣanāt* of *zinā*, without being able to prove their accusation by the aid of four witnesses, shall be punished with eighty blows (sūra xxiv. 4).

Repeated drinking of wine, according to some traditions, was punished by death at Muḥammad's order (Abū Dā'ūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 36; Ibn Mādjā, *Hudūd*, bāb 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 136, 166, 191; iv. 93, etc.). It is, however, added in some traditions that capital punishment in such cases is not according to the *sunna* of the Prophet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 125, 130; cf. Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 183).

The different *madhhab's* have adopted 'Umar's view; drinking wine is punished with eighty blows; if the transgressor is a slave this number is however reduced to forty, because in the Qur'ān the punishment of the handmaid's *zinā* is fixed at half the amount of blows with which the free woman is punished (surā iv. 30). The Shāfi'ites however cling to the practice ascribed to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr; with them the number of blows is consequently forty, resp. twenty (see Zurkānī, iv. 42; Nawawī in Muslim, iv. 156).

The prohibition of wine and spirits (according to three of the four *madhhab's*) is one of the distinctive marks of the Muslim world; its consequences can hardly be overrated. This is not seriously affected by the fact that transgressors have been numerous, according to literary evidence. The praise of wine, not uncommon in pre-Islamic poetry, remained one of the favourite topics also of Muslim poets (cf. the wine-songs by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Abū Nuwās etc.) and at the court of the Caliphs wine was drunk at revelling parties as if no prohibition existed at all (see e.g. The 1001 Nights, *passim*). Even the common people could not always and everywhere refrain from their national drink, date-wine of several kinds; the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz deemed it necessary to promulgate a special edict in order to abolish this custom (see v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1873, p. 68 sq.).

Wine has a special place in the literary products of the mystics, where it is one of the symbols of ecstasy. In this point they only took over the language of their Christian and non-Christian predecessors. As early as Philo of Alexandria ecstasy is compared with intoxication (see especially his *De Vita Contemplativa*). Among the Ibāhiya, language may have been a reflex of practice; but this cannot be said of Sūfi's in general, who, on the contrary, clung to the ascetic methods of the *via purgativa*. As to Ḥāfiẓ' wine- and lovesongs, it is an unsettled point whether they are merely metaphorical or not.

Bibliography: Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache* (Bonn 1861), p. 272 sq.; G. Jacob, *Studien in vorislamischen Dichtern*, iii. 2nd ed., Berlin 1897, p. 96 sqq.; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, Vienna 1875—1877, i. 149; ii. 204 sqq.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, index; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 19—33; do., in *Z. D. M. G.*, xii. (1887), 40, 95 sq.; do., *Muh. Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit in Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* viii. (1889), 408; A. Schaade, *Islām und Alkohol* (Sonntagsbeilage N^o. 36 zur Vossischen Zeitung N^o. 454, Sept. 7, 1913); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 182, 3; 199, note 1, 3; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, gen. index, s. v. WIJN; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des isl. Gesetzes*, p. 178 sqq., 304; 3rd ed., in Dutch, p. 172 sq., 308.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHAMS(A) (A.), the number five. This number has a magical character, from the fact that it is the number of the fingers of the hand and that it is found in certain Muslim dogmas (five foundations of belief, five religious duties, five daily prayers, prescribed by the canon). The hand stretched out with the palm open and the fingers expanded is a symbol that protects against the evil eye; in North Africa we frequently find, among Jews as well as Muslims, a hand painted on the door with the fingers spread out. Amulets in this form are made of gold and silver, called *khams*, *khoms* by the natives and "hands of Fatma" by Europeans. Thursday, the fifth day of the week, is favourable for magic rites against the evil eye and is the day chosen for pilgrimages to the tombs of famous saints to destroy the effects of the evil eye.

Bibliography: E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 183, 326; Lefébure, *La Main de Fatma*, in the *Bulletin de la Société de géographie d'Alger*, 1907, 4th part, p. 411—417; P. Eudel, *Orfèverie algérienne et tunisienne*, p. 253; Gouvernement général de l'Algérie, *Catalogue descriptif illustré d'ouvrages d'or et d'argent*, fig. 47, 48, 79, 156; Vassel, in the *R. T.*, May, 1905, p. 550; May, 1906, p. 220; Tuchman, *Fascination*, in *Mélanges*, 1897, viii. 58.

(CL. HUART)

KHAMSA, **KHAMSE**, the same word as the preceding, pronounced in the manner of the Arabs of the East, the Persians and the Turks; the name given to collections of five poems of which the most famous are those of al-Nizāmī, also called *Pandj-gandj* "the five treasures": *Makhzan al-Asrār* (559 = 1164), *Khusraw u-Shirīn* (576 = 1180), *Leilā u-Madjnūn* (584 = 1188), *Haft-paika* (593 = 1197), *Iskandar-nāma* (597 = 1201); of Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī: *Matla' al-Anwār* (698 = 1299), *Shirīn u-Khusraw*, *Madjnūn u-Leilā* (same year), *Ayina-i Sikandarī* (699 = 1300), *Hasht-bihisht* (701 = 1302); of Khwādjuī Kirmāni: *Rawdat al-Anwār* (finished in 744 = 1343), *Humāi Humāyūn*, *Kamāl-nāma*, *Gul u-Nawrūs*, *Djowhar-nāma*; of Kātibī, unfinished; we have the *Gulshan-i Abrār* and a *Leilā u-Madjnūn* about 838 = 1434; of Djāmī: selection from the *Haft-awrang*, and including the *Tuhfat al-Ahrār* (886 = 1481), *Subhat al-Abrār*, *Yusuf u-Zulaikha* (888 = 1483), *Leilā u-Madjnūn* (889 = 1484), *Khīrad-nāma-i Sikandarī*; of Hāfiī, probably unfinished, containing: *Leilā u-*

Madjnūn, *Haft-Manzar*, *Shirīn u-Khusraw*, *Tīmūr-nāma* (between 917 = 1510 and 927 = 1521); of Faiḍī: *Markaz-i Adwār*, *Sulaimān u-Bilkīs*, *Nal-daman*, *Haft-kishwar*, *Akbar-nāma* (1003 = 1595), unfinished; of Ḥasan b. Saiyid Faṭh Allāh: to the glory of Muḥammad and the four first caliphs (of 1038/1628 to 1039/1630). The *Khamsa-i Nāḳiṣa* of Mollā Tuḡhrā-i Mashhādī is a diatribe against five persons at the court of Golconda. The author died at the beginning of the reign of Awrangzēb (about 1069 = 1659).

Turkish poetry also contains a certain number of works of the same kind such as those of Hamd Allāh Celebī, called Hamdī, son of *Shaiḫ* Aḳ Shams al-Dīn, d. 914/1509: *Yusuf u-Zulaikha*, *Leilā u-Madjnūn*, *Mawlid-i Nabī*, *Tuhfat al-'Ush-shāḳ*, *Muhammadiya*; of Fuḍlī of Baghdād, d. 963/1556 (mentioned by Latīfī and Kīnālī-zāde, probably wrongly); of the Albanian Yahyā, bey of Dukagin, d. 983/1576: *Shāh u-Gadā*, *Yusuf u-Zulaikha*, *Kitāb-i Uṣūl*, *Gundjina-i Rāz*, *Gulshen-i Anwār*; of Muḍī of Kalkandilen, contemporary of Bāḳkī; of Bihishtī, d. 979/1572: *Wamīk u-'Adhrā*, *Yusuf u-Zulaikha*, *Ḥusn u-Nigār*, *Suḥail u-New-Behār*, *Leilā u-Madjnūn*; of Sinān b. Suleimān, surnamed Aṭā'i and son of New'i, d. 1044/1634 (really only contains four poems, the fifth being the *Diwān* of the poet): *Suḥbet al-Aḥḳār*, *Heft-khwān*, *Nafhat al-Ashār*, *Sāḳī-nāma*. The *Khamsa-i Rūmī* of Rawanī of Andrinople, d. 930/1524, mentioned by Sehi, probably never existed. That of Nergisī is in prose.

Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī has also collected under the same title five poetical compositions in Eastern Turkī (Catalogue Quaritch, Jan., 1916, p. 23; E. Blochet, *J. A.*, 1916, Series II, vol. viii. 400). The name *Khamset al-Mutahaiyirīn* is given to a biography of Djāmī in five parts (Belin, *J. A.*, 1861, Series 5, vol. xvii. 303).

Bibliography: Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 504, 611, 615, 620, 637, 645, 652, 671, 680; E. J. W. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i. 145, ii. 8. (CL. HUART)

KHAMSA (abbreviated from *wilāyat-i khamsa* = the five provinces), the name of a province in Persia of which Zendjān is the capital; Sultāniya also forms part of it. It is a small administrative division, forming quite recently a detached district of 'Irāq 'Adjamī; it lies between the provinces of Ādharbaidjān and Qazwīn and has 11,480 inhabitants. It appears in the Budget with the following statistics: revenue in cash 819,880 krāns, in cereals 10,540 kharwār (of 649 lbs.), in straw 9,000 kharwār; value of payments in kind 978,638 krāns. Local expenditure, including the remissions of taxation, 19,129 krāns. The five towns which gave the name of this district are Abbar, Farum, Qhēlab, Arman-khāne and Zerzīn-Ābād. The country is inhabited by the nomad tribe of Afshār.

Bibliography: [E. Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 213—214; Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie*, p. 197; G. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 437, 480.

(CL. HUART)

KHĀN (T.), a Turkish title; originally a contraction of *Qaghan*, Arabic *khāḳān* [q.v.]; in this meaning *Kān* occurs alongside of *Qaghan* as early as the Orkhon inscriptions of the viiith century A.D.; cf. the Tonyuḳuk inscription in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd Series, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 3, and

the quotations in the glossary, p. 93. In the Muslim period the word *Khān* seems first to appear towards the end of the 1vth (xth) century on the coins of the Illek-Khāns [q. v., ii. 465] and particularly in the vth (xith) century in the texts relating to this dynasty (cf. the quotations *loc. cit.*) Not till the Mongol period is a distinction made between the *Qaghan* or *Qān* as supreme ruler and the *Khān* as ruler of a separate portion of the whole empire.

In course of time *Qaghan* and *Khān* were completely ousted from the popular language by *Khān*. In the last centuries before the Mongol conquest, the Turkish *Khān* like the Arabic *Malik* and the Persian *Shāh* was used as a princely title in contrast to the supreme title *Sultān*, *Sultān* only retaining the meaning in Western Asia and Egypt. In Central Asia in the various kingdoms into which the Mongol empire broke up *Khān* was the real sovereign title and *Sultān* the title of each individual member of the dynasties descended from Čingiz Khān. In the administrative system of the modern Persian kingdom founded by the Šafawids the *Sultān*, as governor of a smaller district, was under the *Khān*, who was governor of a large province. (W. BARTHOLD)

KHĀN DJAHĀN LÖDĪ. An Afghān favourite of the emperor Djahāngir [q. v.], who called him his son (*farzand*). His original name was Pir Khān, and he was a son of Dawlat Khān and descended from the Dawlat Khān Lōdī, who was supreme in the Pandjāb when Bābur entered India. Pir Khān first had the title of Salābat Khān, and afterward that of Khān Djahān. When Djahāngir died, he behaved badly, made the mistake of not recognising Shāh Djahān, and of not even answering his autograph letter, and sold the Balāghāt of the Deccan to Nizām al-Mulk. The result was that he was superseded by Mahābat Khān, and though he got another appointment, and came to court, he was no longer a favourite, and became apprehensive that he would be arrested. So he fled at night from Agra with his family and dependents. He was pursued and attacked at the Cambal, and many of his people were killed. He continued his flight towards the Deccan, but eventually was killed in Central India in the fourth year of the reign of Shāh Djahān, to whom his head was sent.

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i Khān Djahān Lōdī*; Djahāngir, *Memoirs*, transl. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, i. 87 etc.; Elliot-Dowson, *Hist. of India*, v. 67, vi., vii.; *Ain-i Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, p. 502; *Rādashāhnāma*, i. (Elliot-Dowson, vii. 20); *Khawāfi Khān, Muntakhab al-Lubāb*. (H. BEVERIDGE)

KHĀN KHĀNĀN, "Lord of Lords", a title given by the Dihli emperors to their highest officer. It corresponds to the Turkish *Beglerbeg*. It was in use in Bābur's time, the title having been given to Dilāwar Khān, son of Dawlat Khān. The most famous *Khān Khānān*'s were Akbar's ministers, Bairām and his son 'Abd al-Rahīm. — *Khān Dawrān*, "Lord of the age", and *Khān Djahān*, "Lord of the world", are similar titles. (H. BEVERIDGE)

KHĀN-I DJAHĀN MAKBŪL KHĀN, originally a Hindu by name Kunnū or Kattū, became a Musalmān on entering the service of Muḥammad b. Taghlaḳ [q. v.], who gave him the title of Kawām al-Mulk and made him governor of Multān; he afterwards became *nā'ib wazīr* and dis-

tinguished himself by his administrative ability; on the accession of Firūz Shāh Taghlaḳ [q. v.], he was raised to the position of *wazīr* and enjoyed the confidence of his royal master for 18 years until his death in 770.

Bibliography: *Shams-i Sirādj 'Afif, Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhī*, (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta 1888—1891, p. 62 sqq., 211 sqq., 394 sqq.

KHĀNA (P.), house (from the root *khān*, "to dig", aspirated form from *kan-dan*); hence: "local, a square on a chessboard". It is found in numerous combinations such as *Kitāb-khāna*, *kutub-khāna*, "library"; *mihter-khāna*, "regimental band"; *ṭabl-khāna*, "kettledrum band", in the time of the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt; *top-khāna*, "arsenal of artillery", *ab-dest-khāna*, "water-closet", etc. and is also found in Anglo-Indian hybrids such as *gym-khāna*, "sports meeting" in which *gym* is an abbreviation for *gymnastics* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.).

(CL. HUART)

KHĀNBALĪK (usually written Khān Bālīk), the "Khān's town", the name of Pekin as capital of the Mongol Emperors after 1264 in Eastern Turkī and Mongol and afterwards adopted by the rest of the Muslim world and even by Western Europe (*Cambaluc*, variants in S. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, p. 105 sq.). According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obsht.* xv., Persian text, p. 34), Pekin (Chinese then Čungdū, i. e. the middle capital) was called Khānbālīk even earlier by the Mongols, apparently as one of the chief towns of the Kin dynasty (cf. the art. ČINGIZ KHĀN). As everywhere in the Mongol Empire, Muḥammadans enjoyed considerable prestige in Khānbālīk also. Maḥmūd Yalawāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Kh̄wārizmī (W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 139), who died there in Rabi' I, 652 (April 21—May 20, 1254), was several times confirmed in office as governor of North China (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 85 and 309). On the assassination of the vizier Aḥmad Fanāketī in 1282 and the events that followed see *ibid.*, p. 508 sqq.; Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 415 sqq. On the town and its situation on the Imperial Canal cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 455 sqq.; on the distances between Khānbālīk and other towns by the land routes see Waṣāf, ed. Hammer, p. 24, Indian ed., p. 12; *N. E.*, xiii. 225 sq. (al-Umarī); Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Zafar Nāme*, Indian ed., ii. 219 sq. The name Khānbālīk for Pekin was also retained after the decline of the Mongol empire in Central and Western Asia and also in Europe. On the five months' sojourn (Dec., 1420—May, 1421) of the embassy of Sultān Shāh Rukh in Khānbālīk see *N. E.*, xiv. 320 sqq.; the original narrative, which survives in one MS. only (Elliot 422 in Oxford, Bodleiana = *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, f. 390b sqq.), has so far not been fully investigated (brief account in W. Barthold, *al-Muzaffariya*, p. 27; *M. I.*, p. 107). There was a mosque in Pekin even in those days. Khānbālīk is mentioned as late as the early years of the xviiith century in an anonymous history written in Kāshghar (*Zap.*, xv. 251). In the reports of the Russian Ambassadors of the xviith century, the form Kambālīk (with variants) is used, under Western European influence (Ju. Arsenyew, *Puteshestviye . . . ruskago poslanmika Nik. Spafariya*, in the *Zap. Geogr. Obsht. zu old. etnogr.*, x., vip. 1,

Index. Spafari (embassy 1675) is the first to write *Piezīn*, under the influence of the North Chinese pronunciation; this pronunciation also explains the names in the modern literature of Central Asia for Peking (Bačīn or Bādjīn) (e.g. *Tārīkh-i Amāniya*, p. 24; cf. *Zap.*, xvii. 0188 sqq.).

Bibliography (besides the references in the text): Ch. Schefer, *Notices sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois, depuis l'extension de l'islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle, Centenaire de l'École Or. Viv.*, Paris 1895, p. 1—43.

(W. BARTHOLD) **KHANDAK** (P., A.), ditch, moat. On the etymology of the word see A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen 1919), p. 73; it was taken over by the Syriac speaking population of Northern Mesopotamia in early times, as it appears already in the *Book of the Himyarites* (first half of the vith cent.; ed. Moberg, p. 30, l. 14) in the form *Kandaḳ*. Consequently it may be an Aramaic loanword in Arabic. Tradition, however, connects its first use in the latter language with Salmān al-Fārisī [q. v.], who, it is said, advised Muḥammad to protect Madīna in the year 6 A. H. against its beleaguers by digging a moat, a means of defence hitherto unknown in Arabia but usual in Persia.

The episode of Madīna's beleaguering in that year has ever since been connected with the term *khandak* or *aḥzāb* (allies). The *sīra* as well as other historical works give different reports concerning the extension of the moat and the part of the town it was meant to protect. Still it may be taken as probable that it started from the marketplace and the hill called *Sal'*, and from there extended chiefly to the North and North-East, partly also to the South.

The digging of the *khandak* is often mentioned in tradition because Muḥammad himself took part in the work (Bukhārī, *Ḍjihad*, b. 33, 34, 161; Muslim, *Ḍjihad*, trad. 125—130 etc.). He is said to have hewn a large stone-block in pieces, so that flashes of light emanated from it which shone into various parts of the world (Ibn Sa'd iii./i., 59 sq.). Several lines of poetry in *radjaz* uttered by him or his companions during the work are recorded, amongst them the well-known *du'ā* in behalf of Muḥādjirūn and Anṣār. For further information see *MADĪNA*, MUḤAMMAD.

Al-Khandak is also the name of several places; see Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 85; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, s. v.

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. 207 sqq.; Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892, i. 106 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, A. H. 5, 21—43; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, p. 26 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK) **KHWĀNDAMĪR**, Persian historian. His real name was Ghīyāth al-Dīn, and he was the son of Khwādja Hamām al-Dīn b. Khwādja Djalāl al-Dīn b. Khwādja Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad Shirāzi. The historian Mīr Khwānd [q. v.] was his maternal grandfather, and Nizām al-Dīn Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣadr was his maternal uncle. His father was for many years the minister of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Samarḳand, who was Bābur's paternal uncle. Khwāndamīr must have been born about 1475, and probably in Herāt, where his maternal grandfather lived. The *Haft Iklim*, however, enters him under Bukhārā.

His grandfather Mīr Khwānd seems to have been originally an inhabitant of Balkh. He entered the service of Badī' al-Zamān, eldest son of Sulṭān Ḥusain, and was with him in 1502 at Pul Cīrāgh and heard him tell of his adventures after his defeat at that place by his father, five or six years before. After Sulṭān Ḥusain's death in May 1506, Khwāndamīr was with Badī' al-Zamān at Maral in northern Persia. In the spring of 1507 when there was an idea of opposing Shaibānī's advance, Badī' al-Zamān and his brother and co-king Muzaḥfar directed Khwāndamīr to go to Ḳandahār and induce Shāh Beg Arghūn to join them. He got as far as Herāt, but delay was caused by the death of Djudjak Bēgam, daughter of Badī' al-Zamān, and also by the near approach of Shaibānī, and so he did not go to Ḳandahār. He also once went on a fruitless embassy to Khusrav Shāh at Kunduz. A feeble attempt was made at Maral to encounter Shaibānī, but the princes ran away, and the gailant Dhu 'l-Nūn Arghūn was slain. The march upon Herāt followed in March 1507, and Khwāndamīr and his brother's son 'Uḥmān, who was inspector (*muhtasib*) for the city, were deputed by the inhabitants to interview Shaibānī at his camp, and to obtain terms of surrender. The nephew went and succeeded in having an interview, though he was stripped and pillaged on the way. Khwāndamīr remained in Herāt after its capture, and he has given an amusing account of how he and his friends were squeezed by the Uzbegs. He was also in Herāt when Shāh Ismā'īl defeated and killed Shaibānī and took possession of the city in 1510. But in 920 (1514) we find him in retirement at the village of Pasht or Basht in Ghardjīstān, in northern Persia (not in Georgia, as Elliot has it; see de Sacy on Ghardjīstān in *Mines de l'Orient*, i. 321), where he occupied himself in writing his books. He now attached himself to the worthless Muḥammad Zamān, eldest son of his old master, and shared his fortunes for a while, at Balkh, etc. But when Muḥammad Zamān was preparing to go to Ḳandahār, Khwāndamīr obtained leave to return to Pasht. He must have afterwards settled in Herāt, for he was there in July 1527, when he left it to go to Ḳandahār. Nor did he stay long in Afghānistān, for he went off to India in March 1528. He reached Āgra and presented himself before Bābur in September, and in 1529 accompanied him to Bengal and was with him at the *trimohini*, or junction of the Sardjū and Ganges (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, lith., ii. 84, end of 4th part of vol. 2). Bābur died in the end of 1530, and Khwāndamīr afterwards served his son, Humāyūn, and wrote a panegyric on the latter's buildings and devices, which he called the *Kānūn-i Humāyūnī*, or the *Humāyūnnāma* (there is a MS. of it in the British Museum), and an account of the book, accompanied by extracts, is given in Elliot's *History of India*, v. 116). It is commonly said that Khwāndamīr died in 941 (1534—1535) during Humāyūn's expedition to Guḍjarat. But Farishta's account shows that the death, caused by dysentery, occurred on the return march from Guḍjarat. This was in 942, and Khwāndamīr was alive in that year, and made a chronogram on the death of his friend and fellow-traveller, Shihāb al-Dīn, the riddle-maker (cf. Badā'ūnī, Ranking's translation, i. 450). Khwāndamīr probably died in 942 or 943 (1535—1537). At his own request he was buried in Dihli, near the tombs of Nizām

al-Dīn Awliyā and Amīr Khusrāw. His age was then probably about 60.

Khwāndamīr was a voluminous writer. His first work was the *Khulāṣat al-Akbbār* (or, the Perfection of Narratives). It was written in 905 (1499–1500) and dedicated to 'Alī Sher, whose library furnished him with the necessary materials. It is a youthful work, and naturally there is little in it that is derived from personal knowledge. It is in fact a preliminary sketch for the *Ḥabīb*, but in some places, e.g. in the account of the capture and death of Yādgar Muḥammad it is fuller than the latter work. Khwāndamīr's most valuable work, and the only one that has been printed, is the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*. It was begun in 1521 and substantially finished in 1523–1524, though he made additions to it after visiting India. The *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* — so called after his second patron Ḥabīb Ullāh — is a General History from the earliest times down to near the end of the life of Ismā'īl Ṣafawī I. Naturally, it is chiefly valuable for the author's own time. The best parts are the lives of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt and of Ismā'īl I. Incidentally, he gives much information about Shaibānī and Bābur, and his account of the latter is the best source that we have for the two great gaps in Bābur's "Memoirs". He is a conscientious author, for he wrote the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* three times over. He is also accurate, and often writes from personal knowledge. His great fault is his style. It is turgid and rhetorical, like the *Anwār-i Suhailī* of his contemporary Ḥusain Wā'iz, and is sprinkled with tags of verse. He bestows too much praise on Sulṭān Ḥusain and Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, and he is also sometimes unnecessarily prolix. For instance, he writes with wearisome detail of the adventures of Muḥammad Zamān. The *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* has been lithographed at Tihārān and Bombay. Khwāndamīr was also the author of 7th vol. of the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*.

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KHĀNDESH, the region bounded on the north by the Narbadā, on the east by the province or kingdom of Berār, on the south by the Adjanta Hills, and on the west by the kingdom of Guḍjarāt. It became an independent state in 1382, when Aḥmad Fārūkī, entitled Rādja Aḥmad or Malik Rādja, having joined the rebellion of Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī against Muḥammad Bahmanī I of the Dakan, was obliged to flee from that country and established himself in Khāndesh, which owes its name to him and his successors, who long eschewed the royal title and were content with that of Khān, whence their principality was known as "the country of the Khāns". The country, surrounded by powerful neighbours, was too small to be entirely independent, and its rulers owed some degree of allegiance at first to Mālwa and afterwards to Guḍjarāt, but the mutual jealousy of these two states preserved Khāndesh from absorption in either. Mirān Muḥammad I, the eleventh of the Fārūkī Khāns, was closely related to the ruling family of Guḍjarāt,

and was elevated to the throne of that kingdom in 1537, but died on his way to Aḥmadābād to assume his new dignity. His promotion encouraged his successors in Khāndesh to use the title of Shāh.

The administrative capital of the country was Burhānpūr, but the fortress of Asir afforded a safe refuge to its rulers when danger threatened. Asir was captured by Akbar in 1601 from Bahādūr Shāh, the seventeenth and last of the long line of Khāns, and when prince Dāniyāl was appointed viceroy of the Mughul Dakan, which included Khāndesh, his father bestowed upon the province, in his honour, the fanciful name of Dāndesh, by which it was known, in official records, as long as the Mughul empire lasted, though the newer name never displaced the older, and is now almost forgotten.

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KHĀNFŪ, in the third (ixth) and fourth (xth) centuries the Arabic name for the most important seaport of China, the centre of trade by sea with the western Asiatic peoples. As is now generally believed, this town "is undoubtedly Canton" (cf. above, i. 842). On the other hand, it used to be urged (by J. Klaproth, *J. A.*, 1824, v. 40 bis; I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient* etc., Göteborg 1906, p. 213) that Khānfū was not Canton but the Gamfu or Ganfu mentioned by Marco Polo (transl. Yule-Cordier, ii. 189, and note on p. 199) lying much farther north, the harbour of Hang-t'eu-fu. This idea is refuted by the fact that, in the Chinese annals of this period also, Canton is mentioned as the most important harbour and centre of foreign trade; in 758 A.D. Canton was plundered by Arab and Persian pirates (e.g. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Pou-kin (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 173). This event is not mentioned by the Arabs. Arabic sources (Abū Zaid al-Sirāfī in Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, Paris 1845, ii. 63 [text]; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i. 303; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii. 221) report the destruction of Khānfū by the Chinese rebel Huang-č'ao in 264 (877–878) when a great number (120,000 or 200,000) of Muslims, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians perished. According to the Chinese annals, Canton was taken by Huang-č'ao in 879: in this connection also the importance of this town for foreign trade is mentioned (P. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1923, p. 410). The statements in Ibn Khordādhbeh (*B. G. A.*, vi. 69, text) regarding the location of Khānfū (four days' journey by sea and 20 by land from the most southerly Chinese harbour Lūkin, now Hanoi) can, as F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (*Chao Yu-Kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 22; with support from al-Idrīsī) observe, only refer to Canton. The reading Khānfū (Chinese Kuang [č'eu] fu) is now regarded as certain although the manuscripts frequently have *k* for *f* and even de Goeje (*B. G. A.*, loc. cit.) was inclined to prefer the reading Khānkū (for Hong-Kong). According to the Arab authorities, the town brought the government 50,000 dinārs a day (about £40,000) (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, text, p. 41). After the arrival of a foreign vessel, eunuchs were sent to it by the

Emperor to pick the finest merchandise (*ibid.*, text, p. 73 *sq.*); the road between Khānfū and the capital Khumḍān (Si-ngan-fu) took two months to traverse (*ibid.*, p. 77 and 103). The prince (*malik*), i.e. governor of Khānfū, bore the title *Difū* (*ibid.*, p. 38; according to Reinaud, note 81 = ii. 27, for Chinese *Ci-fu*. See also the article CHINA, especially p. 840—842). (W. BARTHOLD)

KHĀNIKĪN, a town in the 'Irāq, on the Hulwān-ḥai. The statement that Nu'mān V, king of al-Hira, was kept here a prisoner till his death by order of his overlord, the Sāsānian Khusrāw II, suggests that there was a fortress here in the Sāsānian period. The bridge of Khānikīn must also go back to Sāsānian times; it is built of brick and plaster in several arches across the river-valley. The number of arches is said to be 24, each 20 ells wide. At the Muslim conquest a battle seems to have been fought at Khānikīn for a "day of Khānikīn" is mentioned in Ibn al-Fakīh. Under Arab rule Khānikīn was a small town, which made a poor impression on the traveller compared with the splendour of Baghdād, and was an unpretentious station on the road from Baghdād to Khurāsān. Ibn al-Mu'tazz praises the wine of Khānikīn. According to Mi'sar, a naphtha well at Khānikīn yielded a considerable revenue to the state. Lastly the Zuṭṭ were deported to (the region of) Khānikīn after their rising in lower Mesopotamia had been suppressed in 219 (834).

The place was often mentioned in recent years as a junction connecting a branch of the Baghdād railway with the railway system proposed by the Russians in Irān.

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 245, ii. 576; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 376; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 172; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1028; iii. 1168; Ibn Rosteh, *B. G. A.*, vii. 164; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 31, viii. 186; al-Mukaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 121; al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, p. 320; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 393; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 61, 62, 80.

(P. SCHWARZ)

AL-KHANSĀ' is celebrated as the greatest poetess of the Arabs; her proper name was Tumādir, daughter of 'Amr b. al-Sharīd of the tribe of Sulaim, from which tribe originated among others the celebrated poet Zuhair b. Abī Sulma. Her father must have been a man of considerable reputation and wealth, for an account preserved in the *Kitāb al-Asmā* of al-Marzūqī (ed. Haidarabad, ii. 168 *sq.*) tells us that her father visited the fair of 'Ukāz with his sons Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr in the 35th year of the Elephant and transferred some landed property at al-Wahīda in the Mikhlaḥ of Yathrib to Ma'mar b. al-Hārith, the grandfather of the poet Djamīl, and al-Asma'ī says that the document then drawn up was still in the possession of the descendants of Ma'mar in the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Assuming the document to be genuine (which I doubt) the brothers of al-Khansā' 15 years before the Hijra, in 607 A.D., were already old enough to take part in the affairs of their father, but the year of the Elephant was probably much earlier than the date generally assigned to it by Muslim authorities.

The earliest event in the life of al-Khansā' of which her biographers make mention is the proposal of marriage made by the aged Duraid

b. al-Ṣimma, who was killed in the year 9 A.H. The latter was bound in close friendship to her brother Mu'āwiya, both having promised to one another that the one surviving would mourn in an elegy the one who died first. Al-Khansā' was then a young girl and as the proposal came through her brother we may assume that her father was dead. It is significant for those times that the girl was permitted to consider the proposal of marriage, and after seeing Duraid her decision went against him. She even composed some verses against the rejected suitor in which she mocks him and his tribe and incidentally mentions that she had previously refused another man of the family of Badr, who is not otherwise known. After this she married a man of her own tribe of Sulaim named 'Abd al-'Uzzā (or, according to Ibn Kṭaiba, Rawāḥa b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā), who was the father of her son Abū Shadjara 'Abd Allāh, who took a prominent part in the apostasy after the death of the Prophet and did not come into al-Medīna till the reign of 'Umar. This 'Abd al-'Uzzā probably died early and al-Khansā' married another man of her tribe, Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir, by whom she had three sons, Zaid, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr, and probably her daughter 'Amra, who was her youngest child.

There is considerable difficulty in reconciling the chronological data and to arrive at even an approximate date for the birth of al-Khansā', but as her son Abū Shadjara took a prominent part in the *Ridda* [q. v.] in the year 13 A.H. and may have been 30 years of age we may fairly assume that al-Khansā' was then between 40 and 50, probably even older. Al-'Abbās b. Mirdās, who was one of the poets of the Prophet, was certainly not her son, but the issue of an earlier marriage of Mirdās. Mirdās, an enterprising man, had attempted with some companions to cultivate some swampy ground near a spring, and as a revenge the spirits which inhabited that place contrived to kill him slowly, i.e. he most likely contracted a fever in this unhealthy place.

The turning-point in the life of al-Khansā', however, was the double bereavement, the loss of her two brothers Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr. Mu'āwiya, in accordance with Arab custom, went out with 18 companions to make a raid upon the tribe of Murra. He had had a quarrel with a man of this tribe, Hāshim b. Ḥarmala, at the fair of 'Ukāz and after one unsuccessful attempt he invaded the land of the Murrītes in which he was slain by Duraid, the brother of Hāshim. The duty of avenging the death of his brother fell upon Ṣakhr and he succeeded in murdering first Duraid, who had slain his brother Mu'āwiya and was slowly recovering from the wound he had received in the combat; then another Sulamī killed the former's brother Hāshim. Not content with this double revenge for his brother, Ṣakhr continued his raids upon Murra till he was fatally wounded by a man of Fak'ās, an Asadī clan allied with the tribe of Murra. He lingered for a long time in his tent, apparently becoming a burden to his wife, and finally succumbed. All these events happened before the rise of Islām, but al-Khansā' lived long enough to see the final victory of the new faith and she is said to have been reproved both by the caliph 'Umar and by 'Ā'isha for her unreasonable mourning for her brothers, especially Ṣakhr. The new religion had no real influence upon her and her poems.

Fortunately several manuscripts of her elegies have been preserved and the indefatigable labours of Cheikho have put us in possession of a very complete collection of her verses. Naturally we find among the verses recorded in this edition many which have become ascribed to al-Khansā', because of her paramount reputation as a poetess of elegies, but there is no doubt in my mind that we have many poems which are perfectly genuine, especially as the tradition of the undoubtedly genuine pieces emanates from men of her own tribe from whom the poems were collected at a very early date. It is significant that in these genuine poems we find expressed the true sentiments of the *Djāhiliya*; there is no mention of a future life; only the blood of the slain demands retaliation and the despair is over and again expressed that no one can replace the departed, whose many virtues are enumerated and extolled.

Both the biography and the merits of her poetry have been critically and elaborately dealt with by Cheikho, Gabrieli and Rhodokanakis so that it is easy to get a fairly complete estimate of her life and work from these authors. Whether al-Khansā' introduced any new features into the *marthiya* or not is very difficult to say, but it is almost certain that her verses inspired many later elegists, among whom figures her own daughter 'Amra. If we contrast her verses with those of other elegists among her contemporaries — I will only mention Mutammim and Abū Dhū'aib —, we must confess that her verses do not possess the poetical beauties which are found in them, but we have in the contrary in her poems, which are also much shorter, a far more genuine mourning; on the other hand, there is a certain monotony in the repetition of the same thoughts and ideas.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altarab. Poesie*, Hanover 1864; *Diwān*, ed. Cheikho, Bairūt 1889; *Commentaire sur le Diwān d'al-Khansā'*, ed. Cheikho, Bairūt 1895; Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita e il canzoniere della poetessa al-Hansā'*, Florence 1899; N. Rhodokanakis, *al-Hansā' und ihre Trauerlieder*, S. B. Ak. Wien, 1904; Coppier, *Le Diwān d'al-Khansā' trad. par le Père de Coppier*, Beyrouth 1889; al-Djumahī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 48 and 51; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiii. 136 sqq.; al-Tabarī, i. 1905 sqq.; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 197 sqq.; in addition verses of and notices on al-Khansā' are found in almost all works dealing with older Arabic poetry from the *Ḥumāsa* and the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* onwards and single poems are found translated in several European anthologies of eastern verse before the appearance of the edition of the *Diwān* by Cheikho. (F. KRENKOW)

KHANSĀ or **KHINSA** — in Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 489: *Khinksāi*; in Wassāf: *Khinzāi*; in the lithogr. edition (Bombay 1869), p. 21 sq.: *Khitrāi*; in the *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh al-Kāzwini (ed. Le Strange, p. 10, 7, and 261, 10): *Khinsāi*; vocalised *Khansā* by Ibn Baṭṭūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 284 sqq.) and connected with the name of the celebrated poetess [see the art. **AL-KHANSĀ'**] — a town in China, capital of the kingdom of the Sung dynasty overthrown by the Mongols, Chinese formerly King Sheu, now Hang-chōu-fu (cf. above, i. 845^a). The town is frequently mentioned in the Mongol period and described as one of the greatest commercial

cities of the world in those days; Muslim and Christian sources agree in saying there were a large number of Muslims there, as many as 40,000.

Bibliography: The Muslim sources are collected in Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse par Raschid-eldin*, p. LXXXVII sqq., and in Ch. Schefer, *Centenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales vivantes*, p. 19 sq., 23 sq.; the Christian sources in I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient* etc., Göteborg 1906, p. 425 sqq. Cf. especially the full description of "Quinsay" in Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, ii. 185—215. On the foreign colony in Hang-chōu-fu see also Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao Yu-kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 16. (W. BARTHOLD)

KHĀNZĀDA BĒGAM. I. Daughter-in-law of Timūr, of high rank and much esteemed by him. She was wife of Mirān Shāh, and when he became mad, she went from Tibriz to Samarkand to report about him to her father-in-law on his return from India. She is mentioned by Clavigo and by Sharaf al-dīn Yazdi. (See Dawlat Khān, ed. Browne, p. 440).

II. Bābur's full sister and five years his senior. She was with him in Samarkand, and is said to have fallen in love with Shaibānī (see Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shaibānī-nāma*, ed. Vambéry). Bābur was obliged to allow the marriage in order to escape from Samarkand. Shaibānī divorced her aunt in order to marry her, but he afterwards also divorced her as he suspected her of favouring her brother. She had borne him one son, Khānān Shāh, who became governor of Balkh, but died young. After her divorce she married a Saiyid, Shaikh Hādī, but he, as well as Shaibānī, was killed in the battle of Marw. The emperor, Shāh Ismā'īl, sent her to Bābur. She afterwards married Mahdī (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ii. 372, in account of Muḥammad Zamān). She died in Afghānistān in 1545. She had charge of Akbar, her grand-nephew, when his mother was in Persia. She seems to have been an excellent person, and was greatly respected. She delighted in the resemblance of the child Akbar to her brother Bābur (Gulbadan, *Memoirs of Humāyūn*, transl., p. 37).

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHARĀDJ (A). The word *kharaḍj*, borrowed by the Arabs from the administrative language of the Byzantines — Greek probably: *χορμία*; see P. Schwarz, *Die Herkunft von arabisch harāḡ*, (*Grundsteuer*, in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 97 sqq. — originally meant the tribute in a general sense (just as did *djizya*) to which unbelievers in Muslim lands were liable. In the later *Fiḡh*-works the word *kharaḍj* sometimes still has this general meaning (see e.g. *Faṭḥ al-Karīb*, ed. van den Berg, p. 620). But by the first century A.H. *kharaḍj* — probably because it was taken to be an original Arabic word in the sense of "yield of the fields" — came to mean particularly the tax paid on landed property as opposed to the *djizya*, which was now used exclusively in the sense of "poll-tax".

When at the time of the great conquests the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory were left in undisturbed possession of their fields, it was, however, ordained that the soil should be liable to taxation. Henceforth the inhabitants were to pay a definite part of the harvest as a tribute to the Muslim treasury and remained bound to pay this *kharaḍj* for all time, even if they became converts to Islām (see the art. **FAT'**).

They had been previously accustomed to a tax of this kind in these regions under Byzantine and Persian rule and the old methods of administering it were retained by the Arabs in many details. The tribute was paid mainly in kind. Definite contributions of corn or other foodstuffs were levied on villages or in some cases on districts. The Muslim officials turned these into money. Very considerable revenues reached the Muslim treasury in this way, especially in the first century A.H.

At the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period we find different scholars (e.g. Abū Yūsuf, al-Khaṣṣāf and Yaḥyā b. Ādam) still endeavouring to collect the traditions and legal enactments on the *kharaḍj* and arranging them in special chapters in their books. The regulations regarding the collection of the *kharaḍj* in these days were still a very important subject. But after the peoples of the conquered territories had generally adopted Islām they began gradually to drop payment of the *kharaḍj*. It was thought that with the payment of the tithe of the yield of one's fields (see the art. 'UṢḤR) enough had been done and the *kharaḍj* in the end fell everywhere into desuetude. In the later *Fikḥ*-books we therefore only find the regulations regarding the poll-tax still given in detail, while those for the *kharaḍj* are only dealt with cursorily or even not at all. Only in al-Mawardi's special work on the Muslim system of administration do we find the regulations for the *kharaḍj* still dealt with in considerable detail.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article FAI see: A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. 75 sqq., 175 sqq.; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier, étude sur l'impôt du kharāg*, Diss. Leipzig 1886; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 18 sqq., 168 sqq.; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge z. Gesch. Aegyptens*, ii. 83 sqq., 124 sqq.; do., *Die Entstehung von 'Uṣr- und Harāg-Land in Aegypten*, in the *Z.A.* 1904/1905, xviii. 301—319; do., *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i., Heidelberg 1906, p. 37 sqq.; E. Fagnan, *About Yousuf Ya'koub, Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, Paris 1921.

(TH. W. JUVNBOLL)

KHĀRAK, an island in the Persian Gulf, the Aracia of the classical geographers. In the Arab period the island belonged to the Persian province of Ardashīr Khurra, and it was so still described by al-Balkhī. Al-Mas'ūdī allots it more closely to Djannāba which lies opposite it on the mainland. For shipping it was an important calling-place on the way from al-Baṣra to India and also to 'Uman. Ibn Khordādhbih therefore gives a description of it. In his time Khārak was 50 parasang from al-Baṣra, had an area of a square parasang and was cultivated, yielding cereals, grapes and dates. So recently as the end of the xviiith century, Niebuhr was impressed by the subterranean works partly cut out of the rock. That there was a large number of inhabitants and that they were Muslims is shown by al-Iṣṭakhri's mention of a pulpit-mosque on the island. In Yāqūt's time there was also a place of pilgrimage in Khārak, the alleged tomb of a son of 'Alī. The pearl-fishery of Khārak is often mentioned. The pearl-beds here are very deep; it is therefore natural that complaints of a poor harvest are made but occasionally very valuable specimens are said to have been found here.

In the xviiith century, the island was for a time in the possession of the Dutch East India Co.; a certain Baron von Kniphausen planned fortifications on the island for them and built a factory behind their walls. Later a town grew up in which Arabs and Persians settled. The Dutch E. I. Co. seems to have abandoned the island at the end of 1765 as its occupation proved too costly.

Bibliography: B. G. A., i. 32, 106, 107, ii. 183, vi. 61; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 387; Thévenot, *Suite du voyage au Levant*, Paris 1674, ii. 336 sq.; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Hamburg 1837, ii. 202; do., *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 321; Tomaschek, *Nearchs Küstenfahrt in S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. 121; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1896—1924, ii. 82, 85, 87; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 261. (P. SCHWARZ)

AL-KHARAḲĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BISHR ABŪ BAKR BAḤĀ' AL-DĪN. He was brought by a Khwārizmshāh (Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad [q.v.], 490—521 = 1097—1127, or Atsir, 521—551 = 1127—1156) to Merw and was one of the scholars at the court of this prince. He was also connected with Shams al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥusain 'Alī b. Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muzaḥḥar. For him he wrote the work entitled *al-Taḥṣīr* etc. (see below). Al-Kharaḳī died in Merw in 533 (1138/39). According to al-Baihaḳī, al-Kharaḳī devoted much attention to philosophical problems as well as to astronomy.

Al-Kharaḳī treated of cosmography in two works, extant in numerous manuscripts. The shorter *al-Taḥṣīr fī 'Ilm al-Ha'ia* deals only with astronomy while the fuller *Muntahā 'l-Idrāk fī Takṣīm al-Aflāk* (on this see Hādījī Khalifa, No. 13, 124) also deals with conditions on the earth.

Very lucidly and with excellent illustrations al-Kharaḳī expounds the theory of al-Khāzin, also called Ibn al-Haitham, according to which the planets are supported not by imaginary circles but by massive revolving basins. This assumption avoids the difficulty that in the motion of a planet the ether is pressed in front of it and leaves a vacuum behind it.

Al-Kharaḳī's and Ibn al-Haitham's works were drawn upon by later Muslim astronomers and cosmographers while those of the West utilised Ibn al-Haitham's work *Fī Ha'iat al-'Ālam* in Hebrew and Latin translations.

Bibliography: Zāhir al-Dīn Zaid al-Baihaḳī, *Ta'rikḥ Ḥukamā' al-Islām*, Berlin MS., Cat. No. 10,052; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. XX, Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, No. 94 in the *S. P. M. S. Ergl.*, 1910, xliii. 72; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, No. 276; K. Kohl, *Über den Aufbau der Welt nach Ibn al-Haitham*, in the *S. P. M. S. Ergl.*, 1922/23, liv. 140—179. (E. WIEDEMANN)

KHĀRDJE, one of the southern groups of oases in the Libyan desert. The expression *al-Wāḥat al-Khār(i)dja* recalls the *Ὠάρις ἡ ἐκωρέω* of the Greek writers, the word *Wāḥ* being a transcription of the Coptic **ⲱⲁⲓⲁ**.

The oasis of Khārdje consists of a large valley which runs from north to south for about 100 miles and averages 12 miles in breadth. Khārdje was reached until quite recently from Esne or Farshūt; from the latter place the journey took four

days by camel. A narrow-gauge railway (100 miles) now connects Farshūt with the little town of Khārdje, the present capital of the Great Oasis. In 1910 the oasis had about 7,000 inhabitants; the principal places, besides the capital, are Bāris, Bulāk and Djanāh. Dates are the principle article of commerce in this region. There are about 70,000 date-palms which produce the best fruit in Egypt. The cultivated area is about 4500 acres, but in recent years artesian wells have been dug with the object of putting a greater area under cultivation.

It is somewhat difficult to get accurate notices of the oases in the Arab writers (see the articles BAḤRIYE, DĀKHLE; AL-FARĀFRA. None of them had visited it and their terminology varies with their informants; we feel nevertheless that the ancient tradition still survived with them, which divided the Oases of the Libyan Desert into Little (= Bahriye), Inner (= Dākhle) and Outer (= Khārdje). In the notice he gives of them, al-Maḥrizi is very hazy, for he repeats practically the same generalities for the Inner Oases as for the Outer Oases. One thing that all the geographers emphasise is the remarkable fertility of the Oases in general. Al-Ya'qūbi mentions especially the lands watered by running water at Khārdje, on which the grape and rice were grown in addition to palm-trees. This impression of great prosperity is all that one gains from the fairly long but confused text of Ibn Duḥmāk: it is crammed with names of places. Al-Bakrī distinguishes two Inner Oases and al-Maḥrizi, uses the same expression, *al-Wāḥain al-Khāridjain*, but only when he is using an official document of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. As a matter of fact the oasis of Khārdje may well be divided into two distinct groups.

We are badly informed as to how the oases were settled in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd period: one *kūra* bears the name of Abshāya (the present Minshā'a, the ancient Ptolemais-Psoi) and of al-Wāḥāt. It seems very likely that it was the oasis of Khārdje that the Nubians ravaged in 339 (= 950). Abū Ṣāliḥ mentions, for the end of the Fātimid period, the title *wālī al-wāḥāt* but in the course of a notice of the oasis of Bahriye. Under the Mamlūks, according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh, to whom al-Ḳalkashandī adds nothing, the Sultān's government was not at first represented by any official. The oases were all granted as benefices (*ikṭā'*) to officers who administered them as best they could. Later the revenues of the oases were earmarked for the Sultān's private purse.

A description of the oasis of Khārdje and more particularly of its ancient temples is given in Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase al-Khargeh*, Leipzig 1878. The Survey Department of Egypt has published a fascicule containing a topographical and geological memoir of the region (Ball, *Kharga Oasis*).

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AL-KHĀRID or GHAIL AL-KHĀRID, a valley in al-Djawf in South Arabia which contains one or the few perennial streams in Arabia. According to J. Halévy, the river rises in the Bilād Arḥab near Shira' in several springs, some of which are hot and contain minerals, and flows at first through a plain bordered by low hills. About 200 yards from its source, it becomes much broader and exceedingly full of fish. The people of Shira' supply the market of Ṣan'a' with fish from the Khārid so that it is of considerable importance to them. The river also irrigates the oases of al-Djawf. The water is held back by great dams and kept for the dry season when it is led off on to the fields every day by numerous channels. The Djawf owes its rich vegetation mainly to the Khārid; it could hardly retain its verdure without this important water supply. According to E. Glaser, there is no water in the Khārid until Bait Djihaili; this place lies in the extreme north of the Bilād Arḥab. It drains the whole district of Ṣan'a', Khawlān and Sanḥān and is the most important stream of the Eastern Sarāt. In the land of Dhū Ḥusain it joins the second great wādī of this region, the Wādī Hirrān, and then flows through the whole of al-Djawf. The natives told J. Halévy that the Khārid after twisting and turning round the Balad Hamdān disappears in the sand and only reappears again in Ḥaḍramawt, a feature which the Khārid, however, shares with other rivers of Arabia.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHĀRIDJITES (A., *Khawāridj*, sing. *Khāridjī*), the members of the earliest of the religious sects of Islām, whose importance lies particularly, from the point of view of the development of dogma, in the formulation of questions relative to the theory of the Caliphate and to justification by faith or by works, while from the point of view of political history the principal part they played was disturbing by means of continual insurrections, which often ended in the temporary conquest of entire provinces, the peace of the eastern part of the Muslim empire during the two last years of the Caliphate of 'Alī and during the Umayyad period, and involuntarily facilitating first Mu'āwiya's victory over 'Alī, then that of the 'Abbāsids over the Umayyads.

I. The Origins of the Khāridjī Movement.

Opportunity for the schism was given by the proposal presented to 'Alī by Mu'āwiya during the battle of Ṣiffin (Ṣafar, 37 = July, 657; cf. above, i. 284a) to settle the differences arising out of the murder of 'Uthmān, which had provoked the war, by referring it to two referees who would pronounce judgment "according to the Qur'an".

While the majority of 'Alī's army readily adopted this proposal, either because they were tired of war or because the *Ḳurrā* on "Ḳur'ān-readers" hoped there would emerge from this Ḳur'ānic judgment the justification of the furious campaign they had conducted against 'Uthmān which had ended in the latter's assassination, one group of warriors, mainly of the tribe of Tamim, vigorously protested against the setting up of a human tribunal above the divine word. Loudly protesting that "judgment belongs to God alone" (*"lā ḥukma illā li-l-lāhi"*) they left the army, and withdrawing to the village of Ḥarūrā [q.v.], not far from Kūfa they elected as their chief an obscure soldier, 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibi (i. 32). These first dissenters took the name *al-Ḥārūrīya* or *al-Muḥakkima* (i. e. those who repeat the above phrase; cf. *R. S. O.*, viii. 789, note 1), which is often applied by an extension of meaning to the later *Khawāridj* also. This little group gradually increased on account of successive defections, especially when the arbitration ended in a verdict quite contrary to what the *Ḳurrā* expected (probably in Ramaḍān or Shawwāl, 37 = Febr.—March, 658); on this occasion a large number of partisans of 'Alī, including a number of *Ḳurrā* "went out" (*kharaḍja*) secretly from Kūfa (to which the army had gone during the truce) to join the camp of Ibn Wahb, who in the meantime had gone to the *Djūkhā* country on the left bank of the Tigris, to a place which commanded the exits of the roads from Fārs and the bridge-head, at which in those days stood the little village of Baghdādḥ, which later was to become the capital of the empire. The rebel camp lay along the Nahrawān canal. It is to this episode of the exodus from Kūfa that the sect of the *Khawāridj* owes its name ("those who went out"), more probably than to a general epithet describing them as having gone out of the community of the faithful, as it was later interpreted, probably at quite an early period (cf. the name of the Jewish sect of the Pharisees, which Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii. 283—284, derives from the incident of their separation from the partisans of Judas Macchabeus in 163 B. C., quoting in support of his explanation the name of the *Khawāridj*). Another name given to those first *Khawāridj* (which has also been extended to their successors and seems to be the one which they gave themselves) is *al-Shurāt* (plural of *Shārī*), the "vendors" i. e. those who have sold their soul for the cause of God (this idea is found in several contemporary verses).

The extreme fanaticism of the *Khawāridj* at once manifested itself in a series of extremist proclamations and terrorist actions: they proclaimed the nullity of 'Alī's claims to the Caliphate but equally condemned 'Uthmān's conduct and disclaimed any intention of avenging his murder; they went farther and began to brand everyone infidel and outside the law who did not accept their point of view and disown 'Alī as well as 'Uthmān. They then committed many murders, not even sparing women. Little by little the strength of the *Khāridjī* army grew by the accession of other fanatical and turbulent elements, including a number of non-Arabs, attracted by the principle of equality of races in the faith that the *Khawāridj* proclaimed. 'Alī, who had so far tried to avoid dealing with the rebels, in order to avoid a war

in his rear so long as he had to face the army of Mu'āwiya, after the rupture of the preliminaries of peace was obliged to take steps to avert the growing danger. He attacked the *Khawāridj* in their camp and inflicted a terrible defeat on them in which Ibn Wahb and the majority of his followers were slain (battle of Nahrawān, Ṣafar 9, 38 = July 17, 658). But the victory cost 'Alī dear. Not only was the rebellion not at all suppressed and was prolonged in a series of local risings in 39 and 40, but 'Alī himself perished by the dagger of the *Khāridjī* 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mulḍjam al-Murādī (cf. i. 284^a), the husband of a woman whose family had lost most of its members at Nahrawān. The tradition that a conspiracy of *Khawāridj* had aimed at killing simultaneously 'Alī, Mu'āwiya and the governor of Egypt, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, is almost certainly apocryphal.

It should be noted that the narratives of Arab historians on the origin of the *Khāridjī* movement are very confused and contradictory, and seem to have lost sight of the real connection between it and the arbitration; on the other hand the nature and date of the latter are quite uncertain. The reconstruction which is given above is that proposed by the writer of this article against the view of Wellhausen (followed by Lammens and Caetani) who thinks that the *Khāridjī* rebellion and the arbitration are independent of one another and even dates the battle of Nahrawān before the verdict of the arbiters.

II. The Wars of the *Khawāridj* under the Umayyads.

The wise and energetic administration of Mu'āwiya succeeding the feeble and vacillating rule of 'Alī prevented the agitation of the *Khāridjis* from breaking out, but it did not succeed in extinguishing it any more than it succeeded in suppressing the feelings and aspirations of the *Shī'a*. Our sources mention several risings that broke out in Kūfa and Baṣra during the twenty years of Mu'āwiya's reign (40—60 = 660—680), but they were promptly put down and only served to increase the roll of martyrs, the worship and avenging of whom became one of the features of the *Khāridjī* movement. It is at Baṣra in particular, under the governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son 'Ubaid Allāh, that we find most risings and suppressions of risings. These insurrections, of which the most formidable was that of Mirdās b. Udaya al-Tamīmī Abū Bilāl [q.v.], settled the tactics of the *Khawāridj*, whose raids henceforth took the form of guerilla warfare and owed their successes mainly to the rapidity — which soon became legendary — of their cavalry (the names of some of their horses are preserved in Arabic works on hippology). They mobilised unexpectedly, swept through the country, surprised undefended towns and then retired rapidly to escape the pursuit of the government troops. The centres of concentration of the *Khawāridj* were the marshy country of the Baṭā'ih around Baṣra (cf. *AL-BATĪHA*) and around *Djūkhā*, on the left bank of the Tigris, where their movement had originated, from which they could, if defeated, rapidly gain the mountainous lands of the Irānian plateaus.

It was only with the great civil war that broke out after the death of Yazīd I, that in the midst of the general disorder the *Khāridjī* movement assumed serious dimensions and contributed more than anything else to render pre-

carious the pretender 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair's [q. v.], hold on the territory that he had at first been able to subdue. After the fall of Ibn Zubair, it was the Umayyad governors who had to wage a hard struggle with these indomitable rebels, enemies alike of victors and vanquished. It is at this time that we begin to distinguish among the Khawāridj half political and half theological subdivisions the origin of which is not at all clear, for the tradition which makes them appear at the same time quite suddenly at Baṣra on the death of Yazid has probably altered the real succession of events. In any case we henceforth find the Khawāridj breaking out throughout the eastern part of the empire (Syria was always free from them and Africa only knew them under the 'Abbāsids) into serious rebellions at the head of which they placed individuals who have given their names to the *Azāriḳa* or *Azraḳis* [see AZRAḲITES], the *Abādīya* or (better) *Ibādīya* [see ABADITES and AL-IBADĪYA] and to the *Ṣufriya* [q. v.]. Of all these movements the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible on account of its ferociously uncompromising character was without doubt that led by Nāfi' b. al-Azraḳ [q. v.] which gave the Khawāridj temporary control of Kirmān, Fārs and other eastern provinces, constituted a permanent threat to the security of Baṣra and surrounding country, and which al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra at first, and later al-Ḥadjdjādī b. Yūsuf only overcame — in 78 or 79 (698 or 699) —, after long years of effort which ended in the defeat and death of the last and most remarkable of the Azraḳi leaders, the valiant Ḳaṭari b. al-Fudjā'a [q. v.]. Less serious and less extensive and prolonged but quite as stubborn as the Azraḳi movement was the insurrection which was called after Shabīb b. Yazid al-Shaibānī (76—77 = 696—697), although he did not begin it but was only its most distinguished leader; it began in the high Tigris country between Mārdin and Nišibīn and its object was the conquest and devastation of Kūfa. The partisans of Shabīb, who advanced only in little bands of several hundred horsemen, but who often gathered round them large bands of malcontents, sowed terror throughout the 'Irāḳ, and having several times defeated al-Ḥadjdjādī's troops were only destroyed by the help of an army of picked troops summoned from Syria. Shabīb himself perished, drowned in the Dūdjal, while trying to reach the mountains of Kirmān; his successors caused a certain amount of trouble to the governors of Yazid II and Hishām but never again were a serious danger.

Arabia was another field of Khāridjī activity, where during the government of Ibn al-Zubair between the years 65 (684/685) and 72 (691/692) their leaders Abū Ṭālūt, Nadjba b. 'Amir and Abū Fudaik captured in succession Yamāma, Ḥadramawt, Yaman and the town of al-Ṭā'if, and were only restrained by religious scruples from taking the holy cities. They were only destroyed after the intervention of al-Ḥadjdjādī, but they left the seeds of future movements, especially in the eastern part of the peninsula.

Owing mainly to the energy of al-Ḥadjdjādī, Khāridjism seemed definitely quelled. Another factor contributed considerably to its failure, namely the fanaticism and intolerance of the rebels, whose religious disputes ended in splitting their ranks

and sometimes resulted in the removal of their ablest leaders on the charge of having on some occasion failed to observe the absolute irreconcilableness of their principles. Another cause of weakness may be recognised in the eternal feud between the Arab element and that of the *Mawālī* which brought fatal consequences along with it, especially among the remnants of the Azraḳis after the death of Ḳaṭari b. al-Fudjā'a. But under the last Umayyads in the midst of the irreparable collapse of the central government, the Khawāridj again raised their heads, and resumed their exploits, this time not in little bands but in large bodies. While the two most serious risings of this period, those of al-Dahḥāk b. Kais al-Shaibānī [q. v.] in the Djaḏira and the 'Irāḳ and that of 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed *Ṭalīb al-Ḥaḳḳ*, and of Abū Ḥamza in Arabia (in the course of which Medina itself was occupied), ended in defeat, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy which they provoked destroyed the eastern rampart of Umayyad power and enabled the 'Abbāsīd insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire.

Under the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, the Khāridjī movement may be said to be practically extinct in the 'Irāḳ and adjoining regions. Except for a few local risings, promptly suppressed, Khāridjism no longer presented any serious danger and only survived as a religious sect, without, however, any remarkable vitality or wide dissemination. In Eastern Arabia, on the other hand, in North Africa and later on the eastern coast of Africa, one of the principal branches of the Khawāridj, that of the Ibādīya (Abādīya), played an important part in politics, and even after this role was ended it continued to be of importance from the religious point of view. It survives in our day with its dogmas, its rites and its special laws (cf. IBADITES and AL-IBADĪYA).

III. The political and religious theories of the Khawāridj.

The Khawāridj, who, as we have seen, never had any true unity of military and political action, did not have either a uniform body of doctrines. Their teachings seem to us like the particular views of a number of independent sub-sects (the collections of *milal* number not less than a score including principal and subsidiary together), some of which represent theological schools as well as political movements of a collectivist character, while others confine themselves to expressing differences of individual opinions among the theorists of the sect. One article is common to all: it is that which treats of the question of the Caliphate, a question which has been the starting point of all the religious divisions in Islām. On this question the Khawāridj are opposed equally to the legitimism of the Shī'a and the quietism of the Murdji'a. On the one hand they assert what Wellhausen aptly calls their "non-conformity" i. e. the obligation on believers to proclaim illegitimate and ipso facto deposed the *imām*, who has gone off the right path (this is how they justify their abandonment of 'Alī after his acceptance of the arbitration); on the other hand they declare every believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable to be capable of being raised by the vote of the community to the supreme dignity of the imāmate "even if he were a black slave". The result is that each of their leaders has been re-

cognised by them as *Amir al-Mu'minin* although none of them had, among other things, the qualification of *Qurayshī* birth. Consequently the only other caliphs besides their own that they recognise as legitimate are Abū Bakr and 'Umar (the latter is particularly venerated by them); 'Uthmān only during the first six years of his reign and 'Alī till the battle of Siffin.

Another capital article of *Khāridjī* heterodoxy is the absolute rejection of the doctrine of justification by faith without works. They push their moral strictness to the point of refusing the title of believer to anyone who has committed a mortal sin and regarding him as a *murtadd* (apostate); and their extreme wing, represented by the Azrakīs, says that he who has become an infidel in this way can never re-enter the faith and should be killed for his apostasy along with his wives and children. Of course all non-*Khāridjī* Muslims are regarded as apostates. Here we have the principle of *isti'rād* (religious murder) which we find applied from the beginning of the *Khāridjī* movement, even before it had been formulated in theory, and which found its completest application during the war of the Azrakīs. This ferocious principle forms a strange but not illogical contrast with the spirit of tolerance shown by the *Khawāridj* to non-Muslims and which in some of their schools goes so far as to recognise as equal to Muslims in every way those Jews or Christians who will pronounce the *shahāda* with the modification: "Muhammad is the Apostle of God to the Arabs and not to us." The tendency to the levelling of the Arabs and the *Mawālī* (which was already a result of their attitude to the problem of the imāmate) was pushed so far by one of the theorists of *Khāridjī* doctrine, Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (founder of the *Yazīdiyya*), that he says that God will reveal a new *Qur'ān* to a prophet among the Persians and that he will found a new religion for them, divine in the same sense as Judaism, Christianity and Islām, which will be no other than that of the *Ṣābi'ūn* mentioned in the *Qur'ān*.

The same Puritanism which characterises *Khāridjism* in its conception of the state and of faith is found in its ethical principles: it demands purity of conscience as an indispensable complement to bodily purity for the validity of acts of worship; one of their sects goes so far as to remove *Sūra xii.* from the *Qur'ān* (*Sūra Yūsuf*) because its contents are worldly and frivolous and make it unworthy to be the Word of God. If, on the other hand, they seem to be less strict than the orthodox in the punishment they inflict on adulterers, for whom they do not allow stoning, this is due simply to the fact that they do not recognise the authenticity of the famous verses added by 'Umar to the primitive text of the *Qur'ān* (cf. Nöldeke—Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qur'āns*, i. 248—252).

Outside of general principles and a few particular cases, the law and dogmatics of the *Khawāridj* are not known to us in their totality except for the *Ibādīya*, whose survival to the present day has preserved in its integrity their religious tradition. The *Ibādīya* represents (as does the *Ṣufriya* on the other side) a comparatively moderate school and their present views, in dogma as well as law, have been to some degree influenced by other Muslim schools. Attention has recently been drawn (C. A. Nallino, *R. S. O.*, vii. 455—460) to the very close connection between the dogmatics of the

Ibādīya and of the *Mu'tazila*. It may also be supposed that it was the latter which, in certain points at least, received a stimulus from *Khāridjism*. What seems beyond doubt is that, as Wellhausen points out, *Khāridjism* played a very important part in the development of Muslim theology either directly or by the impetus which it gave to reflection on the problems of the faith.

Although *Khāridjism* seems to us an essentially popular movement in its origins, we must be careful not to think of it as devoid of intellectualism. On the contrary, the very radicalism of its theories must have exercised an attraction on many cultivated minds, much as similar doctrines have done in other times and countries. It is particularly at the time of the early 'Abbāsids, under the influence of and at the same time in opposition to the refined and sceptic culture of the period, that we find many scholars and men of letters who were thought to cherish *Khāridjī* views, without this preventing their frequenting high society and enjoying the favour of the court. The best known of these *Khawāridj* *sub rosa* was the famous philosopher Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā [q.v.], regarding whose fanaticism, in conversation at least, a rather piquant anecdote is recorded by Ibn Khallikān (i. 107 of the 1310 edition; the poetic quotation should be corrected from the *Amālī* of al-Murtadā, iii. 88—89). Poetry and eloquence were also cultivated among the *Khawāridj*, which is explained by the fact that the majority of their leaders, especially in the early days, belonged to the Beduin element in the military camps of Kūfa and Baṣra. Collections were compiled of the *khutab* pronounced by the *Khāridjī* leaders, and what survives of them, besides giving an excellent idea of their views, gives us a fairly high opinion of their oratorical talent. We also possess numerous fragments of their poetry (which had also been collected in particular *diwāns*), especially of those of 'Imrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [q.v.] (who is at the same time considered one of the founders of the *Khāridjī* *fiqh*). A long list of *Khāridjī* orators, poets and jurists was prepared by Djāḥīz, *Bayān*, 1313 A. H. edition, i. 131—133, ii. 126—127.

The wars of the *Khāridjīs* had been recorded from the beginning of Arabic historiography in several works which have not come down to us in their entirety; we know, however, the substance of the more important among them, the authors of which were Abū Mikhnaf, Abū 'Ubaida and al-Mada'īnī from the extracts which have been preserved in the historical sources given below.

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Section II: *al-Shahrestāni, al-Milal wa 'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 85—103 (transl. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartei und Philosophenschulen*, p. 128—156); Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal*, Cairo 1320, iv. 188—192; 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baḡhdādī, *al-Farḡ baina 'l-Firāḡ*, Cairo 1328, very defective edition, p. 54—92 and 263—265 (very unsatisfactory translation by K. Ch. Seelye, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, *Columbia University Oriental Series*, vol. xv., New-York 1919, i. 74—115); I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², Heidelberg 1925, p. 191—196 (first ed., p. 204—208; French transl. by F. Arin, p. 159—164).

Section III: M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op al-Ash'ari*, Leiden 1875; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, Index.

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KHẒĀRİZM or **KHĪWA**, a country on the lower course of the Āmū-Daryā [q. v.]. Being a fertile delta area, *KhẒārizm* must from the earliest times have been of importance for the development of civilisation in Central Asia; in spite of the objections made by Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 434 sq.), J. Marquart's view (*Ērānshahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 155) that "the much contested Airyanem-waeḏō, the home of the Awestā, is identical with *KhẒārizm*", has much in its favour. According to Herodotos (iii. 117), the valley of the river Akēs, which was of international importance, before Persian rule belonged to the *KhẒārizmīs*, from which it may be deduced that the ancient *KhẒārizm* was even then of some importance in the history of Central Asia. According to Hekataios (Fragm. 172 and 173), the land of the "Chorazmians" lay east of Parthia; the capital is called Chorasma (Χορασμία). According to Herodotos (vii. 66), Parthians and Chorasmiens formed one division in the army of Xerxes under a common leader. Whether, as Herodotos (iii. 93), says, Chorasma was combined to form one satrapy not only with Parthia but also with Sogdiana and Aria, is more than doubtful.

In the time of Alexander the Great the *KhẒārizmīs* were no longer subjects of the Persians but had a king of their own; how and when the Persian yoke was cast off is not known. According to Arrian (iv. 15, 4—5), Alexander received in Bactria in the spring of 328 a visit from the Chorasman king Pharasmanes, who appeared with a train of 1500 horsemen. The latter is said to have claimed that his territory stretched to the west as far as Colchis on the Black Sea. Curtius (viii. 1, 8) only mentions an embassy from the Chorasman king, whom he calls Phrataphernes.

Nothing is known of the later political history of *KhẒārizm* down to the eighth century A.D., and the geographical situation is equally uncertain. According to Ptolemy, the Chorasmiens lived on the east bank of the Oxus, which corresponds to the situation of the later capital *Kāth* [q. v.] or

Kāth (the modern ruins of *Shaikh 'Abbās Wali*); on the other hand the oldest Chinese name (given in the "Annals of the Earlier Han") for *KhẒārizm*, Yue-Kien, suggests the town of Gurgāndj (now Kunya-Urgenč). According to the native tradition given by al-Birūnī (*Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 35), Fir or Fil, the citadel of *Kāth*, was not built till 616 of the Seleucid era (304 A.D.). The statements of al-Birūnī and the later notices lead to the conclusion that the later Muhammadan idea (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 267) of an ancient *KhẒārizm* in the Balkhān near the Caspian Sea is not in keeping with the facts.

What al-Birūnī tells us about the beginnings of civilisation in *KhẒārizm* 980 years before the Seleucid era (1292 B.C.), of the coming of Siyāwush and the founding of the rule of his son Kai-Khusraw 92 years later (i. e. 1200) and regarding the descent of the local dynasty from this hero of the national epic is, of course, quite legendary. His statements regarding the genealogy of this dynasty cover the period from 304 to 995 A.D. We are told what princes ruled in the time of Muhammad's mission, and which was installed by Kutaiba b. Muslim after the conquest of the land about 93 (712). The son of this ruler is called Shāwushfar. In the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty (T'ang-shu) an embassy sent to China in 751 by Shao-she-fen, the king of *KhẒārizm*, is mentioned (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 145); this agreement confirms the reliability of al-Birūnī's account; very improbable on the other hand is what he tells us (*op. cit.*, p. 36, 2 and p. 48, 13) of the massacre of scholars and priests and the burning of books. His references to the calendar and the festivals of the *KhẒārizmīs* show that in *KhẒārizm* down to the viiith and among the Zoroastrians to the xith century A.D. a very ancient Irānian culture had survived. These Zoroastrians were at that time (i. e. in 1000 A.D., when the *Chronology* was written) no longer zealous adherents of their faith, and had only some knowledge of the external rites of their religion. Besides Zoroastrians there were also Christians in *KhẒārizm*; the latter belonged not to the Nestorian Church like most Christians in Persia and Central Asia, but were Greek Orthodox (Melkites; cf. al-Birūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 288, 15). Adherents of other religions, e.g. Jews, are not mentioned, although *KhẒārizm* appears in the well known "list of cities" (on which see *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 118, and Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 7) as a foundation of prince Narses, son of Yezdegerd I (399—420) and his Jewish wife. Whether, as K. Inostrancev, (*Žurn. Min. Narodn. Prosveshch.*, 1911, No. 2, p. 293 sq.) assumes, the *Aḥbār* mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (iii. 1237, 17) were Jews is, to say the least, doubtful (cf. the expression *Aḥbār al-Naṣārā* in al-Ṭabarī, i. 840, 14). An idea of the Irānian dialect spoken in *KhẒārizm* may be gathered from the expressions relating to the calendar, names of festivals, etc., given by al-Birūnī; a few words are quoted in other sources, like *ghāw khowāra*, meaning "cattle-food" in al-Iṣṭakhṛī, p. 301; *pevend* meaning "bread" in Yāqūt, ii. 488, 15, from Ibn Faḡlān. *KhẒārizmī* is described by the Arabs as a particularly unintelligible language for the inhabitants of other countries (al-Iṣṭakhṛī, p. 304 below; al-Mukaddasī, 335, 9). In the vth (xith) century written documents in this language still existed (al-Baihaḡī, ed. Morley, p. 842).

In the history of the conquest, mention is made, in addition to the strongly fortified capital (like al-Bīrūnī, al-Ṭabarī also mentions three fortresses) of the town of Hazārasp and of Khūmdjird not mentioned again later, where a brother of the king ruled. After the conquest, according to al-Bīrūnī, only the regal title (*shāhiya*) remained in hereditary possession of the native princes; the real power (*wilāya*) was sometimes in their hands and sometimes in the hands of others. In 110 (728) mention is made of a rising of the people of Kurdar (near the Sea of Aral) (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1525). In Gurgāndj (Arabic Djurdjāniya) arose a separate kingdom independent of the Khwārizmshāh; nothing is known of the genealogy of these chiefs and the origin of their rule. The statement of Ibn Faḍlān, misunderstood by Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld ii, 484, 13) only shows that Gurgāndj no longer belonged to Khwārizm by 922. In 385 (995) the ruler of Gurgāndj, Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, succeeded in overthrowing the old dynasty, placing its lands under his rule and thereby restoring the political unity of Khwārizm. The title Khwārizmshāh passed to the ruler of Gurgāndj.

Ma'mūn died in 387 (997); he was succeeded in turn by his two sons, 'Alī and Ma'mūn II; an Arabic inscription of the latter has been found in the ruins of Gurgāndj (recording the erection of a minaret) of the year 401 (1010/11) (published by N. Katanow, *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obsch.*, xiv. 115 sqq.). The rebellion of this king's army when he had Sulṭān Maḥmūd's name introduced into the *khutba* on the latter's demand, his assassination and the resultant conquest of Khwārizm by Maḥmūd in Ṣafar, 408 (July, 1017), are fully dealt with by al-Baihaḳī (ed. Morley, p. 838 sqq.) following a lost work of al-Bīrūnī (cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* ii. 289 sqq.). Rule over Khwārizm, with the title of Khwārizmshāh, passed to Alūtūntāsh, who was appointed by Maḥmūd; on him and his sons to the fall of this dynasty in 432 (1041) see the article ALŪTŪNTĀSH. The victor, Shāh Malik, ruler of Djand, was overthrown two years later by the Seldjūk prince (this is the right pronunciation in Maḥmūd Kāshghari, *Dirwān Lughāt-i Turk*, i. 397; the Arabic spelling Saldjūk does not correspond to the Turkish pronunciation) Čaghri Beg [q. v.]. Khwārizm remained under the sovereignty of the Seldjūk dynasty till the death of Sulṭān Sandjar (q. v.), in 552 (1157) with a few interruptions during the reign of this.

A new dynasty was founded in Khwārizm in the last years of the xith century A. D. by Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad [q. v.] to whom the administration of the country had been entrusted, first by the governor of Khurāsān and later by Sulṭān Sandjar. On his son Atsız, the founder of the power of his house, see the article. Atsız remained till his death, in name at least, the vassal of Sulṭān Sandjar and had also to pay tribute to the Karā-Khitāi [q. v.]. Under the next rulers Īl-Arslān (1156--1172), Tekesh (1172--1200) and Muḥammad (1200--1220) Khwārizm gradually attained the position of a great power. The last ruler of Persia of the Seldjūk line, Toghrul, fell in battle against Tekesh in 590 (1194). Henceforth the Khwārizmshāh could regard himself as the successor of the Seldjūk Sulṭāns in their dominion over Western Asia, and even assert such claims against the caliph himself. The yoke of the Karā-Khitāi was only finally cast off by Muḥammad's victory over the last Gürkhan in 607 (1210).

Muḥammad's empire stretched from the right bank of the Sīr-Daryā to the mountain passes between Irān and the Tigris valley; in the south his suzerainty was acknowledged even in the Arabian peninsula (in 'Umān). The capital of Khwārizm was in those days one of the most splendid cities of the east. The country was probably already turkicised by then; we find geographical place names in Turkish mentioned, e. g. the Šu-Karā canal (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 122) or Karā-Šū (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri*, transl. by Raverty, p. 474).

The rise of Khwārizm, for the first and last time in the history of the country, to the position of a first-class power is probably connected with the development of its wide trading connections, already mentioned as early as al-Isṭakhri (*B. G. A.*, p. 304 sq.). Muḥammad's attempt to utilise these commercial connections for his political advantage led to a war between him and Čingiz Khān (q. v.) and the fall of his empire. Gurgāndj, abandoned by all the members of the dynasty, fell in Ṣafar, 618 (April, 1221), after a stubborn defence; the whole population is said to have been massacred or drowned in the waters of the Āmū-Daryā.

After this, Khwārizm belonged for over 140 years to the kingdom of the Golden Horde, only the southern parts with Kāth and Khiwa belonged to the Čaghatai empire (q. v.). Gurgāndj, called Urgenč by the Mongols and Turks, was rebuilt on another site a very few years after the conquest (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 323), and is described in 1333 by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 1 sqq., and in 1340 by Balducci Pegolotti (in H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ii. 279 sqq.) as a populous and splendid commercial town; it was probably the most important emporium on the land route from Eastern Europe to Eastern Asia. Arts and learning flourished in keeping with its economic prosperity; in this respect Khwārizm was "the rendezvous of the most distinguished men in the world" (*maājma' a'yān-i dīhān*, in 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarḳandī, *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, N^o. 157, fol. 73a). The teaching of the Mu'tazilis brought to Khwārizm in the vth (xith) century (cf. I. Goldziher in *Islam*, iii. 220 sqq.) had numerous adherents there as late as the second half of the viiith (xivth) century, when there had long been no Mu'tazila left in Western Asia. (On the Mu'tazila in Khwārizm cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 8, and Ibn 'Arab-shāh, Cairo 1285, p. 18; there also on the excellence of the musicians of Khwārizm). The buildings of this century surviving in the ruins of Old Urgenč are among the finest in Central Asia, notably the tomb of Turā Beg Khānīm (mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 4, 9, 14), wife of the governor Kuṭlu Dumur. The Aḳ Sarāi in Kāsh at a later date was built for Timūr by Khwārizmi craftsmen (*ustādān-i Khwārizmī*; see *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, f. 73b).

Shortly after 1360 there arose in Khwārizm an independent dynasty known as Šūfi of the family of the Kungrat. These rulers struck small anonymous gold coins bearing only the inscription *al-mulk lillāhi*. The earliest of these coins are of the year 765 (1363/4), the latest of the Khāns of the Golden Horde of 762 (1360/1). The founder of the line, Ḥusain Šūfi, took Kāth and Khiwa from the Čaghatai, whereupon Timūr declared war on him; only after several campaigns did Timūr

succeed in 1379 in conquering KhẒārizm. During the wars between Timūr and Tokhtamīsh the KhẒārizmīs were allied with the latter; coins were struck in KhẒārizm as early as 785 (1383/4) with the name of this Khān. In 1388 KhẒārizm, where Tokhtamīsh had left a prince of his own house and a representative of the native dynasty, Sulaimān Šūfī, was reconquered by Timūr. The capital Urgenč (frequently, like Kāth before it, called KhẒārizm after the country), was sacked and levelled to the ground, and barley sown on its site. KhẒārizm never recovered from the blow. In 1391 Timūr had a part of the town in the "Kaān's quarter" (this quarter was considered the property of the Čaghatai Khāns) rebuilt but the town remained limited to this quarter.

In the ixth (xvth) century KhẒārizm was sometimes in the possession of the Khāns of the Golden Horde and sometimes under Timūrids. A member of the native dynasty, 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Šūfī, is mentioned in 868 (1464) as a vassal of Khān Muṣṭafā. The town of Wazīr was founded by this Khān below Urgenč, but KhẒārizm seems at this time to have lost any importance in the social and economic life of Central Asia. Under the Timūrid Sulṭān Husain, Čin Šūfī is mentioned as governor of KhẒārizm; in 911 (1505) the country passed to Shaibāni, the founder of the Özbek kingdom in Mā warā' al-Nahr (cf. the art. БУХАРА).

In the year 916 (1510) after Shaibāni had fallen in the battle of Marw, KhẒārizm became united to Persia for a short time; soon afterwards the Persian governor was driven out by Sharif Šūfī, but the latter could not hold out against the Özbek conqueror. A separate branch of the line of Djūči, only remotely connected with the conquerors of Bukhārā and Samarkand, now established themselves in KhẒārizm (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, St. Petersburg 1871/74, text p. 197, as early as the year of the Sheep = 1511; the year of the Hidjra as given there is certainly wrong). The rule of this dynasty lasted till 1106 (1694/5). Only two rulers of Bukhārā, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Maḥmūd in 1538 and 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.] in 1593 and 1595/98, above, succeeded in incorporating KhẒārizm in their kingdom for short periods. Civilisation among the Özbeks in those days was in KhẒārizm at an incomparably lower level than in Mā warā' al-Nahr. It is a significant fact that the Khān Abu 'l-Ghāzī (1645/63) had to write the history of the land himself as none of his subjects had the necessary education to do so (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, text, p. 2). Even the holders of the most important civilian offices in the state, the vizier (later called *Mehter*) and the *Kush-begī*, were only allowed to attend ceremonial gatherings standing, while the military leaders and *shaikhs* had definite seats allotted to them (*ürün*). This ancient home of civilisation had become a brigand state; as a result the caravan road through Central Asia lost almost all importance, as may be judged from the report of the only west European to visit KhẒārizm at the time, the Englishman Anthony Jenkinson (1558). The name of the country had previously been transferred to the capital (first to Kāth, then to Urgenč); now the country is usually called after the capital, first Urgenč, later KẒiwa.

KẒiwa (Khiva) (older form KẒiwaḳ; the pronunciation KẒiwa mentioned by Yāqūt is also in keeping with the spelling of the geographers of

the ivth [xth century]), was probably, like Kāth, a pre-Muḥammadan settlement. In Yāqūt's time the people of KẒiwa were Šāfi'īs, while the KhẒārizmīs as a rule were elsewhere Ḥanafīs. Pahlawān-Atā Maḥmūd (d. 722 = 1322) whose tomb is mentioned by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (text, p. 260) is still regarded as the local saint of KẒiwa. KẒiwa first appears as capital in the second half of the reign of 'Arab Muḥammad (1603—1623); when the left arm of the river dried up (cf. above, i. 342^b), Urgenč must have become gradually deserted; in 1645 a new Urgenč arose about 20 miles N.E. of KẒiwa; the inhabitants of the old commercial city were settled there, and their descendants made the new Urgenč the most important centre of trade in KẒiwa. A new Wazīr arose at a later date farther down the river, also on the left bank. The ancient capital Kāth on the right bank had also to be abandoned on account of the drying up of the channel that affected it. The Khān Anūsha (1663—1687) had the modern Kāth or Kat rebuilt on the left bank of the river about 20 miles below New-Urgenč. In the year 1092 (1687) the Šāhābād canal was made by order of the same Khān, one of the most important canals of modern KẒiwa (after of the conquest Meshhed the Khān had taken the title Šāh). In the xiiith (xviiith) century the principality of the Khān of KẒiwa is frequently called Besh-Kal'a ("five fortresses"); the names of the towns which make up the five are differently given. The "island" (Turk. *Arāl*, i. e. the delta area proper of the Sea of Aral, which takes its name from them; cf. i., 420) is also separated politically from KẒiwa.

After the extinction of the dynasty the Inaḳ (i. e. the senior of the tribe and military chief) of the Kūngrat tribe was generally the real ruler. The throne was occupied by descendants of Čingiz Khān, summoned from the steppes; their rule was only nominal and with a few exceptions they were soon sent back home again and replaced by another prince; 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, Paris 1876, text p. 79) calls this custom "playing at khāns" (*khānbāzi*). Peter the Great's attempt to subject KẒiwa to his rule had no success. Nādir Šāh conquered KẒiwa in 1740 but the Khān whom he installed there could not hold his throne. From the same period we have several descriptions of KẒiwa also by Western Europeans (G. Thompson among others in Hanway, *An Account of the British Trade on the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i. 240), and Russians (Gladšew and Murawin, *Geograf. Izv'estiya* (1849 and 1850). In 1740 the military officer Nazimov made a plan of the town of KẒiwa (*Geogr. Izv.*, 1849, to p. 200). In 1842 T. Fr. Basiner surveyed the modern town (*Naturwissenschaftliche Reise durch die Kirgisensteppe nach Chiwa = Beiträge zur Kenntnis des russ. Reiches*, vol. xv., St. Petersburg 1848, p. 120): the difference between these plans is very considerable and suggests that the town had a very different appearance about 1842 from what it had a century earlier, and perhaps was not even on the same site. This is connected by Sawelyew (*Geograf. Izv.*, 1849, p. 167 sq.) with the alleged destruction of KẒiwa by Nādir Šāh; but it can be proved that the town was on the same site as before in the years immediately following 1740. In 1747 a medrese of 'Arab Muḥammad Khān is mentioned. On the other hand KẒiwa was almost completely destroyed shortly before 1770 by the continual raids of the

Turkomans (of the Yomut tribe); only 40 — according to another account, 15 — families are said to have been left (MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob. f. 55b). In 1770 the Ināk Muḥammad Amin succeeded in conquering the Turkomans and restoring the prosperity of the town and country. The destruction of the old and the foundation of the new *Khiwa* ought probably to be connected with this event.

In 1804 the Ināk İltüzër, the grandson of Muḥammad Amin, assumed the title of *Khān*. When he fell in 1806 in the war against *Bukhārā*, his brother and successor Muḥammad Raḥīm (1806—1825) again placed a Čingizid on the throne for a short time, but in the very same year took the title of *Khān* for himself. By the subjection of the Aral country in 1811, the political unity of *Khwārizm* was restored and was only broken for a brief period again by rebellions. In 1822 the Turkomans in Marw rebelled against *Bukhārā* and submitted to the *Khān* of *Khiwa*. Under Muḥammad Raḥīm's son Allāh Kulī (1825—42) the principality of *Khiwa* attained its greatest extent. It stretched from the mouth of the Sīr Daryā in the Sea of Aral (about 46° N. Lat.) to Qal'a-i Mawr on the Kushk (35' 30"). The ancient Urgenč was restored in the same reign. The Russian campaign against *Khiwa* in 1839—40 was unsuccessful, but the *Khān* had soon afterwards to fulfil all the demands of the Russian government, although *Khiwa* at this time entered into negotiations with England. In the official history of *Khiwa* the English appear as a "section of the Russian people whose land lies north of the Russian Empire" (MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob. f. 369b). During the following years *Khiwa* had to fight against *Bukhārā* (to 1845) and against the Turkomans. The *Khān* Muḥammad Amin (Madamin, 1846—55) fell fighting against the latter in 1855, as did his successor 'Abd Allāh in the same year. To the time of Muḥammad Amin belongs the most important building in modern *Khiwa*, the blue minaret over 160 feet high (picture in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. B. 1900, p. 205). Saiyid Muḥammad Raḥīm *Khān*'s reign (1864—1910) saw the conquest of *Khiwa* by the Russians (1873) provoked by the intrigues of the government of the *Khān*. Only a portion of his former possessions (west of the Āmū-Daryā) was left to the *Khān*, and even in these he was to consider himself the "obedient servant of the Emperor of all the Russians." The *Khān* of *Khiwa* was later given the title of "Highness" but his position was never equal to that of the Emir of *Bukhārā* (cf. above, i. 783a). Saiyid Muḥammad Raḥīm and his successor *Khān* Asfandiyār (1910—1918) several times appealed for help to the Russians against the Turkomans. During the negotiations between Russia and the Turkomans of Marw, *Khiwa* made an attempt to act as intermediary (1881—83) in the hope that Marw would not be united to Russia direct but handed over to the *Khān* of *Khiwa* as a vassal of Russia. During the fighting of the Revolution period, *Khiwa* has again been ravaged several times by the Turkomans. After the deposition and assassination of the *Khān* Asfandiyār by the Turkoman Djunaid *Khān*, Saiyid 'Abd Allāh (1918—1920) was chosen ruler; after the deposition of this *Khān* and the banishment of Djunaid, a "Republic of *Khwārizm*" was founded, only nominally allied to Russia.

Khiwa in the sixth as in the xvth or xviih centuries was again a nest of robbers, but nevertheless, in contrast to those earlier centuries, more was done than in *Bukhārā* for the promotion of culture and social progress. The development of the country was facilitated by the building of great canals; there were more bridges on the main roads than elsewhere in Turkestan. *Khān* Saiyid Muḥammad Raḥīm founded a splendid library and made it also accessible to Russian students. The history of the country which was compiled for the government before the Russian conquest surpasses in fullness and reliability anything written in *Bukhārā* or *Khokand*. Little has yet been done by the Russians for the exploration of the country, its history and its present conditions, although many features have survived there which may be looked for in vain elsewhere in Turkestan. In place of the villages in a street usual in Turkestan, the landowner's house stands in the middle of his piece of ground as was usual among the original inhabitants of Turkestan, the Tadjik. The driver (*arbakesh*) sits in the vehicle itself as in *Kashghar* and not on the horse as in Tashkent, *Khokand*, etc. The canals are given in the Turkish dialect of *Khiwa* as among the Turkomans the obviously Aryan names *arna* and *yap* ("great and little canal"); the buildings surviving among the ruins of old Urgenč are among the oldest and most beautiful in Turkestan and have not yet been fully described.

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Mirkhwānd into Turkish and died in 1244 (1828/9) before the completion of this work. The history of Khiwa was not resumed till 1255 (1839/40) by order of Allāh Kūlf by the nephew of Mu'nis, Muḥammad Riḍā, called Āgahī; the history of the country was afterwards brought down to 1872 by this same Āgahī under different titles (each reign being dealt with in a separate work).

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. Mūsā; in al-Tabarī (ed. de Goeje, iii. 1363) al-Khwārizmī is still called al-Madjūsī (the descendant of a magien) and al-Kuṭrubullī (living in or coming from Kuṭrubull, a district west of the Tigris near Baghdad).

The accounts of his life are very scanty and unreliable in as much as we do not know in many cases whether the references are to him or to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākīr (cf. H. Suter, *Nachträge zu "die Mathematiker"* etc., in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, 1902, xiv., note 19, p. 158). We do not know the year of his birth and the date of his death is uncertain. According to H. Suter, he died between 220 (835) and 230 (844); according to C. A. Nallino, after 232 (846/847). He flourished in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, was one of his astronomers and probably took part in the measuring of the degree in his reign. He used to retire into al-Ma'mūn's library to study. According to al-Tabarī (*op. cit.*), al-Khwārizmī was one of the astrologers whom al-Wāthiq sent for in his last illness to foretell the result of it. They promised him a long life but he died soon afterwards. Al-Khwārizmī's labours were devoted to mathematics, geography, astronomy and history. He wrote a *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* which is given as a source by al-Mas'ūdī and al-Tabarī probably took from it a passage about an event in the reign of al-Ma'mūn in 210 (825/826) (see C. A. Nallino, *al-Huwārizmī* etc., p. 12). His works, which are in part important and original, reveal in al-Khwārizmī a personality of strong scientific genius.

The writings of al-Khwārizmī were composed before the period of great activity in translating from the Greek, although al-Ḥadīdjādī was his contemporary for part of his life. In his achievements in algebra therefore al-Khwārizmī is particularly dependent on the work of the Hindus, Persians and the school of Gundīšāpūr. Greek sources were secondary for him. It was probably rather different with astronomy and geography. A list of the writings of al-Khwārizmī is found in the *Fihrist* of Ya'qūb al-Nadīm (p. 275) and in Ibn al-Kifī (p. 286). In the *Fihrist* Sanad b. 'Alī comes immediately after al-Khwārizmī. Karpinski (*op. cit.*) believes, probably rightly, that the works entitled *al-Ḥisāb al-Hindī*, *al-Djām' wa 'l-Tafrīk* and *al-Djabr wa 'l-Mukābala* attributed to Sanad are really by al-Khwārizmī.

His most important mathematical work is the so-called Algebra, *Ḥisāb al-Djābr wa 'l-Mukābala* (according to J. Ruska "Processes of Calculation for Integration and Equation"). Here we have not an algebra in our sense but an introduction to applied arithmetic based on numerous examples worked out. At the same time the book contains very varied matter: *a.* processes of integration and equation, the simplest forms of equations; *b.* surveying and mensuration; *c.* testamentary regulations for division of inheritances. The book was translated into Latin by G. of Cremona, R. of Chester and others (see *Bibliography* under Rosen and Kar-

pinski). Through misunderstandings and corruption of the name al-Khwārizmī arose the words which ended in our "algorithm", which means any recurring method of calculation that has become a rule.

There are references to Arabic commentaries by Sinān b. Faṭḥ (Suter, N^o. 149), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Saidanānī (Suter, N^o. 152), Abu 'l-Wafā' (Suter, N^o. 167). Rosen further mentions (*op. cit.*, p. xiv.) a certain al-Muzaiḥafī. — The influence of our work was very considerable; it is later mentioned as such by Abu Kāmil Shudjā' b. Aslam (Suter, N^o. 81) and the examples used by him, such as $x^2 + 10x = 39$, continually recur, e.g. in Abū Kāmil, al-Karkhī, Umar al-Khaiyāmī, and of Christian writers we find Leonardo of Pisa, for example, influenced by al-Khwārizmī.

There also survives, but only in a Latin translation, an arithmetical work by al-Khwārizmī, *Algorismi de Numero Indorum* (ed. by Bald. Boncompagni in *Trattati d'arimetica pubbl. da B. B. Noma*, 1857, N^o. 1). J. Ruska has shown that it corresponds to the *Kitāb al-Djām' wa 'l-Tafrīk* (perhaps we should add *bi-Ḥisāb al-Ḥind*, i. e. "the Book on Addition and Subtraction after the Indian Fashion", or "with Indian Numerals"; cf. J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, p. 18).

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī had translated the *Siddhānta* into Arabic. It was called "the great *Sindhind*" (on which was the *Siddhānta* in question cf. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln* etc., p. 32). Al-Khwārizmī prepared two editions of this *Sindhind*; perhaps also earlier a synopsis of it. The book of tables that resulted he called, as Ibn Yūnus tells us, *Fī Zīdj* (see C. A. Nallino, *al-Battēnī Opus*, i. 157). Like all *Zīdj*-books it contains not only tables (*djadwal*) but also an astronomical introduction of some length, a kind of theoretical astronomy.

This excellent book of tables was edited and republished by Maslama al-Madjrītī, as Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a (ii. 39) mentions. This version may be the basis of the Latin translations. In the book we have trigonometrical tables in which the word *gaib* = *djaib* is always used for "sine", while it only occurs occasionally in the later *Thābit* b. Qurra (cf. H. Burger and C. Kohl, *Axel Björnbo, Thabits Werk über den Transversalensatz*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Medizin*, 1924, vii. 5). It is therefore possible that the word was introduced into al-Khwārizmī by Maslama (cf. C. A. Nallino, *al-Battēnī Opus*, i. 154). — Al-Khwārizmī probably dealt with the appearance of the new moon in another work (cf. C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, i. 269). Yāqūt mentions (*Mu'djam*, i. 161, 10) Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī as *Ṣāhib al-Zīdj* ("author of the book of tables") à propos of a statement regarding the size of the earth; but no such statement is given in the *Zīdj*.

Al-Khwārizmī composed two books on the astrolabe: *Kitāb al-'Amal bi 'l-Aṣṭurlāb* ("On the Manner of Using the Astrolabe") and *Kitāb 'Amal al-Aṣṭurlāb* ("On the Art of Making the Astrolabe"). Neither has survived either in Arabic or Latin. In al-Farghānī's book *Fī Ṣan'at al-Aṣṭurlāb bi 'l-Handasa* ("Making of the Astrolabe with the Help of Geometry"), Berlin MS., Catalogue, N^o. 5790) many astronomical problems are solved with the help of the astrolabe; the section begins with the words: "Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī says . . ." (cf. J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Khwārizmī*, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der Natur-*

wiss. und Medizin, 1922, iii. 1—32; see also C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. xlix.).

We know nothing about his book on sundials (*al-Rukhāma*) except that he wrote one.

Al-Kh̄wārizmī also dealt with astrological questions from the practical side; for example, according to a story of Abū Ma'shar, he investigated how far the conjunction at the time of Muḥammad's birth indicated his future as a prophet (Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, Lib. vii., Ch. iv. (text), p. 153 sq.; transl. p. 123).

Al-Kh̄wārizmī further prepared an atlas of maps of the heavens and the world at the instigation of al-Ma'mūn, probably with other scholars. To this belongs the *Kitāb Šūrat al-Ard* ("The Work on the Shape of the Earth") preserved in manuscript in Strassburg, or, as Abū 'l-Fidā' calls it, *Kitāb Rasm al-Rub' al-Ma'mūr* ("The Book of Drawing of the Inhabited Quarters of the Globe"). C. A. Nallino has already shown that this is the text that accompanied the maps. In preparing the maps — in the two editions — Ptolemy's *Geography* was used but edited and enlarged in a very independent way.

C. A. Nallino edited the book in an Italian translation and a very full investigation of the geographical data, particularly with reference to Ptolemy's data. H. von Mīk then dealt very thoroughly with the book and edited, translated and annotated the part dealing with Africa (*Mitt. d. K.-K. geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1915, xxxviii. 152 sqq., and *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, philos. Kl., 1916, lix., N^o. 4). He also prepared a map based on al-Kh̄wārizmī's statements (cf. J. Ruska, *Neue Bausteine zur Geschichte der arabischen Geographie*, in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, 1918, xxiv. 77—81).

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, N^o. 19, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, 1900, x., N^o. 19, and particularly the supplement, *ibid.*, 1902, xiv. 158—160; M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*³, 1907, i. 700 sqq., and other works on the history of mathematics. — *The Algebra of Mohammed ben Musa*, ed. and transl. by Fr. Rosen, 1831, xvi., transl. p. 208, text p. 122; *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of 'Al-Khowarizmi*, ed. L. Ch. Karpuski, *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, New York 1915, vol. xi.; J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra u. Rechenkunst*, in *S. B. Ak. Heid.*, 1917, N^o. 2, p. 125, and the review by E. Wiedemann in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1919, xxxix. 48—53; H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammed ben Musa al-Kh̄wārizmī etc.*, Copenhagen 1914, in *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, Series 7, Historisk og filosofisk Afd., iii. 1. The trigonometrical tables are publ. by A. A. Bjørnbo, *Al-Chwārizmī's trigonometriske Tavler*, in *Festskrift til H. G. Zeuthen*, Copenhagen 1909; *Al-Huwwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della geografia di Tolomeo*, in *Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali etc.*, 1894, ii. 1^a. C. A. Nallino in his edition of al-Battānī has given much information on al-Kh̄wārizmī (cf. Index). (E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-KH̄WĀRIZMĪ ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. YŪSUF (al-Makrīzī, *Kh̄itāt*, Būlak 1270, i. 258, still calls him al-Balkhī), lived in the second half of the ivth (xth) century. The oldest encyclopaedia of the Muslims comes from his pen,

namely the very important *Mafātīh al-'Ulūm* ("Key of the Sciences"; ed. by G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895); he dedicated it to Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubad Allāh b. Abī 'l-'Utbi, a vizier of the Sāmānīd Nūh II (366—387 = 976—997) at whose court in Naisābūr he lived. He was probably born in Balkh. As is evident from his book he had an administrative office. As a result of his residence in Khurāsān, he was particularly well acquainted with the conditions prevailing in the East. His book, which was highly thought of by the Arabs, is of great value for our knowledge of the most diverse subjects. These are dealt with concisely.

In the field of mathematics etc. al-Kh̄wārizmī certainly used translations from the Greek, such as the works of Euclid, Nicomachus, Hero, Philo etc. He very rarely mentions his sources.

The work is divided into two *maḳāla*'s. The first deals with the *shari'a* and allied branches of knowledge, *fiḥh, kalām*, prosody, history. The second deals with philosophy, logic, medicine, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, mechanics (*al-hiyāl*, clever inventions), *al-kimiyā*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 244. Of the sections in *maḳāla 2* medicine has been dealt with by E. Seidel, *Die Medizin im Kitāb Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, in the *S. B. P. M. S. Ergl.*, 1915, xlvii. 1—79. Cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge VI, Zur Mechanik u. Technik bei den Arabern*, in the *S. B. P. M. S. Ergl.*, 1906, xxxviii. 1—56; *Beiträge X, Zur Technik bei den Arabern*, *ibid.*, 1906, xxxviii. 307—357; *Beiträge XIV, Über die Geometrie u. Arithmetik nach den Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, *ibid.*, 1908, xl. 1—64; *Beiträge XVIII, Astronomische Instrumente*, *ibid.*, 1909, xli. 33—35; *Beiträge XXII, Stücke aus den Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, *ibid.*, 1910, xlii. 303—322; *Beiträge XXIV, Zur Chemie bei den Arabern*, *ibid.*, 1911, xliii. 72—113; *Beiträge XXVII, Geographische Stellen aus den Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, *ibid.*, 1912, xlv. 37—40; *Beiträge XLVII, Über die Astronomie nach den Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, *ibid.*, 1915, xlvii. 214—242; *Beiträge LVII, Definitionen verschiedener Wissenschaften und über diese verfasste Werke*, *ibid.*, 1918/1919, l/li. 1—22; *Beiträge LXVI, Zur Geschichte der Musik*, 1922/1923, *ibid.*, liv/lv. 7—22.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KH̄WĀRIZM-SHĀH, the title of the ruler of Kh̄wārizm [q. v.] found already in existence at the Arab conquest (cf. e. g. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1237 sq.). The same title was borne in the Muslim period by the majority of the kings and governors of this country, although the founder of the last dynasty, Ittūzar Khān (1804—1806), was content to describe himself on his coins (which were never issued) as "heir of the Kh̄wārizm-shāhs" (*wārith-i Kh̄wārizm-shāhān* ('Abd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī, ed. Schefer, p. 80). This is probably the only case in Central Asia of a title retaining its significance from the pre-Muḥammadan period down to modern times. The only source for the genealogy and order of succession of the pre-Muḥammadan Kh̄wārizm-shāhs is the "Chronology" of al-Birūnī [q. v.]. The legendary Kai-Khusraw (cf. above, ii. 638) is there (ed. Sachau, p. 35) given as the founder of the dynasty. He is said to have begun his reign 92 years after the first settlement of the land which took place in the year 980 before Alexander i. e. before the Seleucid era (i. e. 1292 B. C.). The references to individual rulers, their names and

genealogical succession cover the period from 616 *anno* Alex. (304 A.D.) to the end of the dynasty in 385 A.H. (995 A.D.). Of these rulers Shāwushfar, whose father was a contemporary of the conqueror Kūtaiba b. Muslim, is certainly identical with the ruler Shao-she-fen, mentioned by the Chinese, who sent an embassy to China in 751 A.D. (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occid.*, p. 145); on the other hand the Khwārizm-shāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ashkāh mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, viii. 310) under 332 (943/944) is not named in al-Birūnī's genealogy. We have coins of the years 348 (959/960) and 366 (976/977) of the Khwārizm-shāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the father of the last prince of this dynasty, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (see A. Markow, *Inventarnyĭ Katalog Musulm. monet. Imp. Ermitaža*, p. 295 and 975).

The northern part of Khwārizm with its capital Gurgāndj [q. v.] was politically separate from the kingdom of the Khwārizm-shāhs, a fact which is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, and was therefore not known to Yāqūt, so that the references in Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.] were not understood by him (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 484, and Baron Rosen in *Zapiski*, xv. 59). The Amir of Gurgāndj, Abū 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, succeeded in conquering the southern part of Khwārizm and transferring the title of Khwārizm-shāh to himself and his house (385 = 995). He thereby became the founder of the second dynasty of the Khwārizm-shāhs. Ma'mūn died in 387 (997) and was followed in turn by his sons Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī and Abū 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn II. To the latter belongs the foundation inscription (mentioned above, in vol. ii. 184) at Gurgāndj of the year 401 (1010/1011) in which he is described as Khwārizm-shāh. On the negotiations between Ma'mūn and the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd (see above, ii. 155) and the murder of Ma'mūn II by his soldiers (Wednesday, middle of Shawwāl, 407 = March 20, 1017) see W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 289 *sqq.*, following al-Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 838 *sqq.* His young nephew, Abū 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. 'Alī, was elected to succeed Ma'mūn but by Ṣafar, 408 (July, 1017), Khwārizm was incorporated in Maḥmūd's empire and the dynasty ended. The title Khwārizm-shāh then passed to the Amir Altūntāsh, appointed governor of Khwārizm by Maḥmūd, and there arose a third equally shortlived (to 1041) dynasty. On Altūntāsh and his two sons cf. above, i. 322 *sqq.* Although after the death of Altūntāsh (1032) the title Khwārizm-shāh was transferred to Sa'īd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd, and Hārūn b. Altūntāsh was only to govern the land as his representative (*khalīfat al-dār*) (al-Baihaḳī, p. 439), Hārūn is called Khwārizm-shāh by the same historian in another passage (p. 499).

Towards the end of the fifth (xth) century a governor of Khwārizm with the title Khwārizm-shāh is again mentioned, namely Ikinī b. Koçkar (cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 346; J. Marquart, in *Abh. Gött.*, New Series, vol. 13, i. 48 *sqq.*). The same title was given about 490 (1097) to his successor Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Anūsh-tegin (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 181 *sq.*; al-Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Djihān-Gushā*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, ii. 3), the founder of the fourth and most brilliant dynasty of Khwārizm-shāhs. On the foundation of the power of this house by Atsız see this art. Under Takash (1172—1200) and Muḥammad (1200—1220) the dynasty assumed the position

of a great power after conquering Persia and Central Asia — a position with which the title Khwārizm-shāh was no longer commensurate. Takash calls himself on his coins Sulṭān, son of the Khwārizm-shāh, and Muḥammad Sulṭān, son of the Sulṭān; but outside his empire even Muḥammad continued to be called the Khwārizm-shāh (cf. e.g. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 249, 21 [where the genealogical statements are wrong], and iii. 234, 13; on the relations of Muḥammad with Čingiz Khān and the resultant destruction of the empire cf. ČINGIZ KHĀN; on Djalāl al-Dīn and the final fall of the dynasty [628 = 1231] cf. above, i. 1004).

The governors of Khwārizm under the Mongols do not seem to have borne the title Khwārizm-shāh, nor the princes of the house of Šūfi, whose independent rule (founded not before 762 = 1360/1361 and not later than 765 = 1363/1364; cf. *Bull. de l'Acad.* etc., 1921, p. 212) only continued a short time (till the conquest of Khwārizm by Timūr in 781 = 1379); but later several governors of Khwārizm of this house are mentioned at a later date including Čin Šūfi, under whom the land was conquered by the Özbek in 911 (1505), and Sharif Šūfi, who, according to Haidar Rāzi (cf. above, ii. 218), ruled in Khwārizm for a short time (about 917 = 1511) (W. Barthold, *Swiedeniya ob Aral'skom Morie* etc., p. 89; in the German edition, *Nachrichten über den Aral-See* etc., p. 58, the pertinent remarks are omitted). On the other hand the Amir Shāh Malik, governor for the Sulṭān Shāh Rukh b. Timūr in Khwārizm from the end of 815 (1413) to his death in 829 (1426), is called Khwārizm-shāh in the *Mudjmil-i Faṣṣḥi* (MS. formerly in the possession of the Institute for Oriental Languages; cf. *Collections Scientifiques* etc., iii. 111 *sqq.*, now in the Asiatic Museum, p. 737). He was followed as Khwārizm-shāh by his son Našir al-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who was driven from his capital by 834 (1431) by the Özbek under Abū 'l-Khair (cf. above, i. 95 *sq.*).

The title Khwārizm-shāh is sometimes given in historical documents and literary works to the Özbek rulers of Khiwa; but they themselves seem to have laid no claim to it. Abū 'l-Ḡhāzi (cf. above, i. 86 *sq.*) only gives the title Khwārizm-shāh to the dynasty destroyed by the Mongols (ed. Desmaisons, p. 137); otherwise he (p. 277) only uses the expression Khwārizm-shāh as the personal name of one of his brothers. Even when Anūsha, son and successor of Abū 'l-Ḡhāzi (1663—1687), took the title "Shāh" after the conquest of Meshhed, the word Khwārizm was not added to the title.

Bibliography: Mirkhond, *Histoire des sultans du Kharezm*, ed. by Deffrémery, Paris 1842; al-Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, part ii. (Gibb Memorial Series, XVI/ii.); W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., Chap. III. (W. BARTHOLD) **KHARLUKH.** [See KARLUK].

KHARPÜT, a town in Turkish Armenia, built on a rock to the north of a great plain in the area bounded by the west and south by the Euphrates, in the north by the Murād Şu and in the east by the chain of the Armenian Taurus; the site of the town itself lies in the Antitaurus. From the time of Diocletian this territory formed part of the Armenian districts incorporated in the Roman Empire and from the time of Justinian to the Roman province of „Fourth Armenia“ which occupied the banks of the Arsianias (Murād Şu) and which the earliest Arab geographers still

knew under this name. This district is often reckoned to belong to the old Armenian province of Sophene. Hübschmann wished to identify it with the district of Anzitone (Arm. Handzit²; Arabic Hinzit, Yāḳūt, iv. 993). The identification of Kharput with *Καρπατιοκέρβας* (should be *Ἀρκατιοκέρβας*, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxi. 449) capital of Sophene (Strabo, xi. 527) previously suggested by Ritter could then no longer be maintained. Lehmann-Haupt, however, has come back to the older view (p. 513). In any case the town can be regarded as identical with „Ziata Castellum“, the capture of which by the Persians is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xix. 6, 1). Arab writers still know the town by the name of Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Yāḳūt, ii. 276) probably with assimilation to the well known Arab proper name; in the same way in Syriac we find the forms Ziyāt (Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 61, 4) and Ḥisnā dē Zāid (Barhebraeus). The form Kharput is of Armenian origin; it comes from the Armenian Kharberd (or Karberd), which probably contains in any case the Armenian word *berd* meaning „castle“, although the first element cannot be accurately identified. The Arabs write Khartabirt (Yāḳūt, ii. 417). The form Kharput (vulg. Arm. K'arp'ut') is found as early as the xth century in the Byzantine author Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, ii. 419, 13) in the form *Χάρπουτς*. This is the present Turkish name but in the time of Ewliyā Çelebi the taxation registers still had Ḥiṣn (sic) Ziyād. Among the popular etymologies given by Ewliyā we find *Khar-but* i.e. „ass-idol“, which the Christians are said to have once worshipped there and which is said to be buried in a monastery on the island in the Lake of Göldjik to the east of the town. Lastly the Greek historians of the Crusades call the town Quart-Pierre (William of Tyre) and by other forms. According to al-Dimashki (ed. Mehren, p. 190) Ḥiṣn Ziyād was the name of the castle only and Khartabirt that of the town.

The town is not mentioned in the three first centuries of Islām. Lying as it did on the frontier between Armenia and Byzantium it must have frequently changed hands. Its situation must then, as later, have kept it in a position of more or less dependence on Diyār-Bakr. In the fourth century Khartabirt was still under the Greeks. In 367 (977/978) the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib driven out of Mesopotamia by ʿAḳud al-Dawla was able to make a stand in Ḥiṣn Ziyād where his brother-in-law a vassal of the Byzantines supported him (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 510; Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, iii. 25). In the sixth century we find the Urtukids in possession of the town but it is not clear from whom they took it; in 500 (1106) a certain Muḥammad b. Djubuk al-Turkmāni is mentioned as lord of Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 296). But a little later we find it the residence of the Urtukid Balak [q. v.] b. Bahrām b. Urtuk who in 1122 imprisoned there the Crusaders Joscelin and Waleran and in the following year King Baldwin in addition. Some months later (Rab. I 517 = May 1123, according to Ibn al-Aṭṭir), the Armenians succeeded in the absence of Balak in taking the castle and liberating the prisoners. But Balak returning soon afterwards regained his residence (Radjab 23, 517 = Sept. 16, according to Kamāl al-Din), and Baldwin again fell into his hands. On this occasion the great tower of the fortress was thrown down (*Rec. Hist. des Crois.*, Doc. Arm., ii. 133). Balak was succeeded in the lordship of Khartabirt by the Urtukids of

Ḥiṣn Kaifā; an inscription of Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslān [q. v.] dated 561 (1165/1166) was found in 1899 in the court of the great Mosque (cf. van Berchem, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. F., ix., No. 3, p. 142 sqq.). After the death of Nūr al-Din, son of Kara Arslān, in 581 (1185/1186) his brother ʿImād al-Din Abū Bakr seized the fortress and founded a collateral line of the Urtukids there, which continued there under the suzerainty of the Aiyubids and later of the Seldjuks of Rūm. The frontier with the lands of the latter was formed by the Euphrates after the extinction of the Danishmandids of Malatya. During this period Khartabirt was captured for a brief period by the Sultān of Khwārizm (in 625, Djuwaini, *Djihān-Gusha*, ii. 180) then by the Mongols, after their capture of Āmid (1230) but soon afterwards in 631 (1233/1234) took place the conquest by ʿAlāʾ al-Din Kaikubād, a conquest which had been foretold to him by the mother of Ibn Bibi (Houtsma, *Recueil de t. rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, iv., p. VII, 194). This writer (p. 210) mentions a certain Šu-Bāshī of Khartabirt who helped to drive out the Khwārizmis. But as van Berchem has shown, the Urtukid line must have existed down to the xivth century though it is not clear if they remained at Kharpūt (van Berchem, *op. cit.*). In the troubled period that followed the decline of the Seldjuks, Kharpūt seems to have been included in the lands of Qādī Burhān al-Dīn of Siwās who took refuge there about 800 (1397) during his fight against Kara ʿOḥmān of the dynasty of the Ak-Koyunlu (Sa'd al-Din). According to Ewliyā Çelebi, Timūr himself was not able to take the town until his return from Asia Minor; after Timūr it was the Dhu 'l-Qadr dynasty that held Kharpūt most frequently. Uzun Ḥasan took it from them temporarily in the reign of Malik Arslān (858–870); it was at this time that Josapha Barbaro visited Kharpūt (*Viaggi*, Venice 1545, p. 48 sqq.). In 913 (1507) Shāh Ismāʿil took the town but soon lost it to Bīḳīklī Muḥammad, general of Selīm I who took Kharpūt after his reconquest of Diyār Bakr in 921 (1515) (Rustem Pasha, *Ta'rikhī*, ed. Forrer, p. 43; Ewliyā Çelebi). Henceforth the town was included in the Ottoman empire as capital of a sandjak in the eyālet of Diyār Bakr (Ḥādjīdī Khalifa, *Djihānnamā*, p. 439). The sandjak-beys were usually Kurds.

At the beginning of the sixth century these governors moved their residence from Kharpūt to the little town of Mezere lying in the plain quite near the hill of Kharpūt to the S.W. Mezere is written Mez'ere, as if it were an Arabic word but it seems to be mentioned as early as by Ptolemy in the form *Μαζέρα* (Hübschmann, *o. c.*). In the reign of ʿAbd al-Medjīd, Rashid Pasha, after a journey of inspection in Kurdistan suggested Mezere as the capital. He had barracks built there. Under ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, Mezere definitely became the residence of the governor and Kharpūt-Mezere became officially known as Ma'mūret al-ʿAziz in honour of the Sultān. This name, which was given it by the Wālī Ismāʿil Paşa was next extended to the whole sandjak and in 1296 (1879) Ma'mūret al-ʿAziz became the name of a new wilāyet formed in that year with Kharpūt-Mezere as its capital. The wilāyet was composed of the sandjaks of Kharpūt-Mezere (including the old province of Sophene as a merkez-kaḳā) and beyond the Euphrates the kaḳās of ʿArabgir, Eghin and

Kabān Ma'den, and those of Malaṭia and Dersim.

The rock of Kharpūt rises to a height of about 1200 feet above the surrounding plain. The upper part is occupied by a mediaeval castle, at one time Balak's residence. The castle has only one gate: its walls have several inscriptions not yet published (Lehmann-Haupt). The town itself is also a fortress (*dīsh kal'a*) but its ramparts have been for long neglected. Ewliyā mentions the Ulu Djāmi⁶ as the largest mosque and also an Arslānī Djāmi⁶, it is probably the latter that has the inscription mentioned above. The population of Kharpūt-Mezere was estimated about 1900 at 28,000 inhabitants (in 1835 Brant had put it at 9,000) with a majority of Muslims (Turks and Kurds) and a considerable minority of Armenians. There was an important American mission there which took an especial interest in Armenians of whom a great many had become Protestants. There were also Syriac Christians. The Armenians of Kharpūt suffered very much from the massacres of 1895 and during the war of 1914—1918 so that the Armenian element must now be very small. Ewliyā Čelebī says the principal industry was saddle-making. The town is also noted for its manufacture of silks but the cultivation of silk in the districts has diminished (Cuinet). The surrounding plain is well watered and very fertile and contains a large number of villages; at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was even talk of overcrowding. The nearest port is Kéresūn [q.v.] but the great road to Şamşūn via Siwās and Amasia is more used. The roads to Diyār Bakr and Malaṭia are also very old.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

KHARRĀZ, ABŪ SA'ĪD AḤMAD B. ʿĪSĀ, an independent mystic, propounder of the doctrine of *fanā' wa-baḳā'*, died in exile in Cairo in 286 (899). His *Kitāb al-ṣiḍḍ* has survived (MS. *Shahīd ʿAlī Pāshā*, 1374).

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(L. MASSIGNON)

KHARRŪBA (the seed of the carob-tree, *Ceratonia Siliqua* L.), synonymous with *ḳirāṭ*. This term is frequently found on Egyptian glass weights

of the first and second centuries A. H. usually to give the weight of a copper coin (e. g. *ḳirāṭ* of 25, or 30 or 35 *kharrūba* etc.). The weighing of well preserved glass weights gives an average weight of 0.196 gr. (3 grains) for the *kharrūba*, i. e. rather more than a gold *ḳirāṭ*. In Tunis the word was applied to a copper coin down to quite modern times. For further information see the article *ḲIRĀṬ*.

(E. V. ZAMBAUR)

KHĀRSĪNĪ (KHĀRČĪNĪ) is given as the seventh metal by many cosmographers etc. in addition to the usual six, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin; it is called mercury by the alchemists. As is evident from the statements of al-Birūnī [q.v.] and al-Rāzī, the famous physician and alchemist, Arabs were not acquainted with it itself but at most with articles made from it, and perhaps even these they only knew by hearsay: mention is made especially of hard arrow-heads, harpoons, looking-glasses, and bells made of *khārsīnī*. The mineralogist al-Ḡhaffārī connected it with a meteorite. According to W. Hommel (*Ztschr. f. angewandte Chemie*, xxv. 100 [1912]) it is certainly not zinc, as has been suggested, but a hard lead, i. e. a composition of lead, a good deal of antimony and small quantities of ores, copper, iron and tin. This composition possesses the physical qualities ascribed to *khārsīnī*. The Arabs, however, credit it with further marvellous (including healing) powers. In the *ʿAin-i Akbarī* (transl. Blochmann, i. 40) *Ahenshīnī* is given as a synonym of *Khārsīnī*. (Cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der Naturwiss.*, v. 403; xxiv. 80, 86 sqq., in *Sitz.-Ber. der Physik. Medizin. Soc. in Erlangen*, xxxvii. 1905; xliii. 1911; further literature is also given there and a series of references to manuscripts).

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

KHARTABIRT. [See KHARPŪT].

KHARTŪM (A.), "an elephant's trunk" (descriptive of the narrowing spit of land between the two rivers), name of the capital town, seat of government, trade centre of the 15 provinces of the Sūdān and residence of the Governor General, who holds his appointment under the British Government with the approval of the ruler of Egypt, is situated on the left or south bank of the Blue Nile, which joins the White Nile about one mile down stream; it has a river frontage of two miles, is 1250 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, in 15° 36' N. Lat. and 32° 32' E. Long.; by rail it is 432 miles from Port Sudan on the Red Sea, and by rail and river it is 1345 miles from Cairo.

Across the river (here about 700 yards wide) is Khartūm North (population 16,000) with the dockyard, civil prison and military barracks. Omdurman is some two miles down stream on the left bank of the Nile proper, with a population of 60,000.

Before the conquest of the Sūdān in 1819 by the Khedive Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, Khartūm was a small native village off the main road from the north to Sennār. This road, leaving the Nile at Shendi 100 miles north of Khartūm, led direct

to Soba, across the desert, and then southwards along the right or east bank of the Blue Nile.

Khartūm was selected as their base by the Egyptians on account of its position at the junction of the two principal waterways. It became the capital town in 1823, but building in brick was not begun until 1839; as the centre of government and trade activities it became also the centre of the slave traffic.

In 1862 Sir Samuel Baker left Khartūm to discover the sources of the Nile, and again in 1870 he went south to attempt to stop the slave trade, in response to pressure put upon Egypt by the Powers in Europe, and to open up the territories of the South. Here too came General Gordon in February, 1874, on his appointment as Governor General of the Equatorial Provinces, a post he vacated in October, 1876. With considerable reluctance he returned in February, 1877, to be Governor General of the Sūdān, but resigned in December, 1879, in despair of effecting any improvement in the administration. When the Mahdist rebellion broke out, Gordon once more returned, in February, 1884, to be Governor General, and taking an active part in the defence of the town against the Dervishes he met his death on the steps of his palace on January 26, 1885, the British relief force arriving two days afterwards, too late to be of any assistance.

Khartūm was abandoned by the Dervishes in favour of Omdurman, and was re-occupied after the defeat of the Dervish forces on September 2, 1898, by the British and Egyptian armies under Lord Kitchener. On the re-conquest of the Sūdān the rebuilding of the town was at once commenced, a new palace of three stories being erected on the foundations of the old one, and in the extensive gardens still flourishes a rose tree known as Gordon's from its association with him.

Khartūm has been reconstructed on a plan designed by Lord Kitchener with a view to future development and military requirements. A series of barracks for native troops have been built at intervals along the old earth works used during the siege. The barracks of the British garrison are situated at the east end of the town, fronting the Blue Nile and adjacent to the bridge which carries the railway line from the north into Khartūm. This railway runs southward along the Blue Nile for 170 miles, and then turning west eventually crosses the White Nile and passes through the gum gardens into Kordofan.

The river front of Khartūm extending for some two miles, with its conspicuous fringe of date palms, a distinctive landmark in the flat and treeless country, is reserved for official buildings and residences, with few exceptions. An embankment wall along a considerable part of it protects the bank from erosion by the river, which rises during high Nile to some 30 feet and has a swift current. Along this wall runs a continuous tree-shaded public road bordered on the inner side by well kept gardens. Behind are situated the banks, the headquarters of the trading companies, shops, the native market, and residences; further inland the building regulations are relaxed to enable Europeans and better class natives to occupy less expensive houses. The poorer natives live in villages outside and to the south of the line of encircling barracks. A fine mosque, inaugurated by the ex-Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmi in December, 1901, was built of local stone with funds from Egypt.

The Anglican cathedral was consecrated in January, 1912, by the bishop of London. There is a Greek church, a Coptic church, a Roman Catholic church in the Austrian Mission, a temporary church in the American Mission, and other places of religious worship. Gordon College, built and endowed with funds raised by Lord Kitchener, provides advanced education for natives of the Sūdān in Muḥammadan law and houses a training school for schoolmasters, as well as instructional workshops. There is a government elementary school and various mission schools. A first class civil hospital affords medical and surgical help for patients from all parts of the Sūdān and has a high reputation amongst the inhabitants. There is a small zoological garden. Electric light was first used in 1906 and an excellent water supply laid on in 1909; steam tramways and ferries are now being taken over (1925) by a group of English firms who will also build a bridge to Omdurman.

The population of Khartūm, about 23,000, is mixed. British and Greek subjects form the largest European groups. Syrians and Egyptians have migrated from the North, but the great majority of the inhabitants consists of natives of the Sūdān, Arabs from the northern provinces and Blacks from the South.

Bibliography: Lord Edward Gleichen, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London 1904; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, vol. ii., chap. xiv., xix., London 1907; *The Sudan Almanac*, Khartum 1925. (P. R. PHIPPS)

AL-KHASHABĀT (plur. of *al-khashaba*, pole), was the name given to the light-houses in the Persian Gulf near ʿAbbādān: they are mentioned in al-Kh̲wārizmī's *Mafaṭīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. v. Vloten, p. 124) as columns placed in the sea, on the tops of which lamps were lit at night. According to Nāṣir-i Kh̲usraw (*Safar-nāme*, ed. Schefer, text p. 90, transl. p. 246), they consisted of four columns of teak which rose 60 feet above the sea; there was a platform on the top with a little house for the watchman. The latter lit the lamps which were surrounded by glass to shelter them from the wind. They served as guides to the ships and were also used to signal the approach of pirates. Places at which these light-houses stood are given in *Bibl. Géogr. Arab.*, iv., *Gloss.*, p. 225, and in E. Wiedemann, *Über Leuchtfeuer bei den Muslimen*, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Naturwissensch. u. d. Technik*, ii. 1909, 151—4, and A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, 1922, p. 479. (E. WIEDEMANN)

KHASHABĪYA, "club-men", was originally an abusive name for the Mawālī [cf. the art. MAWLĀ] of Kūfa, who were armed with clubs (*khashab*, sing. *khashaba*) and formed the main part of the followers of al-Mukhtār [q. v.] and took the field under his generals, for instance Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashtar (Ibn Kutaiba, *Kit. al-Maʿarīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 300; Ibn Rosta, *al-Aʿlāq al-Nafisa*, B. G. A., vii. 218; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 684, 16, 1798, 4 sq.; *al-Aghānī*¹, v. 155, 17 sqq.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, v. 226, 8 sq., 227, 7 sqq.; do., *al-Tanbīh*, B. G. A., viii. 313, 4 sqq.; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisi, *al-Badʿ waʾl-Tārīkh*, ed. Huart, v. 133, 10—12; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iv. 207, 11; Maḥd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī Ghārīb al-Hadīth*, Cairo 1311, i. 294 infra; L. A., i. 340, 10 sqq.; T. A., i. 234, 25 sqq.).

The troops which marched upon Mekka by al-

Mukhtār's order and released Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīya [q. v.], who was imprisoned by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.], are called *Khashabiya* (al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, ii. 693, 4 *sqq.*; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, v. 74, 16 *sqq.*; cf. 76, 15; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv. 206 *sq.*). They themselves apparently called their cudgels *kāfir-kūbāt* (from Persian *čub*, wood, club) "clubs for unbelievers" (al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, ii. 694, 15; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 207, 7 [variant]); these weapons are afterwards found also with the partisans of Abū Muslim [q. v.] (al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. Rosen, p. 359, 20 *sqq.*; *al-Aghānī*, iv. 93, 21; cf. G. van Vloten, *Recherches etc.*, *Verh. K. Ak. Amst.*, Afd. Letterk., i., N^o. 3, 1894, p. 67), and in the civil war in Baghdād in 251 (865) they were distributed among the plebs (al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, iii. 1586, 13, 1587, 4, 1589, 7; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vii. 99, 5; al-Djāhiz, *Ṭhalāth Rasā'il*, ed. van Vloten-de Goeje, p. 11, 9, mentions the *kāfir-kūbāt* as weapons of the Turks.

The remark in Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle (*op. cit.*, iv. 207, 13) that the liberators of Ibn al-Hanafīya bore cudgels in order to avoid the use of swords in the *ḥaram*, is as improbable as is the interpretation which connects the name *Khashabiya* with the wood piled up by Ibn al-Zubair beside the prison of Ibn al-Hanafīya with the threat to have him and his fellow-prisoners burned.

With reference to a ḥadīth of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar in which the performing of the *ṣalāt* behind the *Khashabiya* is mentioned, the latter name was explained as denoting people who reverently kept the pole or tree-trunk (*khashaba*) on which Zaid b. 'Alī [q. v.] had been executed. But, as Madjid al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*loc. cit.*) observes, this explanation is chronologically untenable.

According to an observation made by Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Faṣl fi 'l-Mīlāl wa'l-Ahwā' wa'l-Niḥāl*, MS. Leiden 480^b, f. 138^b infra; cf. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, New Haven 1909, i. 63, note 1), the *Khashabiya* regarded the bearing of iron weapons as not allowed till the expected Mahdī had appeared.

The fact that "Revenge for al-Ḥusain!" (*yā la-ṭhā'rāt al-Ḥusain!*, e. g. al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, ii. 694, 14) was the rallying cry of the *Khashabiya* possibly tended to supplant this name by *al-Ḥusainiyya*, which is graphically only slightly different; the latter is, however, to be retained in places like Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Ikd al-Farid*, Cairo 1317, i. 190, 17 *sq.*, and Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, ed. Dozy, p. 187, 12—14).

Thus *al-Khashabiya* was another name for the Kaisāniya [q. v.] and then was applied to the adherents of the doctrines which were current among the latter, like that of the return (*radj'a*, q. v.) and that of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*, q. v.). The poetical representative of these doctrines, Kuthayyir, is called a *Khashabi* and is said to have been gained for the *Khashabiya* by the poet Khindif al-Asadi (*al-Aghānī*, viii. 33, 16, 20—24, 34, 20; xi. 47, 22 *sq.*, where *Khindif* is to be read instead of *Khandaḳ*).

According to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwarizmi (*Mafatih al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 29, 5 *sq.*), the name *al-Khashabiya* was used for a group of the Zaidiya [q. v.] known as *Ṣurkhābiya* after a certain Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabari of whom nothing seems to be known; it might be possible to think of one of the Ṣurkhāb who played a part in Ṭabaristān in the time of Ḥasan b. Zaid [q. v.] (cf. Ibn Is-

fandiār, Engl. transl. by E. G. Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. ii., Leiden-London 1905, Index) It must be left undecided whether they were called *Khashabiya* after their weapons or perhaps on account of Kaisāni doctrines which asserted themselves among them. The same statement occurs in Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-Adyān*, in *Chrestomathie persane*, ed. by Ch. Schefer, i. (P. E. L. O. V., 2nd Ser., vii., Paris 1833), p. 157, 18 *sq.*, where *Ṣurkhāb* is to be read instead of *Ṣ-rhūt*.

According to a statement given on the authority of al-Laith (apparently Ibn al-Muzaḥaffar), *al-Khashabiya* was also the name of a section of the *Djahmiya* [cf. the art. *DIJAHM B. ŠAFWĀN*], which maintained that Allāh does not speak and that the *Kur'ān* is created (*L. A.*, i. 343, 9; *T. A.*, i. 234, 25).

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AL-KHAṢĪBĪ. [See IBN AL-KHAṢĪBĪ].

AL-KHAṢĪBĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'UBAID ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. AL-KHAṢĪB, a vizier. After the deposition of Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Khākānī in Ramaḍān 313 (Nov. 925) (see IBN KHĀKĀN, 3) al-Khaṣībī, who at that time was secretary to the mother of the Caliph al-Muḥtadir, was appointed vizier. But as he neglected his official duties and made himself generally hated for his extortions, he was deposed on the advice of the chief of police Mu'nīs in *Dhu 'l-Kāda* 314 (Jan. 927) and 'Alī b. 'Isā (see IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, 2) appointed in his place. Till the latter could reach the capital, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kawādhī acted as his deputy. In 318 (930/931) the other vizier Ibn Makhīad [q. v., 2] entrusted al-Khaṣībī with the government of Fārs and Kermān.

Al-Khaṣībī was also the name of the vizier who succeeded Muḥammad 'Ubaid Allāh in *Dhu 'l-Ḥijda* 321 (Dec. 933) and held office till the deposition of the Caliph al-Kāhir; in Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 195) and Ibn Khaldūn (iii. 394) however, his name is given as Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Sulaimān al-Khaṣībī. Al-Khaṣībī died in 328 (940).

Bibliography: 'Arib ed. de Goeje, p. 80, 109, 126—129, 150; Ibn al-Athīr ed. Tornberg, viii. 116 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Tiḡṭākā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 367 *sq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iii. 374; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 557.

(K. V. ZETTERSTĒEN)

KHĀṢṢEKĪ (Arab. *khāṣṣa*: "private" with Turkish suffix *ki*), a term applied to anything belonging to the domains, service or the palace of the Sultān of Turkey. The *Khāṣṣekī* were the guards of the serail, a body of 300 junior officers chosen among the *bostandji*; 60 of them formed part of the imperial retinue, as a bodyguard; they wore a uniform of red cloth, were armed with a dagger (*ghaddārē*) and carried a baton in the hand; their commander was the *bash-khāṣṣekī*. The *khāṣṣekī-āgha* was the lieutenant of the *bostandji*.

bashi. The *khāṣṣekī-bashi*, who is not to be confused with the preceding, was an officer of the corps of *baltadji* and acted as receiver general of the revenues that came from the pious endowments of Mecca and Medīna. He wore a large bonnet of red cloth.

Khāṣṣekī was the title given to the Sultān's favourite. In the early days of the monarchy down to Aḥmad III (1115 = 1703), the wife of the Sultān who gave birth to a prince was honoured with the title *khāṣṣekī-sultān*, while those who only had daughters were called *khāṣṣekī-kādin*. In 1075 (1647), contrary to the rule followed by the house of 'Othmān, the debauched Sultān Ibrāhīm, seven of whose concubines had the title *Khāṣṣekī*, married one of the latter, Telli-Khāṣṣekī, and she received the name *Shāh-Sultān*.

Khāṣṣekī-djāmi' "mosque of the favourite", at Constantinople, built by Khurrem-Khāṣṣekī (Roxelane) in 945 (1538) with fountains, soup-kitchen (*'imāret*), a school founded in 946 (1539) and a hospital built in 957 (1550). The building originally had only one dome; a second was added by Aḥmad I. in 1201 (1612). These edifices are in the Awret-Bāzārī (*Forum Arcadianum*) at Stambul. The *Khāṣṣekī* hospital at the present day is reserved for women.

Bibliography: Hāfiz Ḥusain Īwānsarāyī, *Ḥaṭṭat al-Djāwāmi'*, Constantinople 1281, p. 101; Djewād-bey, *État militaire ottoman*, p. 41; Barbier de Meynard, *Supplém. aux diction. turcs*, i. 681; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii. 29, 32, 63, 65; Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, trad. Hellert, x. 74. (CL. HUART)

KHATA' (A.), a mistake, which is made in thought (speech) or action — a fault which one has is called *'aib* —, the opposite of *ṣawāb*, the correct; hence in the field of knowledge: error; in that of action: omission, failure, all this, of course, unintentional; from the last meaning develops that of wrong which one commits, transgression; whether this is to be regarded as unintentional or — as in *khata'a* and *khil'* — deliberate (sin) is a disputed point with the lexicographers. *Khata'* and *khil'* (the latter is found only in the *Kānūs* so that it is hardly classical) are synonymous (or phonetic variants?). *Khata'* is sometimes regarded as an infinite of *khata'a* used as a substantive (which it originally was and still is), sometimes as a substantive from *akhṭa'a* (which it has become through linguistic usage), and sometimes as belonging to both. The lexicographers have the most diverse opinions regarding the more accurate definition of the meaning of these two verbs, within the sphere of ideas above outlined. *Khata'* and *khata'* are exceedingly rare in classical poetry (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, ed. 1888, p. 120, 1: "sin" [parallel with *dhanb*]; also *Qur. an*, xvii. 33: "sin", as a variant of *khil'*; iv. 94: "transgression"); more frequently only the verbal forms *khata'a* and *akhṭa'a* are used as synonyms.

The use of *khata'* as a technical term is in keeping with the general use of the word; the principal uses of it are as follows:

1. Error in logic (opposite *ṣawāb*), synonymous with *bāṭil*, the "invalid" (opposite *ḥaqq*); the former pair of concepts ought to be used in questions of *idjtihād* [q. v.] and the latter in questions of *i'tikād* [q. v.]; this may be the result of the corresponding use of the word in the *Qur'an*, so

that Islām and the other religions are contrasted with one another in *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*, opposite views in the *furū'* of the *fiqh* (see the article *FIQH*), as *ṣawāb* and *khata'*; but there is only one verb for each, *aṣāba* and *akhṭa'a*, which points to the artificiality of this distinction, and in reality the rule is often not observed; in other branches of learning also *khata'* and *bāṭil* are used promiscuously, as indeed are *ṣawāb* and *ḥaqq* also. The works which deal with the *uṣūl al-fiqh* (see the art. *UṢŪL*) discuss the question whether the *mudjtahid* [q. v.] *muṭlak* can err. In the orthodox community the opinion has prevailed that the *mudjtahid* can err and in cases of difference of opinion only one can be right at a time, and a tradition is even cited on this point; the Mu'tazilis [q. v.] asserted that every *mudjtahid* is right, and even celebrated orthodox teachers held this view, e.g. Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī, Ibn Suraidj, al-Muzanī, al-Ash'arī and his school, al-Bākillānī, al-Ghazālī; Abū Ḥanīfa adopts a middle view. The champions of the orthodox view believe, in keeping with this, that Allāh has already come to a definite decision before every *idjtihād* and that the correctness or otherwise of the decision of the *mudjtahid* results from its agreement or not with that of Allāh; those of the Mu'tazila assume either different decisions by Allāh which coincide with those of the individual *mudjtahid*'s and are valid for them and their *muḥallid*'s [q. v.], so that all differing decisions of the *mudjtahid*'s are equally justified, or they consider one decision more justified than the others and believe that Allāh has taken no decision in such cases but "if He did do so", would express quite a definite one: this supposed decision by Allāh is then compared with those of the *mudjtahid*'s and the *mudjtahid* who agrees with it is considered in the right in every respect; but those which differ from it are considered in the right with respect to the basis, the *idjtihād* (*ibtidā'an idjtihādan*), as the *mudjtahid* has endeavoured with all his power to find the decision, in the wrong with respect to the result, the decision itself (*intihā'an ḥukman*). The representatives of the orthodox view, who are essentially in close agreement with this form of the Mu'tazilī view, make the same distinction (the opinion is rejected that the *mudjtahid* who makes a mistake is completely in the wrong); the other Mu'tazilī view, however, is in sharp contrast to this. But this difference only exists in questions of the derivation of legal rules from the *uṣūl al-fiqh* (*fi 'l-shar'iyāt*) and only in the case when no clear decision is given in the *uṣūl*; if there is one, but it has not been regarded by the *mudjtahid*, he is, of course, wrong. In the domain of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, of *kalām* [q. v.], particularly in reasoned deductions (*fi 'l-aḳliyyāt*), according to the general consensus, only one view can be right in a case of differences of opinion. Only a few Mu'tazilis, as whose representatives Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh al-Anbarī and al-Djāḥiẓ are cited, asserted that here also in dogmatics every *mudjtahid* (the word is used in a wider sense, meaning everyone who does all in his power to solve a problem) is right; while al-Anbarī adds so long as he can be still described as a Muslim, and al-Djāḥiẓ without limitation. Tradition on this point is no longer certain, as is apparent in differences in detail and in a certain irresolution; in this Mu'tazilī teaching, however, — as in the polemics regarding the *mudj-*

tahid fi 'l-*ṣhar'iyāt* — the other meanings of *khaṭa'* come into consideration so that it is doubtless correctly explained that by "being right" is not meant agreement with the actual facts, but that the *mudjtahid* has duly fulfilled the task imposed on him and therefore cannot be punished (while according to the orthodox consensus every non-Muslim is doomed to the pains of hell eternally), that that to which his *idjtihad* leads him is the right for him by Allah's decree itself. This ambiguity in terminology must have contributed to the ambiguity in tradition. That, taken purely logically, several differing views could be right at the same time has never been asserted. — The *mudjtahid* in the wrong is not punished for his error and is not considered as being in a religious error (*ḡalāl*), but is regarded as excused and is rewarded as he has done everything that is demanded of him if he has really used all his energy for the derivation of the legal rule; if he has not done this he is punished for his error; others say that every error of a *mudjtahid* is a sin; but this view is rejected. All this holds only of the *mudjtahid*'s of the Sunnis; those of the "twelver" *Shi'is* are infallible.

2. Unintentional action (opposite '*amd*'); this use comes from *Ḳur'ān*, iv. 94 sq. (cf. the art. *ḲATL*, section i. 1; passages like ii. 286 and xxxiii. 5 may have also influenced); this is of interest here in so far as it is illegal; it may be more accurately defined as an act contrary to law, in which the intention of committing an illegal act is lacking, while the action itself may be deliberate; any negligence is left quite out of the question in the juridical appreciation. The *Mu'tazilis* asserted that one could not be punished by Allah for it, for punishment is only conceivable for a deliberate illegal act; orthodoxy on the contrary teaches that, while *khaṭa'* is not a sin (*iṭhm*), any negligence, however, is something deliberate, and the *khaṭa'*, as its result, is liable to be punished (it is regarded as belonging to the '*awārid muktasaba*, happenings only indirectly intended, in themselves not deliberate, for which man can equally be made responsible); but Allah in his mercy will overlook the punishment in the next world; the *khaṭa'* is thus considered as an ameliorating — often even exonerating — circumstance in the infliction of punishment in this world (*shubha*; q. v.); it cannot be punished by *ḥadd* [q. v.]. But not all of Allah's rights are dropped: anyone who, contrary to the prohibition, kills an animal in the *ḥaram* [q. v.], the sacred territory of Mekka, whether with '*amd*' (deliberately) or from *khaṭa'* (unintentionally), has in the opinion of all four *madhhab*'s [q. v.] to make the prescribed atonement; Dāwūd al-Zāhiri alone in this case also considers *khaṭa'* as an excuse. This is doubtless connected with what is ultimately a pre-Islāmic idea, that Allah has an especial right of ownership to the *ḥaram*, its plants and animals (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, p. 7, 10). It follows that an unintentional infraction of this right of property is to be atoned for like an intentional one; (the substance of this is also found in the following difference of opinion: Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal do not require a special compensation if the animal has an owner — who, of course, must be compensated — i.e. does not belong to Allah; Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'i demand it in every case, so that they extend their area of ap-

plication). In *khaṭa'* there also is a full liability for any injury done to another; here *ḳiṣās* [q. v.] is a special case: its application is excluded when *khaṭa'* is present; instead the *diyya* [q. v.] is to be paid and the *kaffāra* [q. v.] to be performed. For further details see the article *ḲATL*, Section i. 5, 6, where the variations of *khaṭa'* in the meaning of an unintentional act are given. From them it will be seen that this terminological use of the word is based on the two meanings "error" (in the case of *khaṭa'* fi 'l-*ḳaṣd*) and "failure", "accident" (in the case of *khaṭa'* fi 'l-*fi'l*) and is no more uniform than the uses dealt with under 1.

Bibliography: The dictionaries; their statements are collected in Lane, *Arab-English Lexicon*, i/i. 761; on its use as a technical term see *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musulmans*, Bibl. Indica, Old Series, i. 401 sq.; Dschordschāni, *Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, p. 104; for further details the works on *Uṣūl* and the *Fiqh*-books are indispensable. See also the art. *ḲATL*.

(J. SCHACHT)

KHAṬĀ'Ī, (the "sinner"), pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of Shāh Ismā'il [q. v.]. Of his Persian poems we only know so far the single verse quoted in the anthology compiled by his son Sām Mirzā [q. v.] and some other lines. On the other hand his Turkish *Divān* is known from several manuscripts, although these are rather scarce and differ considerably.

E. G. Browne (*Persian Liter. in Modern Times*, p. 12—13) has discovered the curious fact that the founder of the Safawi kingdom wrote mainly in Turkish while his rival Sulṭān Selim used Persian for his poems. *Khaṭā'ī* is now rightly regarded as one of the precursors of the literature of the Turkish dialect of Ādharbāidjān. His language, however, judging from the oldest Paris manuscript, is rather artificial; alongside of the true Ādharbāidjāni vocabulary we find parallel forms from Eastern Turki: *gālürüm/gälürmām*, the accusative of stems in consonants: in -i/-ni.

From the point of view of poetry, *Khaṭā'ī*'s work is only mediocre; his images are banal and his lyrical themes monotonous. On the other hand the autobiographical allusions are very interesting in which Ismā'il poses as avenger of the blood of his father or as protector of the "family hearth" (*khanadān*) of Ardabil, fulminates against his enemies of Shīrwān, extols the bravery of his *ghāzī*, *akbā* and *ārān*, and puts forward very bold mystical claims. He identifies himself with 'Alī and the imāms and goes on to proclaim: "I am that *agens absolutus* (*fā'il-i muṭlaq*) of whom they talk; the sun and the moon are in my power; my being is truly *domus Dei* (*bait Allāh*); to prostrate thyself before me (*sudjūd*) is thy duty morning and evening".... "I am absolute reality (*ḥaḳḳ*).... I am the pearl in the sea of truth (*ḥaḳīqa*)."

The place occupied by *Khaṭā'ī* in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (*vulgo* 'Alī Ilāhī [q. v.]) is very important. *Khaṭā'ī*'s verses are frequently quoted by adepts of the sect. The litany known as *Ḳuṭb-nāma* enumerating the successive manifestations of the divinity runs as follows: "In (the person of) *Khaṭā'ī* it spoke Turkish and became the *pir* of Turkeṣtān", where this geographical term is said to mean Ādharbāidjān inhabited by Turks.

The *Khaṭā'ī* *avatar* of Shāh Ismā'il is important for the study of the occult doctrine of the Ṣafawis

which deviates far from the Shī'a canon. It throws a new light on the esoteric foundations of the political power of the Ṣafawīs (cf. the sources like the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā*, *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawiya* and the history of the youth of Ismā'īl I published by Sir E. D. Ross in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 249-340).

Von Hammer (*Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii. 18) mentions a mysterious dervish sōfī KHAṬĀ'Ī (d. 936/1529) who had gone to Persia to receive from the hands of Shāh Ismā'īl the *Diwān* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī which the Ṣafawī monarch had taken to Persia. V. Hammer quotes four verses from it in translation.

Bibliography: Tuḥfa-i Sāmī: MS. of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris, Persian Suppl., N^o. 1492, f. 17 r.; cf. also S. de Sacy, *N.E.*, ix., Paris Anno 7, p. 278. The MSS. known of Khaṭā'ī's Turkish *Diwān* are as follows: 1. Bibl. Nat., Turkish Suppl., N^o. 1307 (83 ff.): 253 *ghazal*'s, *mathnawī* fi 'l-munādīāt (24 *bait*'s), another *mathnawī* identical with that in London (18 *bait*'s), a heroic *mathnawī* (60 verses in *mutakārib*); the MS. was written in 948, i. e. 18 years after the death of Shāh Ismā'īl; 1 bis. *Ibidem*, suppl. turc., N^o. 995 (the former Schefer-collection), goes back to the xviiith Cent., Contains on 64 leaves: in Turkish 205 *ghazal*'s, 9 quatrains, *mathnawī*'s (one of them the *Nasihat-nāma*?), moreover one *ghazal* and some *bait*'s in Persian; 2. Brit. Museum: Or. 3380 "apparently of the xviiith century"; cf. Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS. in the British Mus.* London 1888, p. 205 sq.: the *mathnawī* *Nasihat-nāma* (168 *bait*'s) and the *ghazal*'s (ff. 10^b—83); 3. Asiatic Museum of Leningrad: Or. 297, copied in 1036, contains the *mathnawī* 'Ashik wa-ma'shūk and the *ghazal*'s; 4. Preussische Staatsbibliothek: Or. Fol. 209, written in 1077, only contains 34 *ghazal*'s (204 *bait*'s); cf. Pertsch, iv. (Pers. Handschr.), sub N^o. 18; 5. Shaikh Ḥusain Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawiya*, ed. E. G. Browne, Berlin 1334/1922, p. 68—72: 4 poems of Khaṭā'ī glorifying the 12 imāms; 6. Yūsuf-beg Wazīrof, *Adharbāidjān Adūbiyatina Bir Nazar*, Sтамбул 1337, p. 27—31, quotes 6 *ghazal*'s of Khaṭā'ī taken from MSS. belonging to the Library of the 'Alī Emiri Efendi; the author also mentions the complete works (*Kulliyāt*) of Khaṭā'ī, printed at Tabriz (?) but unobtainable.

Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 106; V. Minorsky, *Materiali*..... *sektī 'Alī-Ilāhī*, Moscow 1911, p. 108—110; do., *Notes sur la secte des Ahli-Hakk*, in *R. M. M.*, 1922, p. 57, 86.; according to Babinger, *Zur Gesch. der Ṣefewijje*, in *Isl.* xii., 1922, p. 233, the MS. of Constantinople is preserved in the 'Umūmiya-library; cf. 'Alī Emiri Efendi, *2ārikh wa-edebiyat madjmu'asi*, i. 29.

(V. MINORSKY)

KHAṬAK. The Khaṭaks are a Paṭhān tribe belonging to the Karlāni division of the Afghāns, and live in the North-West Frontier Province of British India and adjacent localities. Their origin is much disputed (see the art. AFGHĀNISTĀN, above, i. 150). At the beginning of the Muḥammadan era they occupied the Sulaimān Range and the northern part of the plains between these mountains and the Indus. The history of the Khaṭaks was written by Khushḥāl Khān [q. v.], a renowned chief of the tribe in the time of the emperor Awrangzēb. Akora, Shāhbāzgarh, Kālabāgh and Makhad are their chief seats. They are warlike and for centuries have been at feud with their neighbours and with

one another; active, industrious and good cultivators, they are also great carriers and traders. The Khaṭaks are all Sunnis and speak the western dialect of Pashto.

Bibliography: See the art. KŌHĀT.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KHĀTAM, KHĀTIM (A.) (*P. muhr*), seal, signet, signet-ring, the impression (also *khatm*) as well as the actual seal-matrix; it is applied not only to seals proper, engraved in incuse characters with retrograde inscriptions, but also to the very common seal-like objects with regular inscriptions of a pious or auspicious character; for the latter which are amulets and further readily distinguished from seals by the absence of a personal name see the article TALISMĀN; indeed anything with an inscription stamped upon it may be called *khātām*. Here we are only concerned with seals in the strict sense of the word. The word *khātām* is said by Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 112 to be of Aramaic origin, and in this he is followed by Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, p. 252, who also recognises a loan word in *ḥarkas*, seal-clay.

The part played by the signet-ring in the east cannot be better illustrated than by the following quotation from Lane (*Modern Egyptians*,⁵ 1860, p. 31). Describing the dress of a Muslim Egyptian he says:

"On the little finger of the right hand (it is allowable to wear it on a finger of the left hand) is worn a seal-ring (*khātīm*), which is generally of silver, with a carnelion, or other stone, upon which is engraved the wearer's name; the name is usually accompanied by the words "his servant" (signifying "the servant, or worshipper, of God"), and often by other words expressive of the person's trust in God, etc. The Prophet disapproved of gold; therefore few Muslims wear gold rings: but the women have various ornaments (rings, bracelets, etc.) of that precious metal. The seal-ring is used for signing letters and other writings; and its impression is considered more valid than the sign-manual. A little ink is dabbed upon it with one of the fingers, and it is pressed upon the paper; the person who uses it having first touched his tongue with another finger, and moistened the place in the paper which is to be stamped. Almost every person who can afford it has a seal-ring, even though he be a servant".

The use of seals dates from remote antiquity in the east and they have never been supplanted by the spread of a knowledge of the art of writing and the use of the signature as has happened in the west. In the east the seal takes the place of the signature and it is the former that gives validity to a document even if the latter is also used. The seal is also much used as a guarantee that property will be kept intact and thus takes the place of locks and keys. Goods are simply roped up in a packet and the knots sealed with the owner's seal, a plan which to Chardin, for example, appeared more reliable than the western system owing to the practical impossibility of counterfeiting a seal. It is also used to stamp property as a mark of ownership (e.g. books and bindings) and in this way corresponds to a coat of arms in the west. The possession of another person's seal is evidence that the latter has delegated his authority. There is abundant evidence of these usages in the east from very early times. Pharaoh, for example (Gen. xli. 42), gives Joseph his signet,

as a sign of authority, just as the Sultan of Turkey did his grand vizier. Jezebeel (I Kings, xxi. 8) forges a letter in Ahab's name and seals it with his seal to give it validity. The books of Esther and Daniel give similar examples of the power of the Persian king's seal. Herodotos (i. 195) tells us that every Babylonian carried a seal and the abundance of seals, usually cylindrical in form, that have survived from ancient times in Mesopotamia, illustrates this statement. Seals of the Sassanian period still exist in large numbers, whether made for mounting in rings or pierced for suspension. In South Arabia also the Himyarites have left us numerous specimens of their signets.

No seals of the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs are known. The earliest Arab seals come from Egypt with papyri and belong to the period soon after the conquest. Whether we accept or not the story that only seventeen men in Mecca could write in the time of Muḥammad, we must suppose that seals were in common use in this important commercial centre as in other parts of the east. Tradition in any case has a certain amount to tell about the Prophet's *khātām*. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Bulāḡ 1926), vii. (*libās*) p. 48, says that the Prophet wished to write to the Byzantines. He was told they would not read his letter unless it had a seal so he adopted one of silver with the inscription *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. According to al-Mas'ūdī, he adopted this ring in Muḥarram of the year 7 A.H. The Prophet is also said to have originally worn a *khātām* of gold, but gave it up when he forbade the wearing of gold rings and silk and brocade (Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*). Women did not observe the prohibition of gold rings and 'Ā'isha for example wore them (*ibid.*). The Prophet wore his signet on his right hand and used to take it off when he went to the privy (al-Tirmidhī *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Bulāḡ 1242), vol. i., *libās*, p. 324). Opinions differ as to the proper hand and finger for the ring and there is no established rule. Later stories illustrate the Prophet's disapproval of metals other than silver for signet-rings. He is reported to have said that a brass ring savoured of idolatry, that an iron one was emblematic of souls condemned to eternal fire, while words could not express his horror of a gold ring; meeting the wearer of one, he cast upon him a terrible frown and turned away as if he had encountered a dog or an infidel. The Prophet's seal was handed on and used by his successors, who had however also their own seals, until 'Othmān lost it in a well at Aris, or in Zemzēm, or according to others in the Tigris near Moṣūl. The Prophet's interdiction has been generally observed and it is exceedingly rare to find signet-rings of the more precious metals or mounted with the more valuable precious stones, upon which there was no embargo.

The earliest known seal of a Muslim is that of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, conqueror and governor of Egypt whose signet was a bull (Rainer, *Führer*, etc. No. 556). Whether this is due to local influence or the representation of an animal was not unusual with the pre-Muslim Arabs it is impossible to say. Other Arab seals bearing animals are known of this period, but the rigorous avoidance of images of living things was soon applied to seals also, for we soon find seals in Egypt of the Muslim type, although as late as 88 A.H., we find the governor Kurra b. Sharīk using a wolf (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 593). The seals of Abū Hāim b.

Yahyā (No. 572) and of the head of the Treasury Rāshid b. Khālīd "who trusts in God" (No. 577) are already of the style that became stereotyped. A notable seal from Egypt is that of the tax-collector Nājīd b. Muslim which bears his name in Greek and Arabic (No. 589). Bilingual seals are again found in Syria and Asia Minor in the tenth century (cf. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, and Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Here also under Byzantine influence we find double sided impressions of seals in lead (*bullae*); of these the most notable is that of the Kakoyid 'Alā al-Dawla of 430 A.H. with a horseman on the obverse (Halil Edhem, No. 30). Another remarkable seal from the same region is that of the Hamdānīd Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sharīf with obverse a bust of St. Theodore and his name in Greek characters (*op. cit.*, No. 31).

The materials of these early impressions are the same as in later times, a special kind of clay (*ḡarkas*), or lead, appended by cords to the documents as in the mediaeval west also. When the seal is stamped on the documents itself, it is done with a special thick kind of ink and the paper is moistened before receiving the impression; red wax is also used where the climate permits it. As in mediaeval Europe, there are instances recorded in the east of bullae of the precious metals, silver and even gold for very special occasions (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i., p. 112).

Charles White (*op. cit.*) deals very fully with the use of seals among the Turks and the guild of engravers in Constantinople. The latter have, he says, a special quarter in the bazaar called after them *hakaklar çarshi*. The members of the guild are Muslims (in contrast to the dealers in stones who are usually Jews) of fair education conversant with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. A few can decipher the Kufic character. Their training is a long one. Apprentices after a good education take lessons from the best calligraphers of the day and then serve seven years with a master-engraver. When their indentures have expired, they become journeymen (*kalfa*), until they can acquire a business of their own and be admitted into the guild as master-members (*usta*), the number of whom is limited to fifty. Their shops are regularly searched by the police lest they be tempted to put their skill to illegal uses such as the engraving of false coin-dies. Such great care is taken to ensure the genuineness of a seal that the trade are forbidden to engrave two seals exactly the same for the same person. When a seal is lost the owner has some trifling alteration made in the new one, such as a change in an ornament or the date, so that the forgery can be detected if his first seal should fall into evil hands.

The Stambul engravers date the origin of their art in the time of the Caliph 'Othmān and say the first engraver was a certain Muḥammad al-Hidjāzī who engraved seals for 'Othmān and 'Alī bearing their names with the additional epithet *'abd Allāh*; the rings were of silver and the stones bloodstones.

White's account of the seals of the Sultān and dignitaries of the Ottoman empire follows d'Ohsson. The Sultān has three seals of different sizes all of emerald set in gold with the same inscription, the *tuḡhrā* [q. v.] and a religious legend. The first is a small seal always carried by the Sultān and handed to his secretary as required. The second is somewhat larger and is entrusted to the grand

treasurer of the harem, who uses it for all matters relating to the harem — the Mughal Emperor Akbar similarly had a special seal for all documents relating to the harem. — The third imperial Ottoman seal is the seal of state confided to the grand vizier of the day, who is supposed to keep it in his bosom day and night. The head of each department of state has also his own seal for matters relating to his office.

Persons of distinction do not usually wear signet-rings on their fingers. Great dignitaries have a confidential seal bearer (*muhurdār*) who carries the signet in a small bag in his breast pocket and produces it when required inked for the stamp or clean if wax is used. People of humble rank carry their seal in the breast pocket or suspended round the neck. The impression of the signet stands for a signature although for documents of importance the latter is also necessary. In the case of the Sulṭān, the seal used and the presence or absence of the signature vary with the importance of the document, as does the format of the latter.

Chardin's account of the seals used by the Shāh of Persia is similar. There are three seal-keepers (*muhurdār bashi*) but they only affix the seals, which are kept in a box in the palace sealed with the king's own seal. Friday is the usual day for sealing documents; the *muhurdār* prepares the seal and the paper and makes the impression on a sign from the Shāh who does not usually do it himself. There are three great seals, used for military, civil and foreign affairs, and two small seals used for the palace accounts etc. The same inscription is in the centre of the three large seals, *bandah Shāh wilāyat Sulaimān ast 1080* (A. H.); the small seals have *dīn* in place of *wilāyat*. One of the large seals has a quatrain round it and another has the names of the 12 Shī'ā Imāms. At the king's death his name is erased and that of his successor engraved on it. Of the general use of seals Chardin observes that it would not be easy to steal one as they are worn round the neck and only taken off in the bath; they are also worn on rings. It is rarer to find a seal counterfeited than a signature in Europe. The seal engravers used a drill and a small wheel with emery.

Abu'l-Faḍl in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* devotes a special chapter to the Emperor's seals, which are used in the three branches of the government — "indeed every man requires them in his transactions". (Here we may note that English officials in India in the xviiith and xixth centuries found it necessary to have a seal with their names in Persian characters).

At the beginning of his reign, Akbar had a circular seal bearing his name and those of his ancestors back to Timūr in the *rik'ā* characters; later he had a simpler one with his name only in the *nas' talik* character. The former was at first used for letters to foreign kings and the latter (known as *uzuk*) for home affairs but the distinction was not maintained. A second seal used for judicial business was lozenge-shaped (*mihirābi*) and bore an appropriate verse in praise of justness, round his majesty's name. For other business a small square seal with the legend *Allāhu Akbar, jalla jalalulu* was used and the harem as already stated had its own special seal.

The great figures of Muslim tradition had of course their seals. That of Sulaimān b. Da'ūd is particularly famous and plays an important part in many of the stories of his miraculous exploits.

It was held in particular awe by the dīnn. Djamshīd, the Solon of Persia, according to Sa'dī, was the first person to wear his signet on the left hand. In Firdawsī's story of Sapor II's escape from captivity in Rūm, he reveals his return by sending an impression of his signet to the grand mobed.

Coming to more historical periods, we have a record of the seal inscriptions of all the early caliphs (e. g. in Maṣ'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tamīh*, under each caliph; collected by Hammer-Purgstall and von Murr); specimens of the seal impressions of several early Caliph still exist; (cf. Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Timūr's seal bore his special mark, three small circles arranged in a triangle, and the motto *rasti rusti* and an impression still exists in the Bibl. Nationale (de Sacy, *op. cit.*). Joinville mentions a ring of "moult fin or" bearing his signet which was among the presents sent to St. Louis by the Shaikh Djibāl. Specimens of the seals of Sulṭāns of Turkey and other high Turkish dignitaries are given by Hammer-Purgstall (*op. cit.*). Of these the most remarkable is the original seal of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II of 1106 A. H. found on the battle field of Zenta (1697) where its bearer, the Grand Vizier Elmas Mehemed Pasha, was killed. A special medal was struck by the Austrians to commemorate this trophy. The *tuḡhrā* is a feature of the imperial Turkish seals; it is said to be an imitation of the impression of the hand, because Urkhān's sign-manual was the impress of his hand in red ink. Timūr is also said to have used this primitive signature, but we know that he was not illiterate. The *tuḡhrā* is also traced back to the Prophet himself.

Muslims have followed the example of the Prophet in having simple inscriptions on their seals. Sometimes the name alone is used, sometimes it is accompanied by a brief pious inscription, often indicative of humility; if the owner have the name of a person mentioned in the Qur'ān, the reference is frequently worked into the seal inscription. The name is given in a simple form and titles are as a rule avoided in keeping with the general modesty of the signet; for examples of legends see Reinaud and Hammer-Purgstall; in later times in Persia and India seals became much more elaborate and the seal of a minor official of the Moghul court of the end of the xviiith century often has several lines of bombastic inscription and forms a striking contrast to the seal for example of the great Sinan Pasha, five times Grand Vizier of Turkey with its modest inscription "O God Thou art full of mercy, pardon poor Sinān, son of 'Alī'".

The commonest materials for rings are silver or copper; and if a stone is mounted in it with the seal, it is one of the less valuable stones, cornelian, garnet, jacinth, agate, coral; the turquoise is not uncommon and one often sees them carved as amulets with inscription inlaid with gold. When not worn on a ring the seal is mounted on a handle and carried in a bag; sometimes the stone itself is pierced for suspension and worn round the neck. The shapes of Arab seals vary, oval is naturally the commonest but they are also square, hexagonal or octagonal; round is not common except for the largest sizes.

The art of the seal engraver was at its best, like that of calligraphy, in the xviith and xviiith centuries. Its decline in the xviiith was followed

by the practical extinction of the art in the sixth. The names of few celebrated engravers have been preserved. Altun at the court of Timūr was reckoned a master of his art. Abu 'l-Faḍl gives the names of four masters of the craft at Akbar's court, each of whom was a specialist in a particular branch.

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KHATH'AM, an Arab tribe (the name is triptote although in several European editions of Arabic texts we find it wrongly vocalised as a diptote). They inhabited, at least from the sixth century A. D., the mountainous territory between al-Ta'if and al-Nadīrān along the caravan route from Yemen to Mekka. Historiographical theory on the migrations of the tribes which is bound up with their genealogical systematisation, makes them settle at the time of the separation of the sons of Ma'add, in the mountains of al-Sarāt [q.v.], from which the Azd are said to have driven them at the time of the migration of the South Arabian tribes after the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib, to the lands they occupied in historical times (al-Bakri, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 28, 38, 41—42 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. ar. Stämme*, Abh. G. W. Gött., xiv. 39, 53, 58 = *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 113—114, following Ibn al-Kalbī; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 464; ii. 326—327; Wüstenfeld, *Register z. d. genealog. Tabellen*, 130—131). According to this theory the Khath'am (like the Badjila [q.v.] who figure everywhere as their brethren) were part of the Ismā'īli tribes, their descent being Khath'am b. Anmār b. Nizār (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 49, 15—50, 2; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50, 18; [Pseudo-]Balkhi, ed. Huart, iv. 110—111, who all attribute this view to "the genealogists of the Muḍar"). But another theory connects them with

a branch of the Saba' according to the genealogy: Aftal, surnamed Khath'am b. Anmār b. Irāsh b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (the latter is also the father of the Azdi tribes) or more simply Khath'am b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, MS. of the Escorial, fol. 44r, 119v, who is followed by Ibn Duraid, *Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 302, 1—2; Ibn Kūtaiba, p. 50, 19—20; Ibn Hishām, p. 50, 3—5; *Aghānī*, xv. 151; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 9, 13; Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, p. 116, 11, gives the isolated genealogy: Khath'am b. Rabi'a b. 'Amir [?] and Ibn Kūtaiba, p. 50, 16 makes Anmār the son of Saba', cf. Reiske, *Primaе lineae*, p. 133). These contradictory statements seem to indicate that, like so many other tribes, the Khath'am do not represent an ethnic unit but rather a confederation of clans of different origins. This seems also to be deducible from the etymology of their name, which connects it with the verb *takhath'ama* "to smear oneself with blood" on the occasion of a pact of alliance (on this custom cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 21—22, 25—26 and the authors he quotes). Other etymologies which make Khath'am the name of a mountain or of a camel are not worthy of consideration (Ibn al-Kalbī, fol. 120r = Ibn Duraid 302, 2—3, 304, 6 from below; *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 72, 375; *Lisān*, xv. 56). In any case we always find the Khath'am associated with tribes of the south either in alliances made on the occasion of expeditions (e.g. *al-Aghānī*, ix. 17; xii. 47 sq.; xviii. 35—36) or during the *ridā* (al-Ṭabari, de Goeje, i. 1985 sq.), or latterly in the grouping of the tribes stationed in the military camps of Baṣra and Kufa (al-Ṭabari, i. 2495, 3174; ii. 122; but ii. 1382, 1—5, we find them also grouped with the Kināna, Kais 'Ailān, Muzaina and even Kuraish, all tribes of the north under the general denomination *Ahl al-'Alīya*. It seems that at this time [101 A. H.] the territorial principle had prevailed over the ethnic one). Their principal clans were the Shahrān, Nāhish and Aklub, the latter according to the South Arabian genealogy was of another origin (Aklub b. Rabi'a b. Nizār) and was late in entering the tribe (cf. al-Bakri, p. 53 ult.—54, 9).

We have no authentic information on the Khath'am for the remote period in the history of the Arabian peninsula (the identification proposed by Blau, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 658; xxiii. 561, note 6 with the Ἀδραμίται *Adramitae* of Uranios and Pliny who are to be distinguished from the Χατραμωτίται of Ḥaḍramawt, is quite untenable). From the sixth century we find them inhabiting along with other tribes of diverse origins, the districts of Bisha, Turaba, Djurash, Tabāla; this last was the centre of the cult of the God *Dhu 'l-Khalasa* (on him see Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 45—48), whom the Khath'am like the Badjila, Daws, Bāhila etc. worshipped (Yāqūt, i. 791; ii. 461, 703; iv. 62, 567 [= *Aghānī*, xi. 152], 578, 17 sq., where there are numerous references to the neighbours of the Khath'am and to the assignation of the part of the territory of Bisha at the end of the first century A. H. to some members of the Omayyad and Hāshimī families; Hamdānī, 135—136; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Asnām*, 34 sq.).

Among the numerous guerilla wars in which the Khath'am were involved (cf. *Aghānī*, vii. 119; xii. 47, 51—52; xiv. 25; xviii. 35—36; *Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevan, 46; Yāqūt, ii. 735, 16; iv. 56, 16—17;

Hamdānī, 170, 21), the best known is that of Faif al-Rih in which their chief Anas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika) allied to the greater part of the Maḡhbiq, defeated the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a commanded by 'Āmir b. al-Tufail [q.v.] who lost an eye in the battle (*Naḡā'id*, 469—472; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ed. Tornberg, i. 474; *ʿIqd*, ed. 1293, iii. 102—103; *Diwān* of 'Āmir, ed. Lyall, Introd., p. 82—83, Nos. x., xi. [= *Mufaḡḡaliyāt*, N^o. cvi.], xii., xix., xxv., xxvii., Suppl., Nos. 1, 19). Anas b. Mudrik famous also as a poet was the hero of another enterprise of the Khath'am like that against the Banū Dījusham (*Aghānī*, ix. 17) and that in which he killed the famous poet-brigand Sulaik b. Sulaka (*Hamāsa*, 415—416; *Aghānī*, xviii. 137—138; Ibn Qutaiba, *Kit. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, 217). The biographical notes on Anas, who lived for several years after the introduction of Islām, have been collected by the author of this article in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 499—500 (year 40 A.H., § 347).

The position of the lands of the Khath'am enabled them to play a part in the Abyssinian expedition against Mekka. They tried to oppose Abrahā's advance but beaten by him, they were forced to guide the enemy's army as far as al-Tā'if (see the sources collected in Nöideke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Araber*, p. 206—217). The spread of Islām at first left them indifferent (no heed need be paid to the story in al-Ṭabarī, i. 1079—1080, of the Khath'amī *kāhina* of Tabāla, Fāṭima bint Murr, who saw a "divine" light on the face of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the future father of the Prophet. The only interesting feature of the story is the epithet Judaising, *Mutahawwidu*, conferred on the *kāhina*). Their first relations with Muḥammad were certainly hostile (Wāḡidī, transl. Wellhausen, 387; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1730—1731), but they ultimately sent him an embassy and recognised him and accepted a letter from him which declared all the blood-feuds previous to Islām abolished (Ibn Sa'd, i. 2, 34, 78; *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 330, year 10 A.H., § 28, cf. also § 23, p. 326—327). On the death of the Prophet, only a section of them rebelled (*Annali*, ii. 573—574, 581, 585, year 11 A.H., § 87—88, 98 104). The destruction of the sanctuary of Dhū l-Khalasa by 'Abdallāh b. Dījafir al-Badjalī must have broken their resistance along with that of other tribes who were grouped round this turbulent centre (al-Ṭabarī, i. 1985 sq.). During the wars of conquest we find them in the army of Syria (Ibn 'Asākir in *Annali*, iii. 588, year 15 A.H., § 66a, cf. also al-Ṭabarī, i. 3287, 11, 3408, 2—17) as well as in those of the 'Irāq (al-Ṭabarī, 2188, 11—12), and as we have seen, they formed part of the tribes quartered at Baṣra and Kūfa.

Several Khath'amī women were married to Qurayshis. One of them played rather an important part in the early history of Islām: Asmā' bint 'Umais is one of the first women converted to the faith of Muḥammad, who took part in the emigration of the first Muslims to Abyssinia. She was successively the wife of Dījafir b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Bakr and 'Alī, which gives special prestige in Muslim tradition (Ibn Sa'd, viii. 205—209 and cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 231—236, year 38 A.H., §§ 269—292). Her sister Salmā was the wife of Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Annali*, loc. cit., § 285, Ibn Sa'd, viii. 209); a daughter of Anas b. Mudrik, Asmā', was the wife of Khālīd

b. al-Walīd (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, viii. 6, N^o. 39; *Annali*, ix., year 37 A.H., § 412; x. 499).

The Khath'amī poets were few in number; the most notable is Ibn al-Dumaina (*Aghānī*, xv. 151—157; Ibn Qutaiba, *Kit. al-Shi'r*, p. 458—459, etc.), who flourished probably at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second century A.H. and who is famous for the sanguinary revenge he took for his wife's unfaithfulness.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

KHAṬṬA (plur. *khaṭāyā* and *khaṭi'āt*), sin, synonymous with *dhanb*. The root *kh-t'* has the meaning of stumbling (in Hebrew: Proverbs, xix. 2), committing an error (*akhṭa'a* is said e.g. of the bowman whose arrow misses the aim); see the art. **KHAṬA'**. The definition of *khaṭi'a* is "a sin committed on purpose"; that of *khi'* (see Sūra xvii. 33) simply "a sin", whereas *iḥm* is applied to heavy sins. Probably these theological distinctions belong to the Islāmic period only; it seems doubtful whether the pagan Arabs were acquainted with the term *khaṭi'a* at all. It occurs in the *diwān* of ʿKais b. al-Ruḡaiyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, N^o. 18, vs. 3, p. 129, in the sense of fault, defect (kind communication from F. Krenkow). It is only in accord with the general character of the Qur'an that this book does not contain an elaborate theory of sin; frequent are, however, the passages in which the consequences and forgiveness of sins is spoken of. Allāh, *al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, through the preaching of His Apostles and Prophets, calls men unto forgiveness of sins (Sūra xiv. 11; xlv. 30; lxxi. 4, 6). Who avoids heavy sins and immoral deeds will find plenty of forgiveness with his Lord (Sūra liii. 33), who forgiveth sin and accepteth repentance (Sūra xl. 2); He is the best of forgivers (Sūra vii. 154); He forgiveth sins totally (*djami'an*; Sūra xxxix. 54).

This is the general aspect of forgiveness of sins in the Qur'an. Further details are also given. When Mūsā says: "O my Lord, I have wronged myself (*zalamtu nafsī*), forgive me", Allāh forgives him (Sūra xxviii. 15; cf. Sūra xxxviii. 24 [Dā'ūd], etc.). But he who dies as an infidel or as a polytheist will not find forgiveness (Sūra iv. 51, 136; xlvii. 36); *kufr* [q.v.] is forgiven, however, when it is done away with (Sūra viii. 39). But he who "is enveloped" by his sin will remain in Hell for ever (Sūra ii. 75).

This is a mild view; it agrees, on the whole, with the position of Judaism and Catholicism on this point. But it is not to be forgotten that Allāh remains free: "He spareth whomsoever He pleaseth and punisheth whomsoever He pleaseth" (Sūra iii. 124).

The mild attitude regarding sinners taken by the Qur'an is kept on by Islām. Yet the doctrine of sin, the distinction of light and heavy sins as well as their punishment were the object of serious controversy in early Islām.

The distinction between light (*saḡḡā'ir*) and heavy (*kabā'ir*) sins could be maintained in accordance with passages from the Qur'an such as Sūra xlii. 35, where the term *kabā'ir* is already used. Christian dogmatics have certainly exercised influence, as may be seen from the doctrine of the (seven)

capital sins which occurs in Ḥadīth: "The Apostle of Allāh said: Avoid the seven capital sins (*mū-bīkāt*). When he was asked what they are, he answered: Polytheism, sorcery, killing those who may not be killed except for a lawful reason, spoiling the possessions of orphans, usury, fleeing from battle against the enemy, and abusing heedless, faithful *muḥṣanāt*" (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 144; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23). In other enumerations of the capital sins there are deviations from this scheme; theology and ethics maintain the view that there are sins heavier than those enumerated in the tradition just mentioned. Al-Nawawī in his commentary (i. 170) cites a passage from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām the contents of which are the following. Whosoever wishes to know whether a sin belongs to the class of the light or to that of the heavy ones may compare its character with the character of the capital sins. If it is lighter than the lightest of capital sins, it belongs to the light ones; in other cases it belongs to the heavy ones. Who e.g. disdains his Lord or throws the Qur'ān into the mire has committed one of the heaviest sins, though the law does not characterise it as such. Likewise, if a man should lay hold on a woman in order to give his companion opportunity to violate her, or if he should detain a man in order to give his companion to kill this man, such a deed would bear a much more sinful character than the spoiling of the possessions of orphans, though the latter figures among the capital sins. In the same portion of his commentary al-Nawawī speaks of the strongly deviating opinions concerning the distinction between light and heavy sins. He cites the saying of Ibn 'Abbās: "Everything which Allāh has prohibited, when perpetuated, is a heavy sin." And other theological authorities have said: "Every action contrary to the law is a heavy sin with a view to Allāh's Majesty." Yet the great majority of the theologians are unanimous in making a distinction between light and heavy sins. Although they recognise the view just mentioned to be right with respect to Allāh, yet there is a gradation with a view to sins considered by themselves. Accordingly the law calls light sins those which are atoned by the five ṣalāts, by the Ramaḍān-fast, by the ḥajj, etc. But how can light sins be distinguished from heavy ones? Several answers on this question are given. According to one view, every sin which is mentioned in connection with Hell, with Allāh's anger, curse or punishment belongs to the heavy ones. Another view: Every sin committed without signs of fear or circumspection or with levity belongs to the heavy ones; but sins due to slips of the tongue, to a relaxed control of the passions and the like are to be reckoned among the light ones. Such contradictory definitions induce Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī to state that there are certain sins that are called heavy by law, others that are called light, and others that are not provided with either of these epithets. Prudence therefore commands men to avoid all sins lest he prove to have committed one of the heavy ones. — The *ulamā'* say: Persevering in committing light sins makes them heavy; and on the authority of 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās the sentence is handed down: "No sin is heavy if forgiveness is asked, no sin is light if the transgressor perseveres in it." Thus far al-Nawawī.

This theory concerning light and heavy sins and their forgiveness, which may be called representative

of the views of orthodox Islām, was not shared by two sects of so divergent tendencies as the Khāridjis [q. v.] and the Mu'tazilis [q. v.] were. Both hold the position that the consequence of heavy sins will be eternal punishment. This position is connected with the question concerning the relation existing between faith and works. While orthodox Islām, theoretically at least, emphasises the value of faith, these sects lay stress upon works as the criterion of a man being faithful or not; their most consequent opponents in this respect were the Murdjis [q. v.]. The line of distinction which orthodox Islām draws between Muslims and Kāfirs was removed to the right by the Khawāridj and the Mu'tazila, so as to add to the damned also the Muslims who were guilty of heavy sins. The echo of the fervent debates between the parties is still heard in the commentaries on the Qur'ān. Al-Baiḍāwī comments upon Sūra ii. 75 (see above): The "envelopment" mentioned here can only refer to Kāfirs; consequently those who have committed heavy sins do not fall under the verdict of this verse.

Verses like Sūra xxxix. 55: "Allāh forgiveth sins in their totality" and Sūra ii. 284: "He forgiveth whomsoever He pleaseth and He punisheth whomsoever He pleaseth", prove that punishment of sins is not necessary and that heavy sins are also pardoned (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, ii. 82). Al-Baiḍāwī (see also Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, v. 455): "It is not true that for the forgiveness of sins *tawba* [q. v.] is necessary; this is only required for *shirk*" [q. v.]. Still, however strong this assertion may be, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī does not fail to declare in his commentary on Sūra xxxix. 54: "Perhaps He will pardon sins in general and perhaps He will punish in Hell for a time and pardon afterwards".

Al-Zamakhsharī, who was a moderate Mu'tazilī, combats such views. Commenting upon the words "He pardoneth whomsoever He pleaseth" (Sūra iii. 124) he remarks: "On account of *tawba*, for He is not disposed to grant forgiveness except to those who repent". And he fulminates against the interpretation of the verse which is put into the mouth of Ibn 'Abbās: "He granteth heavy sins to whomsoever He pleaseth and He punisheth whomsoever He pleaseth on account of light sins"; words, indeed, to bring a Mu'tazilite to despair.

As is to be expected, the orthodox view or heavy sins being pardonable is also to be found in Ḥadīth. The Prophet said: "Jibril visited me and cheered me with the assurance: Any member of thy community who dies confessing Allāh's unity will enter Paradise". I said: "Even if he has committed adultery and theft?" He said: "Even if he has committed adultery and theft?" (Muslim, *Imān*, tr. 153). Al-Nawawī remarks in his commentary on this tradition: "This is a *locus probans* for the opinion of the Sunnites that those who have committed heavy sins will not suffer everlasting punishment in Hell and that they will be taken back from Hell if they have entered it; and that they finally will enter Paradise and remain there for ever." All this is elaborately treated in the traditions on intercession (see the article *SHAFĀ'A*) where it is stated anew that Muḥammad intercedes also on behalf of grave sinners and that through his intercession they are allowed to leave Hell.

Innumerable are the traditions in which Muḥammad mentions forgiveness of sins on account

of good works of every kind. In some of these traditions the qualification occurs: "except heavy ones"; this clausula represents the common orthodox view (see above) that light sins are repaired by good works of every kind, that heavy ones require *istighfār* and that *shirk* requires *tawba* [q. v.]. *Shirk*, polytheism, is consequently the heaviest sin; the lightest is the so-called *ḥadīth al-naḥs*, i. e. sinful thoughts which do not issue into reality; it is even said that no account of these thoughts is taken in the computation of sins on the Day of Resurrection. The idea is expressed in the following tradition: "The Apostle of Allāh said: Allāh does not take into account what the members of my community think as long as they do not pronounce it or carry it out" (Muslim, *Imān*, tr. 201—208). This tradition, which also occurs in other forms, is another proof of the mild attitude taken by orthodox Islām towards sin, an attitude which forms a counterbalance against the severe doctrine of *ḥadar* [q. v.]. The tradition just mentioned and the attitude from which it arises are the more remarkable because Muslim theology is very strict in matters regarding the intention (cf. the art. *NIYA*). On the other hand, scrupulousness regarding sinful thoughts is highly praised. Once Muḥammad's companions said to him: "We find in our inner self thoughts which we would have scruples to pronounce." He said: "Do you find them really?" They answered: "Yes". Then he said: "This (scrupulousness) is pure faith" (Muslim, *Imān*, tr. 209). In this connection also the following *ḥadīth* may be mentioned. "Anas said: Verily, you do things which, in your eyes, are more insignificant than a hair is thick; but in Muḥammad's lifetime we considered them as capital sins" (al-Bukhārī, *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 32). Finally one tradition must be mentioned which could be called a step in the direction of the attitude of Khāridjis and Mu'tazilis regarding heavy sins. "The Apostle of Allāh said: Who commits fornication is not a believer at the same time, nor is he who steals or drinks wine" (Muslim, *Imān*, tr. 100; cf. tr. 101—105; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, 6, 20 etc.). Al-Nawawī in his commentary is anxious to prove that the words "is not a believer" do not imply a total, but only a partial lack of faith, and he states that "the *idīmā'* of the people of the truth" is that those who commit fornication, theft, murder or any sin considered as one of the *kabā'ir*, except *shirk*, are not for this reason infidels; no, they are believers lacking in faith; if they repent, their punishment is abolished and if they die persevering in heavy sins they are left to Allāh's pleasure: if He pleaseth, He forgiveth them and maketh them enter Paradise at once, and if He pleaseth, He punisheth them and maketh them enter Paradise afterwards. — Similar views and their opposite lie also at the bottom of the much debated question whether faith is liable to increase and diminution.

In ethical and mystical literature we find a more systematic and elaborate classification of sins; cf. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Kaṭ al-Ḳulūb*, i. 85 sq.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. iv., book i. (on repentance). Abū Ṭālib recognises four classes of sins, a division which was borrowed from him by al-Ghazālī. Those of the first kind are called *rabbūbiyya*, sins such as haughtiness and pride, boasting, arrogance, love of praise, love of life, ambition, despotism;

those of the second class are called satanic (*shaiṭāniyya*); it comprises such sins as envy and deceit; those of the third class bear the epithet of "animal" sins (*bahimiyya*); these are avidity, covetousness, rage and lust; the fourth class comprises those sins which remind of the nature of the beasts of prey (*sabū'iyya*), such as wrath, fighting and murder.

Al-Ghazālī rejects the view of those who do not recognise a practical difference between light and heavy sins. He mentions the enumerations of heavy sins varying between four and eleven, and cites Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's view that "there are 17 heavy sins, four in the heart, to wit: polytheism, persevering in sin, despair of Allāh's compassion, and *لِسَانٌ مَكْرَهٌ*; four in the tongue, to wit:

false witness, abusing the *muḥṣan*, false oath, and sorcery; three in the belly: drinking water and intoxicating drinks, spoiling the goods of orphans, and usury; two in the genitals: fornication and pederasty; two in the hands: murder and theft; one in the feet: fleeing from battle; one in the whole body: disobedience regarding one's parents.

The mystics, notwithstanding such classifications, see sin in a more general light. It is man as such who is a sinner. It is necessary for him to know Allāh in His highness and to know himself in his baseness. For the soul is like a mirror disfigured by rust, which has to be cleaned and polished, so as to be able to reflect the higher world. This polishing process dominates the life of the mystic and gives rise e. g. to the *muḥāsaba*, the daily examination of one's self with a view to sins committed and to the means to avoid them in future (*Iḥyā'*, vol. iv., book viii.; cf. Asin Palacios, *La Mystique d'al-Ghazālī*, M.T.O.M., vii. 90 sq.). It is this consciousness of sinfulness which lies at the root of the mournful attitude of the mystics and which has inspired so many sayings expressing their fear to appear before Allāh after death (cf. R. Hartmann, *Al-Kuschairī's Darstellung des Sūfismus*, p. 11 sq.).

Two deviating attitudes regarding sin taken by the mystics have still to be mentioned: that of the *Ibāḥiyya* and that of the *Malānatiyya*. The former have turned their back to the *via purgativa* of the mystic and maintain that the fetters of law and morals have no longer to be borne by him who participates in true mystic life. For a full description see the art. TAṢAWWUF. — The *Malānatiyya* [q. v.], on the other hand, start from the conception that the mystic has to avoid all that may confer on him the praise of mankind and their admiration. They therefore do not shun actions which expose them to general reproof or disdain, actions which in their case are not the outcome of their indulging in sinful inclinations and which, without the purpose of incurring blame, would loose nothing of their sinful character.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHAṬĪB (A.), plur. *khaṭābā'*, was, among the ancient Arabs, the name for the spokesman of the tribe. The *khaṭīb* is therefore often mentioned along with the *shā'ir*, the poet (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 934, 1 from below, 938, 5 from below; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 484, 11 sq.), and, like the *kāhin* and the *saiyid*, was one of the leaders of the tribe. The character and significance of his office is clearly explained by Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyin*, Cairo 1332, vols. 1—3. The distinction between *khaṭīb* and *shā'ir* is not

absolutely definite but practically is that the *shā'ir* uses the poetic form while the *khaṭīb* expresses himself in prose, often, however, also in *saḍī'* (cf. *Djāḥiẓ, op. cit.*, i. 159); his speech is introduced with *anmū ba'dū* (al-Ḥariri, ed. de Sacy, 1822, p. 42). According to *Djāḥiẓ*, there were a few *khuṭabā'* who were also *shu'arā'* (i. 27). In the *Djāḥiliya* the *shā'ir* is said to have been more highly esteemed than the *khaṭīb* but when the numbers of poets gradually increased and the latter's art declined and they became beggars, the *khaṭīb* obtained more prestige (i. 136; iii. 227). The *khaṭīb* is also associated with the story-teller, the *kāss*, and with the *aṣṣāb al-akhbār wa 'l-athār* (*Djāḥiẓ*, i. 167 sq. and passim); the office was sometimes hereditary in the same family. The *khuṭabā'* did not form a gild or caste; they were the men who had the ability to be spokesmen. They appear not only at the head of a *wafd* to negotiate as representatives of their tribe, as we know from the *Sira* (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, i. 20), but, like the poets, they were also the leaders in the war of wits with the enemy (*mufākhara*). The *khaṭīb* had to, be able to extol the glorious deeds and the noble qualities of his tribe and to narrate them in perfect language and to be able likewise to expose the weaknesses of his opponents. He had therefore to be *faṣīḥ* and know how to employ *balāgha* and in this way to overcome his opponents (cf. *The Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, xci. 22 sq., xcvi. 9; al-Kuṭāmī ed. J. Barth, xiv. 20; Ibn Kays al-Ruḳaiyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1902, xlv. 19; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 20, 15 sq.). Lampoons give the following characteristics of a poor *khaṭīb*: his pronunciation is bad, he turns too and fro, stammers, coughs, strokes his beard, twists his fingers, a sign of cowardice (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 650, verse 5; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 20, 7, 9 sq.). It is in keeping with the character of the ancient Arab *khaṭīb* that he is included among the fighting knights and nobles (al-Kuṭāmī, *op. cit.*; *Djāḥiẓ*, i. 134, 8 sq., 172, 11), indeed, *khaṭīb* itself is used as a name for a brave warrior (*Djāḥiẓ*, i. 129). When the *khaṭīb* makes a public appearance his insignia are lance, staff or bow (*al-makhṣir*), just as a man taking an oath carries tokens of masculine honour; he often strikes the earth with it (cf. al-Kuṭāmī, xxvii. 6; Labid, *Dirwān*, ed. al-Chālidī, 7, 15 [p. 27], 9, 45 [p. 45]; *Djāḥiẓ*, i. 197 sq., iii. 3 sqq., 61 sq.).

In the earliest days of Islām the *khaṭīb* retained much of his old character. "The prophet came forward as a *khaṭīb*" after the conquest of Mekka (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 823, 3 from below) and spoke publicly with ceremony and authority. But the *khuṭba* now became solely an address to the Muslims, not a part of the war against the enemy and *mufākhara* was no longer part of the activities of the Muslim *khaṭīb*. But it is quite in keeping with the nature of early Islām and with that of the Arab *khaṭīb* that the ruler himself was spokesman and that he not only made edifying speeches from the *minbar* as *khaṭīb* but also issued orders, made decisions and pronounced his views on political questions and particularly questions of general interest. This was the case under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads (cf. *Djāḥiẓ*, i. 190), and the governors appointed by them also acted as *khuṭabā'* (e.g. al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 318 infra); *Djāḥiẓ*, i. 179 middle, etc.); the local

governors appointed by the latter were also entrusted with the control of the *minbar* and of the *ṣalāt* (al-Ṭabari, ii. 929, 11 sq.). Diatribes against and curses on the enemy were part of their *minbar* speeches, e.g. the curses on 'Alī and occasionally on Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair (*Djāḥiẓ*, i. 165). *Khaṭīb* was therefore still synonymous with "leader"; a poet of the *Khawāridj* says: "There will be no peace so long as there is a *khaṭīb* from Ṭhāḳif on the *minbar*'s of this world" (*Djāḥiẓ*, iii. 135). An inheritance from the ancient Arab spokesman is the staff or lance which the Muslim *khaṭīb* holds in his right hand during the *khuṭba*, a custom which provoked the scorn of the Persians (*Djāḥiẓ*, iii. 135.). But the close connection between the *khuṭba* and divine service gave the Muslim *khaṭīb* a specifically religious character. After the conclusion of the wars of the first generations, this element became more predominant and in the time of the 'Abbāsids, as early as Hārūn al-Rashīd, the caliph left it to the *kādīs* to deliver the sermon at the service while he himself was simply a listener (*Djāḥiẓ*, i. 161). But in theory the leaders of divine service in the great mosques are representatives of the caliph (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, p. 173).

The Egyptian Fāṭimids still occasionally preached themselves (behind a veil), namely 3 times in the month of Ramaḍān and at the great festivals (Ibn al-Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 482—486; ed. Popper, p. 331 sqq.; al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1334, ii. 322, 327, 329). On this occasion his highest dignitaries stood on the steps of the *minbar* (*op. cit.*, p. 327, 329), while on the other hand the *ra'īs* of a district often stood on the *minbar* if the *khaṭīb* was preaching, a custom which testifies to the original high rank of the *khaṭīb*, but was later condemned by strict authorities on morals (Ibn al-Hādīdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, ii. 74). Special *khuṭabā'* were everywhere appointed. There were three of them in Cairo during the earlier Fāṭimid period (for the 'Amr, Ibn Ṭulūn and al-Azhar mosques); cf. al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 348, 6; as a rule it seems to have been the honorary office of a *kāḍī*; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 224, 8 infra. On the *'Id al-Ghadrī*, a special *khaṭīb* pronounced the *khuṭba* on a *minbar* with 9 steps in the sanctuary of Ḥusain in Cairo, while the chief *kāḍī* conducted the *ṣalāt*; the *khaṭīb* on this occasion was given a silk robe and 30 or 50 *ḍinārs* (al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 224 sq.). On other occasions also the *khaṭīb* received a robe of honour (*op. cit.*, ii. 387 infra). The *khaṭīb* usually was also the conductor (*imām*) of the Friday *ṣalāt* at which he preached and, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a tradition of Mālik, he must actually do so unless there were special reasons for a deviation from the rule. The daily *ṣalāt*'s are as a rule conducted by other *imām*'s (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniya*, ed. Enger, p. 181, 3 from below). According to al-Shāfi'ī and Mālik, the Friday service with *khuṭba* can only be held in one mosque in each town, if the size of the town does not make it impossible, while Abū Ḥanīfa has no such rule. The *khuṭba* was therefore delivered, for example, in Cairo after the end of the Fāṭimid period in the Ḥākim mosque only, because Saladin appointed a Shāfi'ī chief *kāḍī*. This state of affairs was altered by Baibars when he appointed a Ḥanafī chief *kāḍī* (al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv. 53). Abū Ḥanīfa on the other hand allows divine service

in which a *khaṭīb* takes part only in a large town (*miṣr*), in which the ruler or his deputy is present in person. The other schools are less rigorous on the point. But the Imām-*khaṭīb* of the Friday service is, according to the other schools also, in theory the representative of "the highest Imām". Several Imāms can be chosen, if necessary with their exact functions defined. According to al-Māwardī (p. 172), the Sultān appoints the imāms of the larger mosques, in keeping with the theory of their representative character. But, according to al-Kāḷkashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, Cairo, iv. 39), each mosque under the Mamlūks had its own *khaṭīb* while the Sultān only concerned himself with the larger mosques. The office of *khaṭīb* of the important mosques was a very distinguished one. Thus, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the Shāfi'ī chief qāḍī himself was *khaṭīb* of the great mosque in the citadel of Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamālik*, 1894, p. 92) and it was regarded as a special distinction, anxiously coveted, when Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem chose the qāḍī Muḥyi al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'ālī to act as first *khaṭīb* in the Aḳṣā mosque (Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akḥbār al-Daw-latayn*, Cairo 1288, ii. 108 sqq.). The document confirming his appointment under the Mamlūks is further evidence of the *khaṭīb*'s dignity (cf. al-Kāḷkashandī, *op. cit.*, ii. 222—225; al-'Umari, *Kitāb al-Ta'rif bi 'l-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, Cairo 1312, p. 126 sq.). He is the natural authority to whom new converts announce their conversion to Islām (Ibn al-Hādjdī, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, p. 76); the people touch his robe *li 'l-tabarruk*, etc. (al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mizān*, i. 169). According to al-Māwardī (p. 185), the *khaṭīb* ought preferably to wear black clothes, according to al-Ḡhazālī, white, while the first mentioned would be *bid'a* (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1322, p. 131, 10 f. b. sqq.). His insignia are *al-'ūdāni*, the "two things of wood" i. e. the *minbar* and the staff or wooden sword which he has to hold in his hand during the sermon, according to the Fikh books also. According to the law of 1911 applied to al-Azhar, art. 59, every one who has passed through the second of the three divisions of the institute can become a *khaṭīb*. While in al-Azhar itself only one *khaṭīb* is appointed (al-Zaiyātī, *Ta'rikh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, p. 207), there were in 1909 in the mosque of the Prophet in Medina 46, in Mekka 122 *khaṭibā*, besides their deputies. They enjoy certain foundations and the office is on the whole hereditary (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Hidjāsiya* 2, Cairo 1329, p. 101, 242).

Beside the official *khaṭīb*, the *wā'iz* exercised the function of an edifying preacher, when he pleased (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, 1922, p. 318 sqq.).

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AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABU BAKR AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. THĀBIT, known as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, was born on the 24th Djumādā II, 392 (1002) at Darzidjān, a large village on the west bank of the Tigris below Baghdād. The son of a *khaṭīb* (preacher), he began his studies very early and spent his youth travelling in search of ḥadīth. In this way he visited Baṣra, Nishāpūr, Isfahān, Hamadān and Damascus. Finally settling in Baghdād, he held the office of a *khaṭīb* there and this was the origin of the name al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī by which he is known to posterity. His profound erudition in the matter of tradition gained him great fame and authority in his new abode; one of his biographers says that preachers and teachers of tradition used to have to submit the traditions they had collected to his expert opinion before quoting them in their sermons and in their lectures. On the other hand al-Khaṭīb seems to have suffered from the hostility of the Ḥanbalis, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdād at this period. His preference for the Shāfi'ī-school, after having been at first a Ḥanbalī, his theological opinions which were quite uncompromising in their Ash'arism, attracted to him the hatred of the pupils of the Imām Aḥmad who were enemies of all bold theological speculation. He succeeded however in spite of the opposition of the Ḥanbalis and thanks to the protection of the Caliph al-Kā'im and the vizier Ibn al-Muslima in opening a course of lectures on ḥadīth (*imlā'*) in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. It seems, that retaining a bitter resentment for the enmity shown him, al-Khaṭīb never lost an opportunity in his lectures and writings of making malicious insinuations against Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Ḥanbalis and even attacking them openly. He was on this account accused by later generations of *ta'assub* (legal and theological bias) and there is a body of polemical literature against him (cf. Hādjdji Khalifa, iii. 632). When the successful rebellion of al-Basāsiri brought about the ruin of Ibn al-Muslima, al-Khaṭīb fled to Damascus; arrested by order of the Fātimid governor, he only narrowly escaped execution by a precipitous flight to Ṣūr and Aleppo. Returning to Baghdād after the Saldjūks had restored order there, al-Khaṭīb, "ḥāfiẓ of the east", died there a year later on Monday 7th Dhu 'l-Hijjā 463 (1071) in the same year as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the "ḥāfiẓ of the west". He was buried in the presence of a vast concourse beside the tomb of the venerated Bishr al-Hāfi.

Al-Khaṭīb's work was considerable: according to his biographers about a hundred treatises. The most celebrated of his works is the *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, a repertory of scholars of tradition living in Baghdād; the geographical, topographical and historical introduction, which precedes the biographical collection has been abbreviated and partly published and translated into French by G. Le Strange (*A greek Embassy to Bagdād in 917*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 35—45); edition of the text . . . ; mention should also be made of his *Kifāya fī ma'rifat uṣūl 'ilm al-riwāya* and his *Taqyīd al-'ilm*, on which see the

analysis by Ahlwardt in *Verzeichniss der arab. Handschriften der König. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ii. 1039, and 1035; a list of other works by al-Khaṭīb from the *Mir'at al-Zamān* of Ibn al-Djawzī is given by Salmon, p. 8—10, and could be utilised with the aid of the following corrections: N^o. 2: *al-Djāmi' li-akhlāk al-rūwī wa 'l-sāmi'* (instead of *li-akhlāf*); N^o. 4 *al-Mottaṭīf wa 'l-muṭṭarīf* (instead of *wa 'l-muṭṭarīf*); N^o. 10 *al-Faḥīh wa 'l-mutaṭṭaḥīh* (instead of *wa 'l-mutaṭṭaḥīh*); N^o. 20 *Man ḥadatha fanasiya* (instead of *fanasa*); N^o. 26 *al-Taṭṭīl li-muḥam al-marāsīl* (instead of *al-taṭṭīl*; work on the *ḥadīth murāsīl*); N^o. 32 *al-Idjāza lil-ma'dūm wa 'l-maḥḥūl* (instead of *al-idjāza*; work on *idjāza* granted to an individual unnamed or not yet born); N^o. 33 *al-Bukḥatā'* (instead of *al-naḍīlā*; cf. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of arab. MSS. in the British Museum*, N^o. 1132) and *al-Aṣmā' al-mutaṭṭaḥīya* (opposed in logic to the *asmā' moshakkika*); N^o. 41 *al-Muḍīḥ* and *al-kunūt* are two distinct works (instead of *al-Muḍīḥ wa 'l-kunūt*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 329; Salmon, *L'introduction topographique à l'histoire de Bagdad d'Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ṭhābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Paris 1904; Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, ii. 154, 183, 184; Biographies of al-Khaṭīb are given in Ibn Kḥallikān N^o. 33; *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥoffāz* xiv. 14; a long account of him is given in the *mir'at al-zamān* of Ibn al-Djawzī (MSS. of Paris 1506, p. 131, 132). (W. MARÇAIS)

KHATM (A.) or **KHAṬMA**, the technical name for the recitation of the whole of the *Qur'ān* from beginning to end. It is an infinitive from *khatama*, which is derived with the meaning "to end, to conclude" from the foreign word *kḥātam*, "seal, seal-ring" (Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 252), because the seal was affixed at the end of a document. The complete recitation of the *Qur'ān* is, especially if it is done within a short time, a meritorious achievement, e.g. in 8 nights, as Ubayy b. Ka'b is said to have done (Ibn Sa'd, iii.ii. 60, 23; cf. on 'Uthmān *ibid.*, iii/i. 53, 3). It is related of Sulaimān al-A'mash (in Lane s.v.) that he accomplished the *khatma* soon after 'Uthmān's edition and soon after that of Ibn Mas'ūd. For a dead man the reciters were asked to recite the *ḥir'at al-khatamūt* (e.g. in the 1001 Nights in the story of the merchant Ayyūb and his son). In Egypt the *khatma* was used as an entertainment for guests. In modern Mekka the so-called *iklāba* is celebrated when a boy has read through the whole of the sacred book (the ceremony after the half or one third is called *isrāfa*). In South Arabia a *kḥātam* is presented to one who has recited the whole book for the first time.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 146, 272; Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 126 sqq.; Lane, *Arabic Nights*, i. 382; Goldziher in *Isl.* 1915, vi. 214, on *Khatm al-Bukhārī*. (FR. BUHL)

KHAṬṬ, pl. *Kḥuṭṭ* (the poet al-'Adjādī also uses the form *akḥṭāf*), meant originally a straight furrow or line dug into the ground or a line drawn in the sand by a stick or with the finger. The word is frequently used for the digging of a grave, because the latter was long and straight. Then it was used for the meaning of laying out a settlement with lanes or streets (*kḥiṭṭa*). Finally it has the meaning of a line ruled on paper or parchment, and a line of writing.

This latter meaning is probably derived from the earlier meaning of the lines which a diviner (*ḥāṣṣ*) drew in sand and from which he prognosticated the happy or unlucky issue of an undertaking about which he was consulted. For this purpose the diviner accompanied by an acolyte drew with utmost haste, so that he could not possibly remember the number, a quantity of lines in the sand. Then he slowly wiped out two lines at a time, while the acolyte recited the words: "Ye two sons of 'Iyān, hasten with the explanation!" If in the end two lines remained it was a sure sign of success, while one line meant disappointment. This being ancient priestcraft was prohibited by Islām, but another mode of divining survived for a long time and may be practised to the present day. The diviner in this art of *kḥaṭṭ* made only three lines in the sand and then used corns of barley or date-stones which he slung upon the lines, and from the way they fell upon the lines he prognosticated the good or evil result of the enterprise (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Nihāya*, i. 303; *Lisān*, ix. 157—158).

Further *kḥaṭṭ* means essentially "handwriting" i.e. the Arabic script with its development and various styles; so we find it used in a verse of Imru' al-Kais (ed. Ahlwardt, 63, v. 1): "Like the writing of the Psalter on Yamanite palm-leaf". Similarly 'Abd Allāh b. 'Anama (*Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, 114, v. 5.) says: "Just as the ink is moved about in the writing from the inkstand". Later poems contain the mention of *kḥaṭṭ* for writing more frequently and the verse of the Islāmic poet al-Shammākh (ed. Cairo, p. 26, 7) may suffice: "As in Taimā a Jewish rabbi writes Hebrew with his right hand and then draws straight lines across (the parchment)". From this verse it becomes clear that not only Arabic writing, but any script is named *kḥaṭṭ*.

In modern language the word *kḥaṭṭ* is used for manuscript copies of books in opposition to printed books. The history of the development of the Arabic script need not be enlarged upon here as the subject has been dealt with in an earlier article (cf. the art. *ARABIA*, above, vol. i.). The secretaries (*kātib*, q.v.) developed a science about the correct formation of the letters, while necromancers in their turn invented a science by attributing special virtues to certain combinations of letters (cf. Ṭashkōprū Zāda, ed. Ḥaidarābād, i. 75—80; al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, iii. 2—171, and elsewhere; and for the supposed mystical interpretation of writing principally the books of the Ḥurūfis). Cf. further the art. **KHAṬṬ-I HUMAYŪN**.

Bibliography: Ibn Durustawaih, *Kṭāb al-Kuṭūb*, ed. Bairut 1921, and most works dealing with the instructions of the *Kātib*.

(F. KRENKOW)

AL-KHAṬṬ, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf. The Arab geographers are not agreed as to its exact extent. While Yāḳūt limits the name to the coast of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, which is also apparent from the mention of al-Ḳaṭīf, al-'Ukair and Ḳaṭar, al-Bakrī says definitely that al-Kḥaṭṭ is the whole coast between 'Umān and al-Baṣra on the one side and Kāzima and al-Shīhr on the other. This difference of opinion is probably the result of the variation in extent of 'Umān and al-Baḥrain in the wider sense of these terms in course of time.

There are in any case authors who allot al-Kḥaṭṭ to either the one or the other territory. Al-Kḥaṭṭ in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Herawī, for example,

is simply a collective name for the villages in 'Umān, while Ibn al-Anbārī uses al-Khaṭṭ as the name for the coast of al-Bahrain. In contrast to these wide applications of a fairly general term there is a narrow one, according to which al-Khaṭṭ was a particular settlement on the coast which belonged to the 'Abd al-Kais. A. Sprenger has adopted this view, which was held by al-Balādhuri amongst others, and there is much in favour of locating al-Khaṭṭ preferably in the Gulf of al-Bahrain. The place was in any case noted as a market for the famous Khaṭṭi lance-shafts imported from India and sold to the Beduins. The name al-Khaṭṭ seems to be old. If A. Sprenger is right in connecting it with "regio Attene" and "Chateni" in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, 147, and the "Atta vicus" in Ptolemy, the name dates back to long before the Muḥammadan period.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 453 sq.; *Marāsid al-Iṭīlā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1852, i., p. 358; al-Bakri, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876, i. 314; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 92, 116, 118 sq., 130 sq., 135; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides (Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales)*, Leiden 1903, iii., p. 18, 86 sqq.; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p. 217 sq.; G. Jacob, *Allarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHAṬṬ-I HUMĀYŪN, "imperial rescript", an ordinance referring to reforms in the organisation of the Ottoman empire, promulgated by the Sultāns. The expression was primarily applied to the Sultān's fiat written by the sovereign himself at the head of the document; later when the charge of the *tughrā* [q. v.] was left to an official called *nishāndji*, the term was wrongly extended to the whole document itself. The expression is synonymous with *khaṭṭ-i sherif* but the usage in Ottoman administrative law is to apply the latter only to the *khaṭṭ-i sherif* of Gülkhāne, a constitutional charter granted by Sultān 'Abd al-Madjid (Shāhān 26, 1255 = Nov. 3, 1839), while the former is generally applied to the *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* of the first third of *Djumādā II*, 1272 (Feb. 18, 1856). The latter addressed to the grand vizier Muḥammad Amin 'Alī Pasha had been obtained by the united action of French and English diplomatists at the end of the Crimean War. By this document, the Sultān acknowledging that his subjects were united among themselves by cordial bonds of patriotism (*waṭandāshi*, an expression that appears for the first time here but did not catch on) declared he would maintain the guarantees promised by the charter of Gülkhāne for the security of persons and property without distinction of class or cult, as well as the privileges and immunities enjoyed by non-Muslims: he accorded authority to repair churches and other buildings belonging to the various communities, put an end to the use of insulting appellations in administrative documents (for example of the term *ri'āyā*, applied to tributaries); proclaimed all his subjects eligible for public offices; instituted mixed tribunals composed of Muslims; announced the coming codification of penal and commercial law, and better organisation of the police, the application of recruiting to non-Muslims with the right of buying oneself out, the reorganisation of the provincial councils,

the right of foreigners to possess landed property, reforms in the levying of taxes, the making of banks, roads and canals. This law remained in force until the constitution of Midḥat Pasha in 1876.

Bibliography: T. X. Bianchi, *Khathty humaoun* (1856) at the end of the *Nouveau Guide de la conversation*,². (CL. H'ART)

KHAṬṬ-I SHARIF. [See KHAṬṬ-I HUMĀYŪN]. **KHAṬṬĀBIYA**, name of a sect reckoned among the Shi'ite extremists (*ghulāt*), called after Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abi Zainab al-Asadi al-Adjda', who is said to have asserted the immanence (*ḥulūl*) of the deity in the Imām *Dja'far al-Šādiḳ* (83—148 = 702—765) and afterwards in himself. He obtained a following in al-Kūfa, where he was attacked by 'Isā b. Mūsā, who was governor for some years till 147 = 764/765; he armed his followers with stones, reeds and knives, assuring them that these would prevail against the enemy's swords and lances. This promise proved deceptive; his followers to the number of seventy were slaughtered, and he himself was captured in Dār al-Rizḳ on the bank of the Euphrates, impaled, his trunk afterwards burned and his head sent to Baghdād. This disaster did not terminate the existence of the sect, some of whom maintained that neither Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb nor his followers had been really killed, the appearance having been delusive. Their numbers are computed by the best informed writer about 300 A. H. at 100,000, their location being the Sawād of al-Kūfa and Yaman; they had, however, no power or force. There is a brief allusion to their doctrine in Ibn Kūtaiba's *Ma'arif*, which is somewhat earlier, and in the work of al-Muṭahhar b. al-Tāhir, who is some fifty years later, but they seem to have done nothing which attracted the attention of the historians. After Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's death his followers are said to have transferred the imamate to Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. *Dja'far al-Šādiḳ*, and are thus to be reckoned among the Ismā'ilis.

The statements about their specific doctrines are scanty and to be accepted with caution. They held, it is asserted, that Muḥammad transferred the prophetic office from himself to 'Alī on the Day of the Pond; and it would seem that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb must have asserted that similar transference had taken place from *Dja'far* to himself. Both Sunnī and Shi'ī writers maintain emphatically that *Dja'far* repudiated the claims made for him by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, whose relation to him seems to have been similar to that of al-Mukhtār b. Abi 'Ubad to Ibn al-Ḥanafiya.

Of his other doctrines the best attested is that he taught absolute ruthlessness in dealing with opponents. Men, women and children were all to be massacred, his argument being the same as was employed by the Azāriḳa. False witness was lawful in dealing with them. Al-Muṭahhar asserts that in consequence the evidence of members of this sect was not accepted in the courts.

The later heresiologues know far more about the sect than do the earlier. With al-Muṭahhar the Bāzighiya are a separate sect, but al-Shahrastānī makes them a subdivision of the Khaṭṭābiya. The latter writer makes another subdivision, the 'Umairiya, who figure in 'Abd al-Kāhir's work as a subdivision of the *Djanāhiya*. Al-Shahrastānī also treats the Mu'ammariya as a branch of the Khaṭṭābiya, but Ibn Ḥazm evidently regarded them as

independent. By the time of al-Maḳrīzī the number of subdivisions had reached fifty, and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb's father's *kunya* was variously given as Abū Thawr and Abū Yazīd, probably through misreadings of the name Zainab. The sect is charged with repudiating the whole of the moral law as well as the whole ritual of Islām. Transmigration also appears among their supposed tenets. Since the sect appears to have left no literature, it is difficult to check these statements.

Bibliography: Abū Muḥammad al-Hasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Kitāb fihi Maḍkhab Firaḳ Ahl al-Ināma* (MS. belonging to A. G. Ellis Esq.); I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii. and xxix. (translation with notes of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, v. 187 sqq.); al-Shahrasṭānī, transl. Haarbrücker, i. 206; 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, p. 242; al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Ridḡāl*, Bombay 1317, p. 187 (too untrustworthy to use); al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 352; 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Idjī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Sørensen, p. 345.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

KHĀTŪN (T.), a title of Mongol empresses and princesses, and of ladies of high rank; later simply "lady". The term is an old one. As early as the sixth century of our era we see from the Chinese annals that it was given by the Tu-kiue to the wife of the Khākān; the Chinese transcription is *kho-ho-tun* (Stanislas Julien, *Notice sur les Tou-kioue* *J. A.*, Ser. ii., Vol. iii., p. 331 sqq.; date c. 553—581). It is found in the form *kātun*, in the inscriptions of the Orkhon, (cf. W. Thomsen, I.E., ii., p. 101; *ögam Ilbilgü Kātun* "my mother the queen Ilbilge", I.E. 25, p. 106 and 31, p. 108; I.N.G., p. 113, p. 164, note 54). The Chinese princesses destined for a Uighur Khākān took the title *Pikie Khātūn* after their marriage (Devéria, *Inscr. de l'Orkhon*, p. xxxiv., N^o 3). Tabari, *Annales*, knows *Khātūn* as the name of the wife of the Khākān; in the reign of the Sāsānid Bahrām-Gūr, we find one reduced to slavery in the course of an expedition (i. 866); another was won over by presents in the reign of Khusrāw II Parwiz to surrender Bahrām Čubin and repudiated for doing this (i. 1001). In the Muslim period in 280 (893) Ismā'il b. Aḥmad invaded Turkish territory and captured the king and his wife *Khātūn* (iii. 2138). The form *Kātūn* is found in the Turk. Arab. *Glossar*, publ. by M. Th. Houtsma, p. 86; from *kātūn* comes the Ottoman Turkish form *kadīn*. The Arabs have retained the form *Khātūn* and given it the plural *khawātīn*.

The form *katīn* means a married woman, wife, and is found in Kirghiz, Koman and the dialect of Kazan (Radloff, *Opit*, vol. ii. col. 284). *Kādīn* in Ottoman Turkish simply means "lady". In Egypt in the Mamlūk period it was a title borne by queens or daughters, mothers or sisters of queens (*Diwān al-inshā'*, quoted by Max van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arabic* [M.I.F.A.O., vol. xix.], i. 247, N^o 2).

Proper names of women:

In the family of Aiyūb:

1. The mother of Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Adīl Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aiyūb, died in 593 (1197).

2. The daughter of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, son of al-Malik al-'Adīl, died in 694 (1295); married the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Manṣūr Maḥmūd b. Šālih (Muḥammad Dhīhni, *Mashā'ir al-nisā'*, i. 187).

In other families:

3. The daughter of al-Malik Ridwān, grand-daughter of the Salḡūḳ Tutush b. Alp-Arslān, who married the Atābeg Zangī, son of Aḳ-Sonḡor, before 523 = 1129 (Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm, *Chronique d'Alap*, *Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iii. 658).

4. The daughter of Djanāh al-Dawla Ḥusain, who married the Atābeg Zangī in 531 = 1157 (*op. cit.*, iii. 673).

5. The daughter of Mu'in al-Dīn Anūr, who married successively Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī in 541 (1147) and Šalāh al-Dīn in 572 (1176); she died in Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da, 581 (April, 1185) after building in Damascus the madrasa al-Khātūniya, which was later destroyed, as well as a dervish monastery (*khānḳāh*) outside the Bāb al-Naḡr (H. Sauvage, *Description de Damas*, in the *J. A.*, 1894, Series 9, vol. iv. 256, 305; v. 273; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 212; Abū Šhāma, *Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iv. 51).

6. Khātūn al-Safariya, grand-mother of the Salḡūḳ Sulṭān Maḥmūd II, mother of Sulṭān Sandjar, died at Merw in 515 (1121) (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 419); the Persian historians know her as Turḳān Khātūn (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Gusīda*, ed. and transl. Gantin, i. 259; ed. Browne, p. 444, 458). She got the name Safariya from the fact that she was asked in marriage during the campaign of 471 (1078).

7. Khātūn al-Iṣma, daughter of Malik-Šāh, married in 502 (1108) the Caliph al-Mustaḡhir Billāh (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 445).

In the majority of these cases the real proper name has been forgotten by the historians; only the title has survived. (CL. HUART)

KHAWARNAḲ, a place situated about a mile east of Naḡjaf [q. v.] in Mesopotamia. Inhabited at first by the tribe of Iyād, a palace was built in it by the Laḡhmīd chief Nu'mān (after 418 A.D.) for his Sāsānian suzerain. It was there that Farwiz heard the news of the defeat of Dhū Ḳār. The palace was enlarged and used by the early 'Abbāsids. It was in ruins in the xvth century. The pre-Muḥammadan Arab poets frequently quote Khawarnāḳ as one of the "30 wonders of the world", along with the neighbouring castle of Sadīr (perhaps Uḡhaidīr, q. v.). Khawarnāḳ is also celebrated for having given rise to the proverbial expression "the reward of Sinimmār", the Greek architect who had built it and was executed by Nu'mān. The name Khawarnāḳ seems to be of Irānian origin (*hu-varna* "with a beautiful roof" according to Andreas or *Khawarnāq*, "place of feasting" according to Vullers) although Ibn Djinī connects it with the Arabic *Ẕazīrīṣ* and Nöldeke with a Rabbinical Hebrew word meaning "arbour, plantation".

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les Alixares de Grenade et le Chateau de Khaouarnaq* (*Revue Africaine*, 1906, N^o 260, p. 22 sq.); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie* in M.I.F.A.O., xxviii. 1910, p. 36/37 and plate 37; xxxi., 1912, p. 136; B. Meissner, *Eine Reise von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Hira und Huarnaq* in *Sendeschriften der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1901, N^o 2, p. 19. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

KHAWLĀN, 1) the name of a South Arabian tribe. This tribe is mentioned as early as the south Arabian inscriptions Glaser, 1076, 18 sq. and Halevy, 585, 11 sq. (חַוְלָן); there

is a reference to its territory (ארץ חול) in the inscription Glaser, 119, 5 and a clan of the name is mentioned in Glaser, 204, 3. All these passages justify the suggestion that the tribe of *Khawlān* was already settled in this region in the first millenium B.C. where it still — in part at least — dwells in the land between *San'a* and *Mārib*, which al-Hamdānī calls *Khawlān al-ʿālīya* and which with *Dhī Djurra* was one of the great granaries of the Yemen, where durra, barley and wheat in particular flourished exceedingly. The *Khawlān* tribe now belongs to the great tribe of *Bakil* which can put about 80,000 armed men in the field. The traveller E. Glaser explored this tribe's country in 1885/1886. The Arab genealogists give as the eponymous hero of the tribe *Khawlān* b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Hārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zaid b. 'Amr b. Ḡharib b. Zaid b. Kahlān b. Saba'. Some say the ancestor was *Khawlān* b. 'Amr b. al-Hāf b. Kuḏā'a, after whose ancestor they are also called *Khawlān Kuḏā'a*. The distinction between the *Khawlān al-ʿālīya* and the *Khawlān Kuḏā'a* is, however, not genealogical but rather regional; for the former also belong — at least according to *Nashwān* — to *Kuḏā'a*. The distinction comes from the fact that originally the whole tribe of *Khawlān* was settled in *Mārib* and *Širwāh* but in the course of time a portion of them migrated to the highlands east of *San'a* and received the name *Khawlān al-ʿālīya*, while the remainder stayed in *Mārib* and not till a later date did a new migration take place to the region of *Ṣa'da*, which is still the most important town of the northern *Khawlān* territory. As early as C. Niebuhr's time there were two districts of this tribe which were, as they still are, under independent *Shekhs*. The last named according to Niebuhr 4 days journey from the port of *Ḥālī* halfway between *San'a* and Mecca, which according to E. Glaser extends W. and N. W. of *Ṣa'da*, is *Zaidī*. *Hamdānī's* statement is worthy of note, that here pure Arabic was spoken only in the highlands while in the valley and al-*Qadd* a kind of jargon was the usual lingua franca. The name *Khawlān* in this particular area is still associated with two other features, the peak of *Khawlān* ('*Urr Khawlān*'), a mountain top, which can be seen from the *Djebel Tukhlā*, and *Bait Khawlān*, the name given to the summit of the *Djebel Ḥaḏūr*. In *Khawlān* of *Ṣa'da*, Niebuhr only mentions the villages of *Akabat el Muslim* ('*Akabat el-Muslim*'), *Heidān* (*Haidān*), *ed-dāhhr* and *Suk ed sjumma* (*Sūk al-Djum'a*). The goldmine at *Kuḏā'a* which belonged to the *Banū Ma'mar* b. *Zurāra* b. *Khawlān*, probably — with other considerations — induced A. Sprenger to connect *Khawlān* with the Biblical *Hawila*. Niebuhr also had already done this. In *Khawlān* of *San'a* Niebuhr mentions the villages of *Beit Roedsje* (*Bait Rādjiḥ*), *Tanaejm* (*Tan'im*), *Beit el Kibsi* (*Bait al-Kibsi*), *Beit el-Naum*, *Seijān* (*Seyān*), *Suradsje* (*Zurādja*) and *Berres* (*Barrāsh*). In *Shā'bān* of the year 10 A. H. (Nov. 631 A. D.) envoys of the *Khawlān* appeared before *Muḥammad* in al-Medina and professed *Islām* on behalf of their tribe. They were instructed in the teaching of *Islām* by the Prophet himself and promised to destroy their idol 'Amm Anas, then received the usual gift of honour of 12½ ounces of silver and returned home. After the death of the Prophet they at first joined the general movement of apostacy, but *Ya'la* b. *Munya*

whom the Caliph *Abū Bakr* sent against them with an expeditionary force, succeeded in regaining them for *Islām* in the course of the year 11 A. H. (632 A. D.). Politically they were on closer terms with the government in al-Medina than the other tribes of the Yemen, which was probably the result of their relations with the Persian rulers in *San'a*. They afforded shelter to the two Persian princes *Djushaish* and *Fairūz* who were driven out of *San'a* by the rebellion of the Arabs under *Ḳais* b. 'Abd *Yaghūth* b. *Makshūh* and supported them till help came from al-Medina.

Members of the tribe of *Khawlān* after their lands were finally opened to *Islām* after the subjection of the Yemen in 13 or 14 A. H., played an important part among the Southern Arabs who took part in the conquest of Egypt and settled here. We frequently find *Khawlānis* in important positions in Egypt; in Old Cairo (al-Fustāt) they gave their name to a quarter, and the name generally is not rare in the papyri and on Arab tombstones in Egypt.

2) the name of a village near Damascus. One of the most distinguished of the companions of the Prophet is buried there, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. *Mishkam* *Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī*.

Bibliography: 1) Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 31, 32; al-Ya'kūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, *B. G. A.*, vii. 320; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djaḡirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891, p. 107v, 113—115v, 136v, 125v, 192v; do., *Iklil*, x., Cod. Berol. Glaser, 22, p. 2; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 499; iv. 147; *Marāsid al-Iffilā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1852, i. 375; 'Azīmuddin Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Sans al-'Ulūm*, *G. M. S.*, xxiv., Leiden 1916, p. 35, 61, 76; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen 1772, p. 182, 270, 280 sq.; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii./i., Berlin 1846, p. 712, 819, 843; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 51, 54 sq., 58, 249, 286 sq.; do., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, Berlin 1869, iii., p. 457 sq.; E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arabien und Hāschid*, *Petermanns Mitth.*, 1884, xxx. 171; do., *Über meine Reisen in Arabien*, *Mitth. d. Geogr. Ges. in Wien*, 1887, xxx. 23; do., *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii., p. 37, 72, 101; do., *Sammlung Eduard Glaser*, i., *E. Glaser's Reise nach Mārib*, ed. D. H. v. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913, p. 55, 125, note 1; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, ii., *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 245, 360—362; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islām*, Strassburg 1903, ii., p. 123, 124; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Milan 1907, ii., p. 320 sq., 604, 669, note g, 800, note 8; J. v. Karabacek, *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde*, v., *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1915, clxxviii/5, p. 4, note 1.

2) Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 499; *Marāsid al-Iffilā'*, Leiden 1852, i. 375; 'Azīmuddin Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Sans al-'Ulūm*, p. 76.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHAYĀL, MİR MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ, of Aḥmad-ābād in Guḡjarāt, author of a collection of tales in 15 volumes entitled *Būstān-i Khayāl*, composed in Persian prose between 1742 and 1756, at the

request of his patron, Nawwāb Rashīd Khān, or, according to one MS., for the two brothers, Nawwāb Rashīd Khān and Nawwāb Muḥammad Ishāq Khān, sons of Dja'far 'Alī Khān (Nawwāb of Bengal, 1757—1761 and 1763—1765); an account of the contents of this work, which is made up partly of historical legends and partly of fantastic fairy tales, is given by Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS. of the Bodleian Library*, N^o. 480. Khayāl died in 1173 (= 1759—60).

Bibliography: Ethé, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, ii. 342.

KHAYĀL-I ZILL, also called ZILL-I KHAYĀL, shadow-play. The shadow-theatre which combines the mimic art with music, painting and poetry and which with its transparent figures made of painted leather is able to produce on the linen sheet illuminated from behind an illusion which means much more to the contemplative Oriental than our realistic coarser art of the stage, seems, as far as we know, to have come from China to the West. It certainly does not originate in classical antiquity.

The earliest notices available to us refer to India where, however, the shadow-theatre is now extinct. The Javanese *wayang*, which works with predominantly Indian materials, is, however, a proof of its former existence there.

The Turks seem to have received it from the Chinese through the intermediary of the Mongols. In any case points of contact can be established between the Chinese shadow-play and Islām.

From China and India the road to the Muslim lands lay through Persia. Among the Persian poets we find numerous passages referring to the shadow-theatre, but they give very little definite information about the play. In modern Persia the shadow-play survives in the *Kešīl Pehlevān*.

The shadow-play was highly developed very early in the Arabic sphere of culture, notably in Egypt. The shadow-plays of the physician Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl (d. 1311) are the only remnants of dramatic poetry of the Arab middle ages that have survived to us at all.

The shadow-play attained a very high development and popularity among the Turks. The borrowing of the Turkish play from the Egyptian in spite of many resemblances cannot be well assumed, as the Turks had evolved at least as early as the xiiith century a word of their own for shadow-play: *ḡabarçuk*, if the meaning "puppet of the Chinese shadow-play" for *ḡabarçuk* given by Houtsma in *Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, p. 43 and 87, is correct, but it seems exceedingly doubtful; for the word which still survives in Eastern Turki as *ḡawurdjak* and *ḡoghurdjak* has no reference at all to the shadow-theatre.

The shadow-play in Turkeṣtān etc. seems — if it ever existed at all — to be quite extinct and to have been completely replaced by the puppet-play: *ḡol ḡurçak* and *čadyr khayāl*.

Among the Ottoman Turks it is called *Ḳaragöz* [q. v.] and down to recent times, when the cinematograph began to offer deadly competition to it, was the most popular entertainment in Ramaḡān, not only for the women and the lower classes but had also a great attraction for many of the upper and educated classes and even for many Sultāns. Wherever the Turkish element is large enough to ensure a shadow-player some sort of a livelihood, the shadow-play is to be found.

The play spread from Turkey to non-Turkish lands. It seems to have established itself with special firmness among the Greeks and down to quite modern times (notably in Athens, the Piræus and Salonika). In the same way it was very popular among all classes in Rumania.

Bibliography: G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*², Hanover 1925, where the literature to be consulted is completely given. Cf. also L. Roussel, *Karaghens, ou un théâtre d'ombres à Athènes*, Athens 1921; J. Kats, *Het Javanaansche Tooneel*, vol. i., *Wajang Poerwa*, Weltevreden 1923; A. Samojlowiç, *Kukoljnij teatr w Turkestane*, in *Russkij Muzej, Etnografickij otdel*, Petrograd 1923, N^o. 1.

(TH. MENZEL)

KHAYĀLĪ, properly MEḤMED BEY, also known as BEKĀR MEMĪ, an important Turkish poet of the time of Sulaimān the Great. Like the poet Uṣūlī he belonged to the little Rumelian town of Wardar Yenidjesi. Like *Sheikh Ghālib*, he was precocious and developed his poetic talent very early. As a boy he was in the service of the Haiderī dervish and mystic Baba 'Alī-i Mest, by whom he was introduced into mysticism which left traces in many of his poems. In the wanderings of his master, he came with him to Constantinople where he was removed from the influence of this dervish by the intervention of the authorities.

His poetical abilities ultimately won him the favour of the Defterdār Iskandar Çelebi and then that of the Grand Vizier Frenk İbrāhīm Pasha, who introduced him into the circle of poets around Sultān Sulaimān. The Sultān granted him his favour and confidence: he became one of the intimates of the Sultān, the highest honour that could be attained by an Ottoman poet. After the execution of his patrons (Iskandar was hanged in Baghḡād in 1535 and İbrāhīm strangled in the Serai in 1536), with the declining influence of the once powerful poet-favourites, Khayālī fell upon evil days, as he had never been able to save the presents and other tokens of favour with which he had been overwhelmed, but he was finally given a *saḡḡak* by the Sultān and the title of Bey. He died in 964 (1556—1557) in Adrianople where he was buried.

Khayālī, who was of an amiable friendly character and throughout his life retained a dervish-like humility and frankness, just as he retained his membership of the Haiderī order, was one of the best poets of his time. None of his contemporaries surpassed him in poetic vigour and diction. His language is, however, now antiquated. He only worked in the lyric field (*ḡazal*, *ḡasida*). Careless of the fate of his work as of this world's goods, he left the task of arranging his strongly mystical poems into a *dīwān* to another. His son 'Umar Bey (d. 1010) was also a poet.

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tedhkerre*, Constantinople 1314, p. 149; Sehi, *Tedhkerre*, Constantinople 1325, p. 126; Mu'allim Nādjī, *Medjmu'a*, Constantinople 1305, N^o. 36, p. 141; do., *Esāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 137; Fā'ik, *Estāf*, N^o. 23, *Khasine-i Funūn*, Constantinople 1311, i. 147; Brūsālī Muḡ. Tāhir, *'Oṭhṡmānī's Mu'ellifleri*, Constantinople 1338, ii. 160 (Tāhir confuses him with the Khayālī of the time of Selim I and makes one individual of them, attributing the latter's *Lailā u-Medjūnūn* to him); Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-'A'lām*, iii. 2071; Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Oṭhṡmānī*,

Constantinople 1311, ii. 313; Flügel, *Kat. der . . . türk. Handschriften in Wien*, 1865, i. 649. (A MS. written by the poet and calligrapher Ibrāhīm Ćelebi is in the library of the Royal As. Soc. in London); E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 58; v. Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, ii. 332. (TH. MENZEL)

KHAZAR, a people of uncertain origin; on their relation to the Bulghār and the rise of the Khazar state see above, i. 786, where also the alliance between the Khazar and the Byzantines in the war against Persia in 627 is dealt with. In spite of the successful issue of the war for the Byzantines it is not recorded that their empire was increased at the expense of Persia; but the Caucasian lands taken at this time by the Khazars were not reconquered by the Persians and the Khazars were only deprived of them by the Arabs. Al-Balādhurī's statement (ed. de Goeje, p. 194) that the old capital of Arrān, Ka'walak, Arab. Kābala (cf. the art. ARRĀN), was also called Khazarān is important. On the ravaging of the countries of the Caucasus by the Khazar cf. A. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte*, diss. Leipzig 1897, p. 39 sqq., following Moses Kalankatuāci; *ibid.*, p. 30 sq., from the same source, on the alleged conversion of the Huns, i.e. the Khazars, to Christianity by the Albanian bishop Israel in the time of the Armenian Catholikos Sahak III (677—703); in this connection we are given some information regarding the pagan conceptions of the Khazars and the worship of their supreme deity Tengri-Khān. The "capital of the land of the Huns" there mentioned, Varačan or Varadjān, is, according to Marquart (*Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 16), identical with Balandjar, where, according to al-Mas'ūdi (*Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62, 16), in earlier times the capital of the Khazars was, according to Marquart on one of the streams that form the Kōi-su (Sulak). Al-Ṭabarī relates the conquest of Balandjar and the fortresses in this region by the Arabs in the year 104 = 722/723 (ii. 1453) or 105 = 723/724 (ii. 1462). In the account of the campaign of 111 = 729/730 (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 117) al-Baiḍā' (the "white city") is first given as the capital; according to Marquart, this is a translation of the name given in the earliest Arabic source (Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 139, 14; al-Gardīzi in W. Barthold, *Očer o počezke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 95) for the west side of the later capital Itil (at the mouth of the Volga); Marquart proposes to read the name Sarīghshar (Turk. "yellow city"). According to Ibn al-Athīr (v. 160), Marwān b. Muḥammad advanced as far as al-Baiḍā' in 119 = 737. Ibn al-Athīr only records the flight of the Khazar king from this town; according to al-Balādhurī (p. 207), he concluded peace with Marwān and declared himself ready to adopt Islām, whereupon Marwān confirmed him in his kingdom. A section of the Khazars was settled by Marwān between the river Samūr and the town of Shābirān (cf. above, i. 943). In spite of this, Arab rule was not firmly established on the Volga nor even in Daghestān [q.v.]; even in the ivth (xth) century the rule of the Khazars reached almost up to the walls of Derbend (cf. the article DAGHESTĀN). The Khazar kingdom was able to assert itself as a great power against the Byzantine Empire as well as the Caliphate. The emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741—775) married

a Khazar princess; the Emperor Leo IV (775—780), the son of this marriage, was known as "the Khazar". About the same time the governor of Armenia, Yazid b. Usaid al-Sulamī, is said to have married a daughter of the Khazar king at the request of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754—775) (al-Balādhurī, p. 210). The Armenian Levond (Russian translation by K. Patkanyan, St. Petersburg 1862, p. 92; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 5) connects the invasion of Georgia and Armenia by the Khazars in 147 (764/765) with the death of this princess; the leader of the Khazars is given by him as Raḍj Tarkhān; in al-Ya'qūbī (*Turikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 446) Rās (in the MS. Ḥalis) Tarkhān, in al-Ṭabarī (iii. 328, 9) Astarkhān al-Kh'wārizmī. There was therefore a Kh'wārizmī at the head of the Khazar force that invaded Muslim lands while at a later date in the body-guard of the Khazar king there were Muslim soldiers from Kh'wārizm, who had bargained for the right "to remain neutral whenever the Bey of the Khazars waged war against Muslims" (Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 5, from al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii. 10). The frontier provinces of the caliphate were raided by the Khazars for the last time in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 183 (799); this invasion also is said by al-Ṭabarī (iii. 647 sq.) to have been brought about by the failure of a proposed matrimonial alliance between the daughter of the Khazar king and the Barmecide Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (cf. above, i. 665 and ii. 36).

It was in the reign of Hārūn also that, according to al-Mas'ūdi (*Murūdj*, ii. 8), the conversion of the Khazar king (the Khākān) and of the nobles to Judaism took place; cf. the discussion of the sources in Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 5 sqq., and the alleged letter of a contemporary and subject of "King Joseph", since published by S. Schechter (*The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Ser., iii. 181 sqq.; following him, P. Kokowcow, *Žurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1913, Nov., p. 150 sqq.). We have again later an account of the conversion of the Khazars to Christianity (the missionary journey of the Slav apostle Constantine or Cyril between 851 and 863; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and 22) and two reports of their conversion to Islām. According to Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 418), the Khazars and later their king were converted to Islām in 354 (965) when they had to defend themselves with the help of the Muslim Kh'wārizmis against an attack by a Turkish people; this story, which we find as early as Ibn Miskawih (H. F. Amedroz and S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1920—1921, text ii. 203, transl. v. 223), is undoubtedly taken from the lost work of Ṭhābit b. Sinān and we must agree with Fr. Westberg (in *Žurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1908, March, p. 6) in referring it to the known campaign of Svyatoslaw (cf. above, i. 789). What al-Muḥaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 361, 1, tells us about the adoption of Islām as a result of the campaigns of al-Ma'mūn does not refer, as Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 3 and Index) supposes, to the Caliph but, as a comparison with al-Muḥaddasī, p. 288, 19, shows, to the ruler of Gurgāndj (Arab *Djurdjāniya*) and afterwards (after 995) of all Kh'wārizm, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad. In neither case is the story of the change of religion historical. Al-Balādhurī's story (p. 203; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 413) of the rebuilding of the town of Shamkhor (Arabic *Shamkūr*) with the name al-Mutawakkiliya by Boghā the Elder [cf. BOGHĀ AL-KABİR] is more important;

he is said to have settled Khazars there who had come to him "from an inclination towards Islām".

The danger which threatened the Khazars as a result of the movements of peoples in the 10th century caused the embassy to the emperor Theophilus (829—842) and the building of the Khazar fortress of Sarkel on the Don by the Greek Petronas. This story in Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De admin. imperio*, Chap. 42) is connected by Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 28) with Ibn Kusta, p. 143, r. Ibn Kharrādādhbeh's story (ed. de Goeje, p. 162 sq.) of the alleged mission of Sallām al-Tarjūmān is quoted by Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 476) as proof that "the Khazars were on friendly relations with the Caliphs at this time," but it should be pointed out that the Caliph there does not communicate direct with the Tarkhān, king of the Khazars, but through the intermediary of several Caucasian princes. About 240 (855/856) the Canark' (Arab. Ṣanariya), who had fled before Boghā, applied for assistance to the kings of the Byzantines, Khazars and Slavs (al-Yaḥṣūbi, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 598; transl. in Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 413 sq.). The attitude of the Khazar ruler was equivocal on the occasion of the raid made by the Russians on the lands on the Caspian Sea recorded by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 18 sqq.; new transl. in Marquart, p. 330 sqq.). Various suggestions have been made regarding the date which is not definitely given; according to Westberg, *Žurn. Min. Nar. Pros.*, Febr., 1908, p. 386, the raid did not take place till 925 but this is probably too late. The Russians were allowed a passage through Khazar territory on condition that they gave half their plunder to the Khazar king; on the way back they were fallen upon and almost wiped out — with the approval of this ruler who "could not prevent it," although he had informed the Russians of the danger awaiting them — by his Muslim mercenaries and the inhabitants of Itil, Muslim and Christians. Whether the more important Russian raid of 332 = 943/944 (cf. the art. BAR-DHA'A) was undertaken by agreement with the Khazars or against their will is not recorded. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 22), the Khazars had no ships; on the other hand, according to Hilāl al-Ṣābi (ed. Amedroz, p. 217 infra), the dams built at Derbend [q. v.] were intended as a defence against the ships (*marūkib*) of the Khazars.

The relations between the Khazar empire and the Byzantine must have been affected by the persecutions of the Jews under the Emperor Romanus Lacafenus (919—944); the only direct evidence of this is in the document of doubtful origin published by S. Schechter (cf. above). The reception in the Khazar lands of many Jews driven out of the Byzantine empire at this time is also mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 8 sq.). To about the same time belongs the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān (cf. i. 820 and ii. 398) — probably the only Muslim description of the Khazar kingdom and its capital Itil by an eye-witness; the *Risāla* may be taken as the source of al-Iṣṭakhṛī (p. 220 sq.) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 278) and also of al-Mas'ūdī; cf. the reference to Ibn Faḍlān in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 436, 20. The information there given on white and black Khazars (*ḥarā khazar*), the nominal rule of the *Khāḳān* and the actual rule of the viceroy (his title is variously given), on the seven judges etc., has been several times cited since Frähn (*Veteris memoriae Chazarorum*, St. Petersburg 1832, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences*,

vol. viii.). The most important source of revenue was the import and export of foreign goods; the land is said to have produced no wares of its own (Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 283, r. adds: "with the exception of isinglass.") Even the material for clothing was not prepared in the land itself but imported from Gurgān, Tabaristān, Ādharbāiḡiān and Rūm. Judaism was the predominant religion because the *Khāḳān*, the viceroy, the prince of Samandar in Daghestān who was related to the latter, and the high officials all professed it; in numbers, however, the Jews were less than the Muslims and Christians. In Itil there were over 10,000 Muslims, a principal mosque with a lofty minaret and 30 mosques. In the year 310 (922/3) the king received a report that in a Muslim country a synagogue had been destroyed (the name given in Yāḳūt, ii. 440, 2, is not clear; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and 477 sq.). He therefore had the minaret destroyed and the *mu'adhdhin* killed. He left the mosque itself unharmed for fear that all the synagogues in Muslim lands should be destroyed.

On the extent of Khazar power in what is now Russia, on the campaign of Svyatoslaw and its consequences see above, i. 789. Earlier (in the ninth century) even Kiev was subject to the Khazars; in this connection the author of the oldest — composed about 1095 (according to the critical edition by A. Shakhmatov, Introduction, p. xxiii.) — Russian Annals observes that in his time the Khazars were under the rule of Russian princes (A. A. Shakhmatov, *Poist' vremennikh let*, Petrograd 1916, p. 17). In any case it is evident from the annalists that they did not consider the Khazar kingdom destroyed even by Svyatoslaw's campaign; in the legend of the attempts by the adherents of various religions to convert prince Vladimir, "the Khazar Jews" are also mentioned as foreigners not subject to the Russians (*ibid.*, p. 104). The original home of the Khazars on the lower Volga and in Daghestān was not conquered by the Russians at this time; the subjection of the Khazars mentioned by the annalists can only refer to a part of the Crimean peninsula and the peninsula of Taman' opposite it, where lay the Russian principality of Tmutarakan' first mentioned in 1022. This region may well have been the "Khazaria" which was conquered by a fleet sent by the Emperor Basil II in alliance with the Russians in January, 1016; its leader is called Sven, Greek Sfengos, said to have been a brother of "King" Vladimir (according to Cedrenus, 464; Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, vol. cxxii.); the Khazar king (*arkhān*) of this region was Georgios Tzulos, apparently a Christian (Tzulos is the Turkish title *Çar*). In 1022 the ruler of Tmutarakan' was Mstislav, a son of Vladimir (Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, p. 186); in the next year Mstislav, in alliance with the Khazars, undertook a campaign against his brother Yaroslav. The Khazars are mentioned for the last time as neighbours of Tmutarakan' and intervening in the civil confusion in this principality in 1083 (*ibid.*, p. 253). The Muslim sources give us no information regarding the end of the Khazar kingdom. Ibn al-Athīr (ix. 279) makes the Kurd Faḍlān, ruler of Gandja [q. v.], make a raid on the Khazars in 421 (1030) and be attacked and slain by them on the way back. This was Faḍl b. Muḥammad, of the Shaddādid c. nasty; cf. above, i. 461 and ii. 129^b and see E. Schau, *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien* (Abhandl. der preuss. Akad. d.

Wissensch., 1923, philol.-hist. Kl., N^o. 1, N^o. 22). According to Marquart, this is the last mention of the Khazars in Ibn al-Aṣṭūr and in history generally (W. Bang and J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, in *Abhandl. der kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, N. F., vol. xiii., N^o. 1, Berlin 1914, p. 56). But a raid from Qazvin against the Khazars is very improbable on geographical grounds; the Khazars are probably mentioned here in error for the Georgians or Alans, as in al-Būḥārī in *Rec. des textes rel. à l'hist. de l'Asiejoudes*, ed. Husnima, II, 31, 12. Similarly (connection with the Qaraz or Kipčaks) is probably to be explained the mention of the Khazars in *Kutāb* about 1175 (cf. above, I, 943). In the 12th and 13th centuries the town and country of Sakān (s.v.), or Sakān are mentioned north of the Caspian Sea, probably on the Volga. J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, agrees with the suggestion of Fr. Westberg (*Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 291) that Sakān is the site of the former Kazar capital but rejects the view of the same scholar that the Sakān are simply the Khazars under another name. According to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṣī (in Dorn, in *Mil. Antiquae*, vi, 710), the distance between Bulghār and Sakān was 40 days' journey; on the other hand Sakān in the 10th (10th) century in Masʿūdī *Kaṭiḡhān* (*Diwān Luḡāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333 = 1914—1915) is identified with Suwār, only two days' journey from Bulghār (cf. above, I, 728). (W. BARTHOLOD)

AL-KHĀZINĪ, ABŪ DJĀFAR AL-KHURĀSĪNĪ (al-Bīrūnī adds the name Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain; we sometimes find al-Khāzinī instead of al-Khāzin), born about 349 (960), was, according to his contemporary, one of the greatest Muslim astronomers. He belonged to Khurāsān and conducted observations for Abū 'l-Faḡl Ibn al-'Aṣūd († 359 = 969/970), a vizier of Rukn al-Dawla (326—366 = 932—976). He was better known by the kunya Abū Djāfar than by his own proper name. Like most students of mathematics, he dealt with all its branches.

In arithmetic he dealt with numerical problems and solved a problem found in Archimedes which leads to a cubic equation (see E. Wopke, *L'Algèbre d'Omar al-Khayyāmī*, p. 239; cf. also *Hādīdī Khalifa*, N^o. 396); he also wrote a commentary on the first part of the tenth book of Euclid which deals with division (*Hādīdī Khalifa*, N^o. 1070). *Cod. Leiden* N^o. 992 contains two problems from his book of tables of planets.

Cod. Leiden N^o. 1014 gives a geometrical problem: on one connected with the problem of parabolæ of G. Jacob and E. Wiedemann, *Zu Omar-ḥ-Chayyām*, in *Islam*, 1912, III, 56.

One of Abū Djāfar's principal fields of research was astronomy. In the *Kitāb al-Ālāt al-Aḡṣṣa al-Raḍīya* he gave a description of marvellous instruments of observation (*Hādīdī Khalifa*, N^o. 1122 and 9887). This work is also mentioned by al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Kāfī* and in Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* (French transl., I, 111; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. IX: Zu der Geschichte der Astronomie*, in the *S.B.P.M.S. Erlangen*, 1906, xxxviii, 190). The same book probably also deals with an instrument for measuring the altitude of the sun (J. Frank, *Über zwei astronomische Instrumente*, 2. *Das Instrument mit dem Dreieck* (von al-Khāzinī), in the *Zeitschr. für Instrumentenkunde*, 1921, xli.

199 sq.) and a ring 8 ells (about 13 feet) in diameter with which, according to al-Nawawī, he ascertained the obliquity of the ecliptic for Ibn al-'Aṣūd with the help of a number of scholars. He found it smaller than his predecessors had done (*Cod. Leiden, Catalogue*, N^o. 1060, fol. 52).

Mention is often made of a work highly praised by Ibn al-Kifī, "The Book of Tables of Planes" (*Zidj al-Safā'ih* for the astrolabe), which consists of several *maḥālāt* with a long introduction. In it, according to al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-Bāḡiya*, p. 326; *Chronology*, p. 322), there is most probably an explanation of the progressive and retrograde movement of the spheres. It is perhaps a part of this work that is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī (*Kitāb al-Istifāh* etc., *Cod. Leiden, Catalogue*, N^o. 1066, fol. 69) as "On the Differences in the Ascensions (*maḥālāt*) for Equal Arcs etc.". Possibly it is identical with the work quoted by Naṣīr al-Dīn in his *Kitāb Shahl al-Kaṭīf* ("Book on the Figure of Transversals") viz. *Maḥālāt Djuwīya Ma'il al-Muḥīl al-Djuwīya wa 'l-Maḥālāt fi 'l-Kurat al-Mustakīma* ("partial investigations into some of the partial inclinations and of the *maḥālāt* in the sphaera recta") (*Traité du quadrilatère*, ed. and translated by Alex. Pacha Caratheodory, 1891, text p. 115, transl. p. 150).

The following were probably mainly theoretical cosmological works: 1. *al-Mudkhal al-Kabīr fi 'ilm al-Nudjūm* ("the great introduction to astronomy") (see al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḡiya*, p. 202; *Chronology*, p. 133); in it Abū Djāfar also discussed questions of chronology and gives methods of determining the sign of Muḥarram. 2. *Sirr al-'Ālamīn* (*Hādīdī Khalifa*, N^o. 7140). In one of these two writings Abū Djāfar probably dealt for the first time with Ibn al-Haiṭham's theory of the structure of the world mentioned by al-Khiraḡī. In it he apparently relied on the hypotheses of Ptolemy, which Ṭhābit b. Qurra had translated (cf. *Hādīdī Khalifa*, N^o. 13,124). Abū Djāfar also evolved a form of the world which differs from that with the excentric sphere and the epicycle; in it the distance between sun and earth is always the same in spite of the difference in its rotation. He thus gets two regions on the earth, a northern and a southern which do not differ in heat and cold (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḡiya*, p. 259; *Chronology*, p. 249).

Like almost all astronomers, Abū Djāfar also dealt with astrology; he was learned in the doctrine of *tasyīr*.

Abū Djāfar was also interested in philosophical problems, as is evident from a commentary on the beginning of the work of Aristotle on the heavens by a certain Abū Zaid al-Balkhī, who wrote it to Abū Djāfar (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 40, 5).

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker der Araber*, etc., N^o. 124; Yaḥyā al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 266 and 282; Ibn al-Kifī, p. 396. (E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-KHĀZINĪ, ABŪ 'L-FATH 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MANṢŪR AL-KHĀZINĪ (AL-KHĀZIN), flourished about 500 A.H. (end of the xith and beginning of the xiith century). A pretty full account of him is given in the work of a certain al-Baiḥaqī (see below) and isolated references are given in his "Sindjari Tables" (*zidj*) and his *Kitāb Mizān al-Hikma*. Al-Khāzinī was a Greek slave brought up in the service of 'Alī al-Khāzin al-Marwazī in Merw and received an education in geometrical and philoso-

pical knowledge worthy of his talents which enabled him to compose the books mentioned below.

He later became associated with the Sultān of Khurāsān, Mu'izz al-Dīn Abū Ḥārith Sandjar b. Malik-shāh b. Alp Arslān (511–552 = 1117–1157; he had previously been governor of Khurāsān for the twenty years 491–511). Al-Khāzinī enjoyed the favour of this prince and his nobles; at the same time his style of life remained as exceedingly simple and modest, as that of al-Birūnī.

Two works of his are known and have survived:

1. *Al-Zīj al-Mu'tabar al-Sindjarī*. This book of tables gives statements of the positions of fixed stars for the year 509 = 1115/1116 and also for oblique ascensions and time-equations for the latitude of Merw (37° 40'), which was in Sandjar's kingdom. This work was used by C. A. Nallino in his *al-Battēnī Opus Astronomicum*; cf. e.g. vol. i, p. lxvii., and the Index.

2. *Kitāb Mīzān al-Ḥikma* (finished 515 = 1121/1122); its contents are discussed in the articles AL-KARASŪN and MĪZĀN. Al-Baihaḳī says that he rediscovered the book; a passage from it is mentioned in a manuscript in the India Office.

Bibliography: Zāhir al-Dīn Zaid al-Baihaḳī, *Tārīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām* (Berl. MS.; Ahlwardt, Catalogue, No. 10,052), contains the life of al-Khāzinī (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. XX, Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, No. 103, in the *S.B.P.M.S. Erlg.*, 1910, xlii. 73); H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, No. 293 and Appendix, p. 226. A considerable part of the *Kitāb Mīzān al-Ḥikma* is published by N. Khanikoff, *Analysis and Extracts of the Book of the Balance of Wisdom* etc., in *J. A. O. S.*, 1859, vi. 1–128. Other parts have been edited by me in *Beitr. XV, Über Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen*, in the *S.B.P.M.S. Erlg.*, 1908, xl. 105–132; *Beitr. XVI, Über die Lehre vom Schwimmen, die Hebelgesetze und die Konstruktion des Qarasŭn*, *ibid.*, 1908, xl. 133–159. Here also the parts published down to the present day are discussed again; also *Beitr. XXXVII, Über die Stundenuhre*, *ibid.*, 1914, xlv. 27–38; *Beitr. XLVIII, Über die Wage des Wechsels von al-Chāzinī und über die Lehre von den Proportionen nach al-Birūnī*, *ibid.*, 1916, xlviii. 1–15; E. Wiedemann, *Über die Kenntnisse der Muslime auf dem Gebiet der Mechanik und Hydrostatik, in Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, etc., 1910, ii. 394–398; do., *Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen, in Isl.*, 1911, ii. 345–358. (E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-KHAZRADJ is the name of the tribe who with their brother-tribe al-Aws were occupying the region of al-Madīna and farther north to Khaibar and Taimā' at the time of the beginning of Islām. On account of the important part which they played in the successful rise of Islām both tribes are designated by the honorific name of *al-Anṣār* "the Helpers". It is the unanimous statement of genealogists and Arab antiquarians that the Khazradj, together with the Aws and the Ghassānids in Syria, migrated from South-Arabia at a very early date and as the reason for their emigration from their ancient homes is given the bursting of the dam at Ma'rib the exact date of which cannot be determined; it can be approximately dated in the fifth century of the Christian era. The genealogies of the divisions of the tribe

are fairly well established because the different clans were registered in the *Dirwān* introduced by the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as they were entitled because of their help to Islām to the second category of pensions allotted by the *Dirwān*. As regards the earliest names in their pedigree: al-Khazradj b. 'Amr al-'Anḳa' b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr Muzaikīya, which they share with al-Aws, we may be more sceptical. When the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazradj in their migration reached Yathrib, which later received the name of Madinat al-Nabī, they found settled there a number of Jewish tribes among which the Banū Qainuḳā', Quraiza, the Naḍir and nearly twenty more clans are known by name. The latter possessed in Yathrib and its neighbourhood over 70 castles, named *Āṭam* (plur. of *uṭm*), which formed one of the distinctive features of the city and which granted the inhabitants a measure of security not known in any other town of Arabia. If we had not the repeated affirmation of Arab antiquarians that these buildings were constructed by the Jews, we might think that they were built on the model of similar buildings in the Yaman and introduced by the immigrants. The Khazradj settled at first on the outskirts of the town like the Aws, but as their numbers increased more rapidly than the resident Jewish population* of the town, they soon asserted their power and made themselves masters of some of the *āṭam*. The immediate cause of their first war with the Jews is stated to have been that a prince of the Jewish family Zuhra, named al-Kaiṭun, intended to enforce the *jus primae noctis* with a bride from the tribe of al-Aws for which the prince was slain by the brother of the bride. (That the name al-Kaiṭun is fictitious is apparent; it is nothing but the Greek word *κοιτών*). The consequence was that the allied tribes asked and received help, either from the Ghassānids in Syria or from Yamanites from South-Arabia, and by treachery murdered many of the most prominent Jews. Being now in possession of a large portion of the town, the allied tribes fell out among themselves. The peculiar formation of the town, consisting of a number of detached settlements with the castles among them, made it possible for such warfare inside the township to continue for a long time, and as neither al-Aws nor al-Khazradj were very numerous, each in turn made alliances with the nomadic tribes in the country surrounding Yathrib. The Khazradj were stronger in numbers and to equalise this the Aws made alliances at various times with the tribe of Sulaim and were generally also assisted by the Jews; it was only after the fight at al-Bu'āth in which the Khazradj were heavily defeated that something like equilibrium prevailed in Yathrib. However, the intermittent fighting between the two tribes and murders, with the consequent retaliation, continued. The momentous change was brought about by the Hīdjra of the Prophet from Mekka to Yathrib where he arrived at the suburb of Qubā' on Rabi' I 12 (Tuesday, June 29, 622) and engaged the hitherto antagonistic tribes to assist him in his struggle against his fellow-citizens of Mekka. We get a fair estimate of the number of fighting men in each of the two tribes by the list of participants in the battle of Badr, for Ibn Sa'd in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (vol. III/ii.) gives us the names of 63 members of the tribe of al-Aws and 175 names of those drawn from al-Khazradj. With the whole community accepting Islām, the Jewish

element in Yathrib soon lost all importance and the clans of Kuraiza and al-Nadīr were practically exterminated. Though the early converts from Mekka were always held in higher estimation, the Anṣār during the remainder of the Prophet's life were the mainstay of his power and it was not unnatural that upon his death, when he had not appointed a successor, the Khazradj felt by their numerical superiority that they were destined to be heirs of the State created by the Prophet and it was only due to the timely interference of 'Umar that the choice for the ruler of the State did not fall upon Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. That the latter felt that he had been unjustly deprived of a position which was rightly his is proved by his irreconcilable attitude after his rejection and his removal from al-Madina to Ḥawrān, where he died in the year 15 (637).

The Khazradj were divided into a number of clans of very unequal numerical strength at the time of the Prophet. The most numerous were the Banu 'l-Nadīdjār, while the other clans were approximately in the following order: al-Ḥārith, Djusham, 'Awf and Ka'b. It was also from the ranks of the Khazradj that the poets of the Prophet derived their origin, namely Ḥassān b. Thābit [q.v.], Ka'b b. Mālik and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. During the rule of the Umayyads, descendants of the early followers of the Prophet continued to hold prominent positions and most of them were strong supporters of the Umayyads with the notable exception of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr [q.v.] who as governor of Ḥimṣ unsuccessfully took the side of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair and lost his life. We also find numbers of the tribe of al-Khazradj among the early settlers in Egypt and the descendants of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa were for centuries men of note in Muḥammadan Spain; they were settled principally in Saragossa in the North. If we come to consider the large amount of immigrants from al-Madina and the South of Arabia to Egypt we may not be far from the truth in assuming that the language of the Khazradj, from their South-Arabian origin, had also influence upon the Arabic dialect of Egypt and that they pronounced the letter *ḍīm*, unlike Eastern Arabs, hard like *g*.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, III/ii; al-Samhūdī, *Khuṭ'asāt al-Wafā'*, Mekka 1316, p. 73 sqq. (this work is useful for fixing with much detail the ancient settlements of the Khazradj in Yathrib); A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908; Kowalski, *Diwān des Kais ibn al-Khatīm*, Introduction; H. Lammens, *Médine à la veille de l'Islam*, Bairūt; and almost every work dealing with the life of the Prophet and the early history of Islām. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen und Register*; al-Kālkashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Baghdad 1332; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ii. 316—317. (F. KRENKOW)

AL-KHAZRADJĪ, Dīyā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Aṭf al-Khazradjī al-Sā'idī, belonged to a family which was originally native to Granada; he was born at Baigha (Priego de Córdoba) about 590/1194, and established himself at Alexandria where he often met Ibn Rashīd (who mentions him in his *Rihla*) and where he died in 626 (1128—1129) or 627, or, according to others as late as 650 (1252—1252). One of his commentators, al-Zam-

mūrī, says that he was born at Fās, travelled in the East and died at Ceuta in 610. This error on the part of Zammūrī is due to his taking our Khazradjī for another person of the same name whose biography is to be found in Ibn al-Kāḍī's *Djadhwat al-Iktibās*, p. 298. al-Khazradjī's work on metre, under the title *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiya fī 'Imai al-Arūd wa 'l-Kāfiya*, consists of 96 ṭawil-verses. It discusses metre and feet as well as the syllables of which the latter are composed. Then the author gives a description in which he treats the component parts and their modifications at the beginning and the end of hemistichs, as well as changes allowed or not. Then he describes different kinds of verses and finally rhyme, rhyming letters and mistakes in this field made by the poets. Like all handbooks of this kind, it cannot be utilised without a detailed commentary; this applies especially to the technical lines 8—12, 16, 27—29, 52—76. Of the many commentators of this poem may be mentioned Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Futūḥ al-Zammūrī (flourished about 750), lith. ed. Fās; Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī, died in Sha'bān 760 (June—July 1359); Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as al-Damāmīnī, died at Kalbirja in Sha'bān 727 (June—July 1424), not in 856, as Freytag says; printed at Cairo 1303, Muḥammad b. Marzūq al-Ḥafid, from Tlemcen, died on Sha'bān 24, 842 (Febr. 9, 1439); 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bastī with the surname of al-Kalāṣādī, died at Badja (Beja) in Tunisia in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 891 (December 1486); Zakāriyā al-Anṣārī, died in 926 (1519—1520), lith. ed. Alexandria 1288, printed at Cairo 1303; Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Balawī, died in 938 (1531—1532). The first edition of the poem was published by Guadagnoli, in his *Breves arabicae linguae institutiones*, Rome 1642, p. 286—299; it has further been printed in different *maḍmūnāt*. I have published an edition with a French translation, historical introduction and commentary: *La Khazradjyah*, Algier 1902.

Bibliography: al-Maḥḥarī, in Dozy's *Analectes*, i. 590; Freytag, *Darstellung der ar. Verskunst*, p. 35—37; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 312. (RENÉ BASSET)

KHEDIW (KHEDIVE). The Persian word *khadīw* or *khidw* meaning "lord" is one of the titles occasionally given to Muḥammadan rulers since the Middle Ages (cf. the xvth century Turkish historian 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, Constantinople, v. 17). This title was conferred in 1867 by the Ottoman Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz on Ismā'īl Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt. Though, since the *firman* of 1841, the function of Pasha of Egypt was already hereditary in the family of Muḥammad 'Alī, Ismā'īl desired a title indicating that his rank was higher than that of the other Ottoman governors with the title of Pasha. During the preliminary negotiations Ismā'īl proposed the title of *al-'Azīz* (cf. Kur'an, xii. 30), but for several reasons (e.g. the occurrence of this word in the Sultān's own name) the title of *Khadiw* (in official documents *Khadiw* Miṣr; the form *al-Khadiwī* is also often found) was chosen, which had been used already by Muḥammad 'Alī (see below 2, and Dicey, *The Story of the Khedivate*, p. 58). The term Khedive is, however, generally applied to all members of the dynasty founded in Egypt by Muḥammad 'Alī, until the establishment of the English protectorate over Egypt in

1914. The new ruler then assumed the title of Sulṭān, which was replaced by that of Malik after the protectorate had been abolished on February 28, 1922. The title of Viceroy often applied to the Khedives in European literature was already used in Muḥammad 'Alī's time.

The following members of the Khedivial dynasty have ruled Egypt under the suzerainty of the Sulṭān of Turkey:

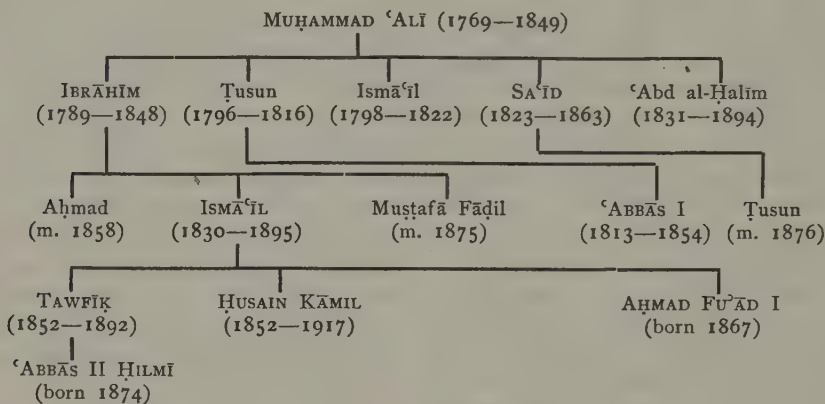
Muḥammad 'Alī	1805—1848
Ibrāhīm	1848 (June—November)
'Abbās I	1848—1854
Sa'id	1854—1863
Ismā'il	1863—1879
Tawfiq	1879—1892
'Abbās II Ḥilmi	1892—1914.

They were succeeded by:

Ḥusain Kāmil, Sulṭān, 1914 (Dec. 19)—1917 (Oct. 9).

Aḥmad Fu'ād, Sulṭān from 1917 to 1922, King (as Fu'ād I) since 1922 (March 16).

Genealogical tree of the most conspicuous of the numerous members of this dynasty:



The *firmān* of 1841 regulated the order of succession according to seniority in Muḥammad 'Alī's family; by the *firmān* of 1866 this regulation was replaced by the right of primogeniture limited to the descendants of Ismā'il Pasha. A decree of April 13, 1922, has recently settled the order of succession of the kings of Egypt.

Though really of Albanian origin, the Khedives have always been regarded in Egypt as "Turks", nor can they be said to have become a really national dynasty. The remark has been made that its various members have exhibited as many different types of character (Hasenclever, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 199). The first five of them ruled with the absolutism of Oriental despots, but after the English occupation they had much less opportunity of developing an attitude of their own. The ties which bound this dynasty to Turkey always have remained strong enough to make it possible that, soon after the Turkish revolution of 1909, an Egyptian Prince, Sa'id Ḥalīm Pasha, could become Grand Vizier in Constantinople.

During the khedivial period Egypt has been what is generally called "europeanised", viz. a great many technical, juridical, economic and social institutions have been introduced. The same thing

has happened, during the same period, to other Muḥammadan countries and with the latter Egypt shows the common feature that the models after which the western institutions have been fashioned were nearly all French. But the particular form of the europeanisation of Egypt — its revival under a nearly independent dynasty, the marvellous development of its economic productivity and its weakening to a point which brought the country under the control of a European Power — was quite different to the corresponding process in Turkey, Algiers and other Muḥammadan lands. At the same time Egypt has remained the chief centre of Muḥammadan civilisation and education and its rapidly increasing population now amounts to half the Arabic-speaking world (Massignon in *R. M. M.*, lvii. 75 *sqq.*). The main point of view from which in the following lines the condition of Egypt since the beginning of the nineteenth century will be traced is the way in which this Muḥammadan country has reacted to the process of "europeanisation" and the results which have been the outcome of it.

1. Political History.

We can distinguish four periods before the war of 1914: 1. from the French expedition to the final installation of Muḥammad 'Alī (1798—1805), 2. Muḥammad 'Alī's reign until the end of his period as one of the Great Powers (1805—1841), 3. up to the English occupation (1841—1882) and 4. the occupation period until the English protectorate (1882—1914).

One of the chief motives for the French expedition against Egypt was the wish to prevent England from such an enterprise. During the eighteenth century France's commercial interest in Egypt had always been far more important than England's, but since this country had concluded a commercial treaty with the usurper 'Alī Bey [q. v.] and obtained in this way admittance for British vessels into the Red Sea for the Indo-Egyptian trade, the interference of England in Egyptian affairs had become a political danger. The geographical position of the country has destined it to become the first object of European political interests, as soon as the consolidation of colonial power in India could no longer be content with the sea route as the only line of communication. In France the idea of taking possession of Egypt had been

discussed throughout the eighteenth century, but the traditional good relations with Turkey had been one of the reasons that prevented its execution. Finally it was due to the initiative of Napoleon Bonaparte, seconded by Talleyrand, that the French Directoire decided in favour of the expedition on March 5, 1798. As to Turkey, the unusually energetic measures taken by the Porte in 1768 against 'Alī Bey proved that, even at Constantinople, there had been a presentiment of the coming events. In Egypt itself nothing indicated that a foreign invasion by a European power was seriously apprehended.

The French fleet, consisting of about 400 ships and a landing-force of 35,000 men, commanded by Bonaparte, landed near Alexandria on July 2, 1798. Alexandria was occupied without difficulty and the French immediately began their march on Cairo. The resistance organised by the Mamlūk Beys Murād and Ibrāhīm near Embābe on the Nile was soon broken in the battle of the Pyramids and on July 24 the capital was occupied. Murād Bey fled to Upper-Egypt and Ibrāhīm into the Delta. The panic that for a moment had overcome the inhabitants of the capital soon disappeared, but they were far from showing confidence in the French "liberators" and "friends of Islām", as the French soldiers had been styled in a proclamation. Bonaparte soon had to adopt more severe and more Oriental methods against revolts of the populace. A month after the landing the destruction of the French ships in the bay of Abū Kīr by Nelson (August 1) completely changed the character of the French enterprise and was the first of the blows struck by England, resulting in the final evacuation. The Porte, though reluctantly, declared war on France in September, but not before the middle of the next year (1799) did Turkish troops appear in Egypt. In the meantime the French had established a regular administration in the country. The Egyptians, however, maintained their ironical attitude towards the actions of the French, as well towards their zealous respect of local religious customs as towards the scientific investigations of the scholars accompanying the expedition. Besides, they soon were disappointed when they saw that the French also demanded the payment of land-tax, and the Muhammadan majority naturally did not like to see that the foreigners made a large use of the native Christians (Copts, Greeks, Syrians) as subordinate officials. On October 21, 1798, a rather serious revolt broke out in Cairo, which was only suppressed on the following day after a bombardment of al-Azhar. In order to prevent the invasion of a Turkish army, Bonaparte undertook in February, 1799, his famous expedition to Syria. Having failed to take 'Akka, defended by Djazzār Pasha [q. v.], he had to retreat in May. A month after his return the first Turkish troops (among whom was Muḥammad 'Alī as an officer in the Albanian corps), transported by English ships, landed at Abū Kīr (July 14, 1799). They were utterly defeated and on August 2 Bonaparte took their last refuge, the fortress of Abū Kīr. After Bonaparte's departure (August 22) the French maintained themselves another two years under Kléber (murdered in June, 1800) and Menou, but in August, 1801, their last resistance was broken by the allied English and Turks and they had to evacuate Egypt.

Apart from the immediate political results — the destruction of the Mamlūk power and the return

of Egypt to Turkey —, the results of the scientific work of the French expedition (centralised in the "Institut Egyptien" founded by Bonaparte on August 21, 1798, in Cairo, v. Bréhier, *L'Égypte de 1798 à 1900*, p. 65—80) published in the eight folio volumes of the *Description de l'Égypte* (cf. the *Bibliography*) were enormous. The researches on the "present state of Egypt" constitute the basis of all European knowledge of modern Egypt (e.g. the elaborate researches made by Lepère on the possibility of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea). The immediate influence, however, of the French on the cultural development of Egypt was almost nil. The gap between Eastern and Western civilisation was too wide to allow of any tangible results during the first period; this impression is given very strongly by reading al-Djabartī's account of the foreign occupation.

After the departure of the French army, a struggle began between the Turkish authorities and the Mamlūk Beys who wanted to regain their ancient power. The Mamlūks were protected by the English; after Murād Bey's death their most important leader became 'Uḥmān Bey Bardīsī. The Turks on the other hand naturally wished to take advantage of the opportunity to fasten their grip on the country, but their administrative methods and the inability of the successively appointed *wālīs* to withhold their own troops from mutiny, for want of money, gave to Bardīsī and his party a temporary advantage. His protectors, the British, had left Egypt in March, 1803, but one of his chief supporters was Muḥammad 'Alī with his Albanian regiment. His aid enabled Bardīsī and the old Ibrāhīm Bey to maintain themselves in Cairo, while the *wālīs* of the Porte exercised authority only in certain parts of the Delta. A last Turkish *wālī*, Khurshīd Pasha, could reside for some time in the Cairo citadel, but finally Muḥammad 'Alī, by his ever increasing influence, removed him.

After the rather negative results of the foregoing five years the second period proved to be of enormous importance for the country. From a political point of view the most notable effect of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign was that he gave Egypt a dynasty of its own. Although what Muḥammad 'Alī did for the country was only a means of realising his own ambitions, the history of Egypt has been deeply influenced by his measures. He unchained forces which determined its destiny and settled the fate of the dynasty itself. They may be summed up as follows: firstly, the mobilisation of the national forces of the Egyptians themselves and secondly the introduction of European instructors and European methods. From a cultural point of view it may be remarked that from the beginning of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign until the English occupation Egypt was much more exposed to Ottoman-Turkish influences than was ever the case before; personal and independent as the régime of the viceroy may have been, the administrative methods and the taste of himself and his surroundings were impregnated by the traditions of the Ottoman Empire (as an instance may be cited the so called Alabaster Mosque built by Muḥammad 'Alī in the Citadel of Cairo in Constantinople style). The great expansion of Muḥammad 'Alī's power between 1833 and 1840 was one of the natural historical consequences of Egyptian political power which always has implied the annexation of Syria (see the art. EGYPT); Muḥammad

‘Alī’s Great Power policy itself, however, was not very important for Egypt. The conquest of the Sūdān was of far more direct and future profit for the country. In 1841, at the end of this period, closed by the Imperial *firmān* of Rabi‘ II 2, 1257 (May 23, 1841), Egypt’s international position was quite changed. To outward appearances it had become again a Turkish province, but in reality the fact of the intervention of four great European Powers (except France) showed the beginnings of political dependence upon Europe and especially upon England. The occupation of ‘Aden by the British in February, 1838, was already a clear symptom of the new situation. Muḥammad ‘Alī was always fully aware of this fact (Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, i. 16). He remained himself a staunch friend of France, though this friendship proved to be of little avail to him. But as long as he reigned he was able to avert foreign intervention from Egyptian internal affairs; it is for this reason that he never gave his consent to the piercing of the Suez Isthmus.

The last years of Muḥammad ‘Alī, and the short reign of Ibrāhīm [q. v.], belong, with the reigns of ‘Abbās, Sa‘īd and Ismā‘īl (cf. these articles), to the third period. During this period Egypt became more and more detached from the Ottoman Empire and it was drawn more and more into the sphere of European politics and economics. No territorial expansion took place except in the South (Abyssinian war in 1872; acquisition of Sawākin and Muṣawwa‘ from the Porte in 1865). Egypt’s relations with Turkey in this period were rather of a personal character, inasmuch as the Khedives sought to gain special favours from the Sultāns in return for an increase of the tribute. But whenever the Ottoman government tried to exercise real influence on Egyptian affairs — as in the beginning of ‘Abbās’s reign — the results were illusory. Even the Sultān’s prohibition of Ismā‘īl’s contracting new loans without his assent could easily be ignored. The Egyptian army was only theoretically a part of the Turkish army (Egyptian troops, however, participated in the Turkish wars against Russia) and it was only due to special circumstances, that, in 1879, the Sultān had an opportunity of deposing Ismā‘īl. In the interior the viceroys reigned with unlimited autocratic power after the traditional Oriental fashion. With the exception of ‘Abbās, who showed himself an enemy of Western civilisation — especially in its French form —, they encouraged the introduction of European arts and sciences and institutions. The result was that Egypt became soon more “europeanised” than any other Muḥammadan country. It is well known that all these works, far from increasing the prosperity of the country, brought about its financial ruin. The cause has to be sought not so much in the proverbial but much exaggerated prodigality of Ismā‘īl as in the system that prevailed in the execution of the reforms. This system was based on the careless Oriental administrative methods, the disastrous effects of which were doubled by the readiness shown by the Europeans in granting financial facilities. Moreover, many of the European agents were no more than unscrupulous adventurers, whose only aim was to get an enormous indemnity for alleged breaches of contract by the Egyptian government. A great many public works remained uncompleted

on account of difficulties of this sort. The first result was an ever increasing floating debt (the first beginnings of this disastrous development are very clearly depicted by von Kremer, ii. 28). The main difficulties, however, were brought about by the different loans contracted in Europe by Sa‘īd and Ismā‘īl (1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, 1872); they grew to an extent which cost Ismā‘īl his throne. The greater part of the bondholders of the debt were French and, to a less degree, British. So France and England, the ancient rivals in Egyptian affairs, became the leaders of the foreign intervention; representatives of both these countries took part in the “Dual Control” over the revenues and expenses of Egypt since 1876, interrupted only by the period in which an Englishman and a Frenchman were ministers (August 28, 1878—April 5, 1879). France’s financial interests were unquestionably the greater, but England was already by far the more influential by its trade and by its political situation; moreover the British occupation of Perim in 1857 and of Cyprus in 1878 strengthened England’s position considerably. Still, up to the English occupation of 1882, Egypt’s formal relations towards other countries were nearly those of an independent state, limited only by the capitulations and, since 1876, by the mixed jurisdiction (see 2). The Khedive, since 1873, was able to conclude treaties with other powers (except purely political); at the opening of the Suez canal (1876), Ismā‘īl was treated as the equal of the European sovereigns who came to attend the ceremonies. As the European personnel in the Egyptian administration increased, however, the influence of the French and English consuls became gradually considerable.

The condition of the people of Egypt had become more favourable in the beginning of this third period, especially after the abolition of the state monopoly. But the *fellāḥ*’s profited little by the favourable economic circumstances and, especially after 1876 when the heavy and ruinous taxation began which was the only means whereby the government could meet its obligations, there began a period of profound misery which was only to end towards 1890. This unsatisfactory situation was one of the causes of the first nationalist movement. This movement had originated in the indigenous middle classes, which had already come into existence under Muḥammad ‘Alī; by European as well as Oriental influences (Djāmāl al-Dīn Afghānī) these classes had gradually become an important factor in social life, although, for the time, orthodox religious circles still stood aloof, as the modernist views of the first nationalists and their sympathy with freemasonry were antipathetic to them. The nationalists criticised Ismā‘īl’s financial policy, his favourisation of European elements in the country and his predilection for the Turco-Circassian class to the detriment of the native Egyptians. The treatment of the indigenous element in the army especially had excited their indignation (the armies sent to the Sūdān and against Abyssinia in 1875 consisted exclusively of *fellāḥ*’s). Public opinion began for the first time to manifest itself in 1877. In that year the nationalists published some newspapers (a. o. *Miṣr* and *al-Waṭan*) and the device of *Miṣr li ‘l-Miṣriyīn* was heard for the first time. Notwithstanding repressive measures, the nationalist papers published sharp criticisms of the government;

a special subject of their criticisms was the participation of Egyptian troops in the Turco-Russian war. The "coup d'état" of April, 1879, which caused the fall of the ministry of Nūbār Pasha with the two European ministers was the first palpable result of the nationalist action (it seems even probable that the nationalists encouraged the deposition of Ismā'īl) (M. Sabry, *La Génèse* etc., p. 160). A still more serious consequence was the movement in the army against the Turco-Circassian officers, which finally led to open revolt and, as a consequence, the occupation of the country by British troops.

This military movement, the revolution of 'Arābi and his friends, opens the fourth period of modern Egyptian history. In the two preceding years, after the accession of Tawfīk Pasha [q. v.], the new Khedive and his ministers had tried to execute a more or less nationalist programme, but, when 'Arābi had come with his claims of army reforms, the convocation of parliament and of a constitution, they soon came to look on foreign intervention as the only possible salvation. Thus the absence of a really strong and able power in the country — for 'Arābi's party was weak through inexperience and incompetence — had made possible the intervention of England. The chief cause which made it desirable for England to get a strong position in Egypt was the geographical situation of this country on the route to India. This desirability had much increased since France had taken possession of Algiers and Tunis and after the opening of the Suez canal, which it was in England's interest to keep free from powerful foreign influence. The development of Egyptian affairs had provided it with an excuse for an armed intervention. France, whose political interests were less engaged, shrank back from the responsibility at the last moment; Egypt's history after 1882 shows how England has assumed this responsibility.

Theoretically, the international position of the country remained unchanged after the occupation; Egypt now enjoyed a double suzerainty, a financial tutelage, a threefold jurisdiction, a foreign military occupation and was the scene of the clash of two civilisations. The British policy had in the first place to face what Lord Cromer calls "Internationalism", meaning by this term the intervention of other powers, especially France, in Egyptian administrative affairs on the basis of former agreements. Only in 1904, the year of the Anglo-French agreement, did England practically get a free hand in Egypt. The man under whose direction the position of the English was consolidated in the Nile valley was Lord Cromer, British Consul-General from 1883 to 1907. Notwithstanding his comparatively modest official function, Cromer became the most powerful man in Egypt. He governed by the system of "governing the governors of Egypt"; his chief aids were the British advisers in the different ministries. It certainly was an advantage for Egypt that its interests had now become to a large extent identical with those of England. Thus England succeeded by a new loan guaranteed by the great Powers and by very severe measures in the interior in putting the finances on a sound base, so that in 1904 the power of the "Caisse de la Dette" could be considerably limited, so as to give back to Egypt its financial liberty. The public debt, it is true, was not much less in 1914 than in 1882, but the

economic prosperity of the country had greatly increased (see 3). As to Turkey, its influence on Egyptian affairs became ever less. The sending of Ghāzī Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha in 1885 as Turkish High Commissioner had no political results, though the unofficial panislamic propaganda carried on by the Pasha was considerable at the time. The Sultān's attempts in 1892 and in 1906 to assert his authority on the Sinai peninsula were complete failures. During the Turco-Italian war England did not even allow Egypt to send troops to Tripoli. On the other hand Turkey could not sympathise with the nationalists, the Young Turks (many of whom had found an asylum in Egypt during the Ḥamidian régime) after 1908, even less than Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamid. France's opposition to the English occupation was more influential on account of the strong French sympathies in the country. After 'Abbās Hilmi's accession a revival of French cultural influence took place, against which the English occasionally had to take measures (deposition of Nūbār Pasha in 1894). It was from France that, until 1904, the nationalists always hoped for support. The position of the Khedives was of no political influence; 'Abbās Hilmi was no more successful in his nationalist attitude in the first years of his reign than later on in his entertaining good relations with Constantinople.

The Sūdān, the possession of which had been most important for Egypt's prosperity and its international position, theoretically was, like Egypt, a province of the Ottoman Empire; by a *fīrmān* of 1841 Muḥammad 'Alī had been granted the governorship over these regions "without hereditary rights". Under Ismā'īl the Sūdān had been governed for Egypt by English governors (Baker and Gordon). But, since the revolt of the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad [q. v.] and especially the taking of Khartūm (January 26, 1885) had interrupted the Egyptian domination, the Sūdān affairs were entirely directed by British policy; the same is true of the reconquest; the nominal chief of the Egyptian army was the Khedive, but after the reorganisation of this army in 1883 all higher ranks were occupied by British officers. After the reconquest (1898) the English policy did not allow the return of the Sūdān to Egypt; by the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of January 19, 1899, an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established in the Sūdān. In this treaty the rights of the Porte were not taken into account and the Khedive, though the Sultān's vassal, acted as an independent sovereign. The consolidation of the British power in the Sūdān, on the other hand, has strengthened considerably England's ascendancy over the Nile valley.

After 'Arābi's defeat the nationalist movement was crushed for the moment and until the end of Lord Cromer's days it never became again a political factor of importance. During that time a new generation grew up and found a leader in the young Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha [q. v.; died on February 10, 1908, at the age of 34], who founded in 1899 the paper *al-Liwā'* and became in 1907 the first president of the National League (*al-Hizb al-Waṭani*). This second generation of nationalists stood likewise under French cultural influence. Intellectually they were much better equipped than their predecessors; when they began their renewed campaign of "Egypt for the Egyptians", they showed much moderation and rejected revolutionary ideas. After Lord Cromer's replacement

by Sir Eldon Gorst (1907—1911) the attitude towards the nationalists became one of the chief problems of British policy. In 1906 the incident of Denshawai had proved that anglophobia was still widely spread and, though the culprits were punished in an exemplary way, the new British representative adopted a much more conciliatory attitude towards the nationalist aspirations. But this new policy had not the desired results; in 1909 freedom of the press had to be restricted again and al-Azhar had to be closed for some time on account of the anti-English demonstrations of the students. Then happened on February 20, 1910, the murder of the Coptic Prime Minister Būtros Ghālī Pasha (one of the members of whose cabinet was Sa'd Zaghālūl) by a young Muḥammadan nationalist. This event brought about a breach between the Christian and the Muḥammadan element, in the nationalist party, which soon threatened to lead to serious disorders. In the same year the General Assembly rejected the prolongation of the Suez canal concession after 1968. So, with Gorst's retirement and his succession by Lord Kitchener in 1911, the British policy made place again for a stronger rule which lasted until the declaration of the English protectorate over Egypt on December 18, 1914. Next day 'Abbās Ḥilmī was declared to be deposed and replaced by his uncle Ḥusain Kāmil as Sulṭān. A *fatwā* of the Shaikh al-Islām of Constantinople declared the new ruler to be a traitor to the cause of Islām whom it was obligatory to fight and who deserved death (text in Jacob, *Hilfsbuch für Vorlesungen über das Osmanisch-Türkische*, ii., Berlin 1916, p. 46).

During the war Egypt was merely a link in the strategic organisation of the British Empire. From November 6, 1914, the country was at war with Turkey, but the defence of Egyptian territory was only in British hands. The sittings of the Assembly were suspended and martial law was proclaimed. The result of the war was the definite loosening of the ties with Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne (May 25, 1923), to which Egypt, however, was no party. A much more important consequence of the war was the renewed growth of nationalism. Several causes had combined to incite opposition against the British protectorate, such as the heavy requisitions imposed on the people and the growth of the number of British officials. The Wilson principles too stimulated the Egyptians to claim political independence. The nationalists, this time, were supported by a much greater part of the population than before; the Copts had joined them again and even the circles of al-Azhar encouraged the nationalist propaganda. Its leader became Sa'd Zaghālūl Pasha, before the war Minister of Justice and at that time known as a man of moderate political views. The indifference, however, which the Egyptian claims met in London caused the Egyptians to abandon moderate measures. A struggle of three years followed between them and England in which nationalists made use of disturbances (breaking-up of railways, anti-European outbreaks), passive resistance (strikes, boycotting of the Milner mission) and the discrediting of the English administration. The British used military force (martial law was maintained) and deportation (Zaghālūl twice); at the same time Bolshevik agitators and partisans of the return of the former Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī

were at work. Finally the English government changed its attitude; it declared the British protectorate abolished and recognised Egypt as a sovereign and independent state (February 28, 1922). The settling of some important points, however, remained reserved (e.g. the defence of Egypt and the Sūdān question). Though by this attitude on the part of the English government the difficulties seemed to have been solved, this was not the view of the nationalists. The events after February, 1922, have shown that the struggle between the claim to full independence and British intervention in Egyptian affairs has in no way become less violent and less dangerous for the peaceful development of the country.

2. Government and administration.

After the departure of the French the number of Mamlūk Beys had been completed again to twenty-four, but the shock their government system had undergone by the occupation had deprived it of all power of resistance against the strong will of Muḥammad 'Alī. The French occupation had lasted too short a time to permit the establishment of new governmental traditions. For tax-collecting the French had been compelled to make use of the existing institutions; their chief innovation was the creation of a *diwān* in Cairo composed of ten *shaiḫ*'s (with careful exclusion of representatives of the Mamlūk class) to look into matters of government. Bonaparte was provided with a Ketkhudā (Kikhya in Egyptian Arabic), as had been the custom with the Turkish pasha's before.

As has always happened before when Egypt got a strong ruler, the government system of Muḥammad 'Alī became again extremely centralised. All feudal powers were abolished (massacre of the Mamlūks), the only great vassal being the viceroy himself who reigned in the name of the Sulṭān. The character of his reign was still very Oriental and very "Turkish" at the outset. But the way in which this absolutism collapsed was no longer Oriental; Egypt did not fall back again into the hands of a number of feudal chiefs. For the country became ever more interwoven with European interests, which at last, though allowing the survival of the Khedivial dynasty, put the government into the condition of a constitutional monarchy, in which, however, the check to absolutism was not formed by a representative body of the people, but by the representative of a European government.

The relation of vassaldom towards the Porte has in practice never bound the hands of the viceroys in matters of interior administration, not even since the *firmān* of May 23, 1841, the dispositions of which have theoretically formed the base of Egypt's juridical international position up to 1914 (Turkish text in Aḥmad Luṭfī, *Tārīḫ-i Dewlet-i 'Alīye-i 'Oṭmāniye*, Constantinople 1302, vi. 140; French text in Noradounghian, *Recueil*, ii. 335). Its provisions for the interior administration are only: the application of the *Khāṭ-i Sherif* of Gülkhāne (1839), the paying of a tribute from the revenue (fixed at 80,000 purses in a separate *firmān* of the same date and raised to 150,000 purses or 750,000 Turkish pounds in 1866), the coinage in the Sulṭān's name, the reduction of the army to 18,000 men (this limitation was removed in 1873), the viceroy being authorised to

confer military grades up to the rank of colonel, and the prohibition of the construction of men-of-war without special permission. The *firmān*'s after 1841 only contained slight modifications and the one of June 8, 1873, resumed all former dispositions. The *firmān*'s granted to the Khedives Tawfiq and 'Abbās Hilmi on their accession contained nearly similar prescriptions.

Muhammad 'Ali's general government was made up of a system of *diwān*'s and *madjlis*'s (the members of which were appointed by himself), forming together the central government. The most important was *al-Diwan al-Khidiwi* in the citadel of Cairo, presided over by the *kikhyā*; it was at the same time a supreme court of judicature (Lane, i. 130). Besides there was a *Madjlis al-Mashwara* (general government), a *Madjlis al-Djihādiyya*, a *Madjlis al-Tarakhāna*, a *Diwān al-Tudjdjār*, etc. All these bodies had occasionally juridical and executive power. The *shar'ia* jurisdiction was exercised by a Hanafite *qādi*, sent every year from Constantinople, in the *mahkama* of the capital. There was also a council of '*ulamā*', but this more national element, which had exercised a considerable influence in the time of the French occupation, soon lost its influence under Muhammad 'Ali. The number, the names and the attributions of the different *diwān*'s were, however, far from stable (see Zaidān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharā*, i. 24). Sa'id Pasha changed three of the *diwān*'s into ministries (*wizāra*) under a *wa'iz*, viz. the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and War, and the place of the *Kikhyā* was taken by a kind of chancery called *Ma'iya*; the working system of these bodies was still very imperfectly organised (cf. the description by von Kremer, ii. 9 *sqq.*). Ismā'il created the Ministries of Interior, Marine, Public Instruction ('Ali Mubārak Pasha), of Public Works and of Commerce (1876), the central direction being given by a *Madjlis Khushūsi*. The *wakf* administration did not yet form an independent ministry. Although in the beginning this Khedive succeeded in keeping a strong hand on government, the different personalities of the ministers began to exercise influence; especially towards the end of his reign, when for a short period even two Europeans were members of the cabinet of Nubār Pasha. At the same time a number of high European officials in Egyptian service had obtained influential positions in different departments. In 1866 Egypt had been granted a kind of representative body (*Madjlis Niyābi*, opened November 25, 1866) elected by the communes, but as this germ of an Egyptian Parliament only possessed a limited power of advice and was convened only once a year, it did not yet play a role in the government. Only after 1879 did this *Madjlis* become a real parliament "with an opposition".

The constitutional régime inaugurated by Ismā'il in 1878 by his declaration that henceforward he would reign by the means of responsible ministers did not last long. After his deposition it was hoped that the Khedive Tawfiq — who gave a constitution on February 7, 1882 — would be able to work with his parliament, but these hopes were annihilated by the 'Arābi revolution. England, after the occupation, interfered in government matters through the mission of Lord Dufferin, whose well known report was presented in February, 1883. It was followed in May of the same year by a new Organic Law, which restored the full legis-

lative power to the Khedive, instituted a legislative council of 30 members and a general assembly which was an enlargement of the first body but with very limited powers. This system worked for 30 years; it enabled the English to direct the government of Egypt by means of "advisers" in the different ministries. In 1913 the two bodies mentioned became one single legislative assembly with consultative function, consisting of the cabinet ministers, 66 elected and 17 nominated members; this assembly, however, did not meet, after martial law had been proclaimed in 1914. Finally, after the declaration of Egypt's independence (February 28, 1922), a commission of 30 members was charged with the elaboration of a constitution, which was promulgated by the king on April 19, 1923. This constitution has established in Egypt a representative parliamentary, monarchical government. In outward appearance almost everything that could suggest that Egypt had ever had any other than European traditions had vanished.

Muhammad 'Ali's reorganisation of the provincial administration began in 1813 and consisted of a reduction of the number of provinces (see the art. EGYPT, § 2a) and the establishment of a highly centralised administration. In 1840 the number of provinces (*mudiriya*) was only seven: Buhaïra, Manūfiya, Daqahliya, Sharkiya (besides the governorships of Cairo and Alexandria) in Lower Egypt, and Banī Suwaif (including Faiyūm), Minyā and Isnā in Middle and Upper Egypt. Each province was governed by a *mudir*; it was subdivided in *markaz*'s each under a *ma'mūr*, these again into *kism*'s under a *nāzir*, these again into *nāhiya*'s under a *shaikh al-balad* (whose title and function were taken over from the preceding period). In each *nāhiya* there was an official called *khawli* for agricultural matters, a *ṣarrāf* for the tax collecting and a *shāhid* or *ma'dhūn*, who was a deputy of the *qādi*. The *mudir*'s were always "Turks". The *khawli*'s and the *ṣarrāf*'s were all Copts; most of the other officials were indigenous Muhammadans. Under Muhammad 'Ali's two successors the centralising control slackened and abuses entered freely. Then Ismā'il proceeded to a new division of Egypt into three great sections: Al-Baharī, with the *mudiriya*'s Buhaïra, Dja, Qalyūbiya, Sharkiya, Manūfiya, Gharbiya and Daqahliya; al-Wuṣṭāni, with Banī Suwaif, Faiyūm and Minyā, and al-Sa'id [q. v.] with Asyūṭ, Djirdja, Kenā (Kenneh) and Isnā (Esne). Besides these, there were the governorships (*muḥāfaẓa*) of Cairo, Alexandria, Damiyāt, Rashid (Rosette), al-'Arīsh, Port-Said, Suwaï (Suez) and Sawākin. The existing subdivisions were maintained; only over each *nāhiya* there was put an '*umida*, who was to be assisted by the *shaikh al-balad*; both were chosen by the inhabitants. The function of *khawli* was abolished on account of the greater agricultural autonomy granted to the provincial representative bodies (cf. 3). Each *markaz* and each *mudiriya* got such a *ha'i'a niyābiya* composed of notables. It was after the fashion of these bodies that in 1866 the *Madjlis Niyābi* was created in Cairo (see above). A no less important innovation was the replacement of "Turkish" *mudir*'s by native ones; it was some time before the population became accustomed to obeying high officials chosen from their midst. The administrative system described is maintained in its main features up to the present day.

As in former centuries, the administrative system was closely connected with the land policy. Muḥammad 'Alī abolished nearly all full property of the soil. All arable lands were distributed by his cadastral administration (*ruḥnāme*) among the *fellāh's* (each getting 3—5 *feddān*), who were to be only usufructuaries. They could in no way dispose of the soil and had to pay *kharādj*; their land was called *kharādjī*. The taxes were collected by officials (see above) and the tax-farming system (*iltizām*) was abolished. The former tax-farmers were indemnified by being allowed to keep as usufruct the tax-free ground (called *ūsiya*) which they had already possessed under the Mamlūks, and by an annual rent. In course of time this *ūsiya* land has returned to the public domain as *kharādjī* or has become full property (*milk*). Also other kinds of exceptional private property (*rizka*) entered gradually the category of *kharādjī*. A new kind of lands were those called *ib'ādīya*, uncultivated grounds given by Muḥammad 'Alī to notables and high functionaries for them to cultivate. The *ib'ādīya* were free from taxes and could not be sold. Under the same conditions large properties were granted as *shiflik's* (from Turkish *ışflik*) to the members of the viceregal family and some high functionaries; these became under Ismā'il the great *dā'ira* administrations. Now all the categories of land enumerated have gradually become full property. The limitations to the property rights of holders of *kharādjī* lands have been abolished by different laws, especially the *muḥābala* law (see below). So there has been an evolution from a state in which nearly no private property existed at all to the present situation where *milk* property has become the rule. Foreigners have officially been allowed to possess landed property in Egypt only since the Turkish law of June 10, 1867, but Muḥammad 'Alī had already given *ib'ādīya* lands to several foreigners; still the portion of Egyptian soil actually possessed by Europeans is rather small. The Egyptian property law is now to be found in the Egyptian and the Mixed Civil Codes. As to the original *wakf* land, a considerable part of it had been confiscated by Muḥammad 'Alī and now belongs to the *milk* category.

The financial administration of Egypt is better known than any other branch of government through the elaborate investigations made by European experts, beginning with the report of Mr. Cave in 1876. The collection of the chief revenue, the land-tax (cf. 3), always brought with it many abuses, especially the collection in advance under Ismā'il in order to meet the exigencies of the public debt. The *muḥābala* law of 1871, changed many times and abolished in 1880, was a curious example of financial policy, as it exempted those who paid six years in advance for ever from the half of their future tax obligations. Another important branch of revenue, the custom duties, were still farmed to *multazim's* in the beginning of the 19th century. Since European officials have been introduced in the financial administration, these revenues have come in more regularly. A feature of financial administration under Ismā'il has also been the amalgamation of the administration of the Khedive's own domains (*dā'ira saniya*) with that of the government.

The first impulse to the reorganisation of jurisdiction was given by the institution of

the mixed tribunals in 1876, obtained by Nubār Pasha after laborious negotiations with the powers. As in Egypt the jurisdiction of the foreign consulates had increased far beyond the limits laid down by the capitulations — as a result of the inefficiency of indigenous jurisdiction — a reform had become an imposing necessity. After the creation of the mixed jurisdiction, consular jurisdiction was limited to processes between foreigners of the same nationality and penal jurisdiction over each consul's nationals. The mixed judges were to be Egyptian officials, but as the majority were subjects of the different western states possessing capitulations and as the mixed tribunals were given competence to judge even the Egyptian government, they assumed the character of a foreign power in the government, a very clear symptom of Egypt's „europeanisation". On the other hand a serious resistance of the Porte had to be overcome, as Turkey did not like to see the official establishment of so independent a jurisdiction in one of her provinces. By a *firmān* of 1872 (Noradounghian, iii. 340), however, the authorisation was given by the Sultān. Seven years after the institution of the mixed tribunals there were organised new indigenous tribunals after the same pattern, by the decree of June 4, 1883, replacing the jurisdiction of the administrative authorities and their *divān's*. The codes applied by the two kinds of jurisdiction are nearly identical and fashioned chiefly after the French codes. The new indigenous codes were likewise published in 1883 (the penal code and the code of criminal instruction were renewed in 1904). On the penal code that existed under Sa'id Pasha and was a very confused compilation, see von Kremer, ii. 52—66. The jurisdiction of the personal statute of Muḥammadans is reserved to the *maḥkama's* of the Hanafite *madhhab*, which were reorganised by a decree of 1897 (and later on again in 1909 and 1910). There exists, however, a codification in articles of the Hanafite law on marriage, tutelage and successions, made for the information of the judges of the mixed courts; a French translation of this compilation, in 647 articles, has been inserted in the recent edition of *Egyptian Codes and Laws* by J. Wathelet and R. G. Brunton (Brussels 1920). The Arabic text was published in Cairo in 1917. Qadri Pasha, late minister of Justice, had also codified, for educational purposes, the dispositions of Hanafite law concerning property and obligations (Arabic edition, Cairo 1909), but, unlike the Turkish Medjelle, these codifications of Muḥammadan law have no exclusive authority with the Egyptian *maḥkama's*.

The different Christian communities have their own jurisdiction in matters of personal statute.

3. Economic Development

The great economic creations of Muḥammad 'Alī were the introduction of cotton cultivation and his monopoly system. These, supported by his highly centralised government system, procured him the means of pursuing his vast political schemes. In itself the economic system was quite Oriental, but, in two ways, it brought about relations with Europe. Firstly the viceroy sought to apply European methods and for that purpose brought European experts to Egypt, secondly the products of agriculture were sold to Europe and the commercial relations with Europe thus created had again most important consequences after the monopoly

system had been given up under 'Abbās I. Free commercial relations then developed between the European buyers and the Egyptian cultivators, nearly always by the intermediary of other elements. This change, however, was accomplished under conditions which have proved highly prejudicial to a sound and independent development of the country. Firstly European ideas of credit were introduced into a country that before had known only very limited credit operations. The European merchants and their auxiliaries began to give large advances on the payment for the expected crop; the inevitable consequence was that the peasants got into debt and that the merchants lost their money. Here we see, on a lower plane, exactly the same symptoms that brought about the heavy debt burden of the state itself, due to exaggerated confidence in the prosperity of the country. The Egyptians evidently did not know how to use credit, as their economic traditions had not made them acquainted with the accumulation of capital. Secondly the imports from Europe brought wares of a kind of which the population stood in no great economic need, but which were nevertheless bought in large quantities. In the first place mention may be made of cotton manufactures that came chiefly from England. So, notwithstanding the increased production, the country was not able to enrich itself; on the whole the population remained poor and in debt, as was the treasury. But indissoluble economic and financial ties had been formed with Europe and particularly with England. A glance into the import and export trade about 1850, as given by von Kremer, is enough to show how much England was commercially interested in Egypt and explains why it was England which, when the financial and economic crisis came, undertook the most active intervention resulting in the military occupation. After 1882 Egypt became economically still more dependent on England by the extension of cotton cultivation, though, on the other hand, English control prevented the country from falling back again into a state of unproductiveness. So here again we see how the work of Muḥammad 'Alī created possibilities the profits of which, as in so many other Muḥammadan countries, have not been reaped by Egypt's population itself.

A thorough investigation of the Europeanisation of Egyptian economics has not yet been written (as was done e. g. for Turkestan by Reinhold Junge in his book *Das Problem der Europäisierung orientalischer Wirtschaft, dargestellt an den Verhältnissen der Sozialwirtschaft von Russisch-Turkestan*, Weimar 1915). So, after the foregoing sketch, we shall point only to a few prominent features and figures.

Egypt has not only remained an almost exclusively agricultural country, but it has developed its agrarian character to an extent which has surpassed all former estimates. In the Mamluk time the country had produced scarcely enough wheat for its own livelihood; it was Muḥammad 'Alī who, in his typical centralising way, gave a start to the reawakening of Egypt's productive power.

The cardinal point was the care for good irrigation, very much neglected in the previous centuries. The French had only had time to make a thorough study of the existing canal system; then Muḥammad 'Alī took up the problem ener-

getically. He wasted many thousand lives in the improvement and digging of new canals, the best known of which is the Maḥmūdīya canal from Alexandria to the Rosette arm of the Nile. His irrigation works not only brought about a territorial extension of agriculture, but he created for the first time the possibility of perennial irrigation by canals containing water during the whole year. Besides, he entrusted the control of all irrigation works and the distribution of the water to special officials (the *khawāṣṣ*'s, see 2), leaving no liberty to the peasants themselves. This canal digging activity was continued by Ismā'īl (the Ibrāhīmīya canal in Upper Egypt and the Ismā'īliya canal, linking the Nile with the Suez canal). In his reign the centralised control of irrigation was superseded by the local and provincial councils, acting under the supervision of government engineers, but at the same time abuses in the water distribution by the local authorities became frequent. This situation only improved when, after 1882, English officials were charged with the control. Care for the irrigation became one of the first principles of the English administration; from the loan of 1884 an amount of £ 1,000,000 was reserved for this purpose, while all other expenses had to be reduced for lack of money. The results of this policy have entirely fulfilled the expectations. It was also by English engineers that the barrage of the Nile near Dīrā — already begun under Muḥammad 'Alī by French engineers — was finished. This work was followed by the famous dam of Aswān (finished in 1902 and raised in 1912), which had already more than agricultural significance, as it made it possible to hold up, within a certain measure, the water necessary for the irrigation of the country below. The same applies to an even greater extent to the huge dams projected after the war in the Blue and the White Nile above Kharṭūm for the irrigation of the Sudān (the first was opened in 1926); during the post-war disturbances in Egypt England's power over the Nile waters became one of its most powerful means of coercion in the struggle with the nationalists. In Egypt itself the irrigation administration is now almost entirely in the hands of Egyptian officials. Apart from the care for banks and dykes the *fellāḥ*'s themselves still apply for the greater part the primitive irrigation methods of the *sāḫīya* and the *shādūf*, while only on the larger estates modern machines have been introduced.

Besides the care for irrigation, the cultivable soil has also been extended enormously by Muḥammad 'Alī's land policy (see 2). Further, he exercised by the monopoly system a decisive influence on the direction in which agriculture has developed. He succeeded in centralising the entire production in his own hands and of disposing of it freely; the peasants were no more than day-labourers who were obliged to sell their products at fixed prizes to the government and to pay likewise their taxes in kind. Notwithstanding this prevention of all personal initiative — made still worse by the *corvées* and the conscription — the viceroy was able to force the agriculturists to produce larger quantities and so to increase the surplus destined for export. Wheat always had been the chief agricultural product of Egypt; in 1821 Muḥammad 'Alī introduced cotton cultivation not without having to overcome the passive

resistance of the population. At first there was planted an indigenous wild cotton (Mako); in 1828 Sea Island seed was introduced. This cultivation soon developed to an enormous extent; the area of the cotton land increased proportionally much more than that on which cereals were grown. The difference was, however, that the bulk of the cotton crop was destined for export and the cereals — wheat, barley, maize (*durra*) and rice (in the Delta) — for home consumption. After the abolition of the monopoly system the same development of agriculture prevailed and after the occupation the English — for many years previously already the chief purchasers of cotton — increased the cotton cultivation to a still larger extent. Between 1883 and 1908 the cotton growing area was doubled (from 800,000 to 1,640,000 *feddān*); cotton then covered a larger area than cereals. After that time a period of stagnation set in; during the war the cultivation of cereals had even to be encouraged (in 1919 the proportion was: cotton 1,573,000 *feddān* and wheat 1,274,000 *feddān*); it was even forbidden to plant more than one third of the cultivable area with cotton.

Another agricultural product introduced by Muḥammad 'Alī was hemp, which had to provide the cordage for the ships of his fleet. Sugar-cane was likewise a new product, and was first planted by Ismā'īl on his domains in Upper Egypt (since 1867). This crop has not produced such remarkable results as the cotton. Among the ancient crops flax has much decreased; so has the formerly flourishing tobacco culture, which was entirely prohibited in 1890. After the war, experiments have been made to introduce this crop again.

Apart from the produce in kind, agriculture provides also important revenues to the treasury in the form of the land tax. This tax has always constituted the bulk of the government revenue and has weighed heavily on the *fellāḥ* class. Muḥammad 'Alī levied the land tax in kind; those who failed to pay for more than three years lost the land granted to them. Afterwards the *fellāḥ*'s had to pay cash and under Ismā'īl they were often obliged to have recourse to usurers in order to fulfil their tax obligations; sometimes the government itself called in the aid of money-lenders to that purpose (as in 1878; Cromer, i. 38). Later the Agricultural Bank rendered the same services, the results of which was in many cases sale of property by decrees. The so called "5 *feddān* law" of 1912, prohibiting the pledging and sale by decree of landed property of less than 5 *feddān* has proved to be only a partial improvement.

Industry remained of as little importance to Egypt as in previous centuries. The petty native industries (spinning and weaving looms, pottery, forgery, etc.), just as they had developed under mediaeval conditions, still existed in the beginning of the 19th century. Muḥammad 'Alī included these too in the monopoly system; those who worked on their own account were punished in a drastic way (Lane, i. 149). At that time the ancient guild organisation still existed, although it had decayed considerably after the Turkish conquest (see Thorning, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xvi. 80). During the 19th century, however, the competition of the imported European wares caused a still greater decline; in 1880 the guilds were officially abolished, though up to the present day this archaic form

of production has survived. Among the new industries should be mentioned the factories for sugar crushing in Upper Egypt and the flourishing cigarette industry in Alexandria (since 1873), which now works only imported tobacco. Cotton is but little worked in Egypt itself; there exist, however, spinning factories (Filature Nationale d'Egypte). Nearly all new industries (also brewing, soap, confectionery, rice peeling mills) are in the hands of Europeans. They first employed European workmen, who have now been gradually replaced by natives. The latter have already learned the European forms of syndicalism.

The traffic possibilities have kept pace with the economic development. Next to the ancient traffic route, the Nile and its arms, the new big canals have rendered possible the extension of inland navigation. The Suez Canal, though lying entirely on Egyptian territory, has hardly any importance for the Egyptian trade. During its execution (1859—1869) Egyptian labourers were employed and the viceroy, Sa'īd Pasha, by furnishing half of the capital of the society, had created, at least for his dynasty, the possibility of future profits. But after Ismā'īl had been obliged to sell, in 1876, his shares to the English government, the now considerable profits of the exploitation are of no benefit to Egypt. As, after 1968, the canal has to return again to Egypt, the Egyptians have done what they could by refusing in 1910 the prolongation of the concession. Besides, the canal has put Egypt under other international obligations. The Suez canal treaty of October 29, 1883 (ratified by England in 1904), declares the canal to be open in peace and in war time to all kinds of ships and charges with the control of its execution the representatives at Cairo of the different contracting countries. But England, as occupier, has always taken all measures for the defence of the canal, especially during the war, when a Turco-German offensive was threatening from that side. After the declaration of Egypt's independence the defence of the canal has remained one of the points of dispute between England and Egypt. In the overland traffic railways now take by far the first place, as the canals make other land routes superfluous. Railway building was begun under 'Abbās Pasha in 1852 and in Ismā'īl's reign the greater part of the Delta system and in Upper Egypt the line up to Aṣyūt were completed. Only after the occupation was this last line continued up to Aswān, but between Aswān and Wādī Ḥalfā, where the extensive Sūdān system begins, there is no railway communication. During the war a line was built to al-Ḳantara on the Suez canal which communicates with the other new line coming from Yāfā. The Egyptian railways have been subjected until 1904 — as a consequence of the financial difficulties — to a special international administration. Since Ismā'īl's reign the railway service is managed by Egyptian officials and engineers.

If, finally, anything proves clearly the new orientation of Egypt's economic — and in consequence cultural — orientation, it is its foreign trade. The commercial relations which the country still possessed in the beginning of the 19th century were the remains of the great transit-trade of Indian products that had flourished in the Middle Ages, but was limited at the time to the products of the Sūdān and South Arabia. Under Muḥammad

'Ali's system of government trade or monopoly, Egypt, for the first time since antiquity, began to produce again for export. This system, however, gave much offence, as well to the Muhammadans who were treated less favourably by the victors than the European merchants, as to these merchants themselves. England even concluded in 1838 a commercial treaty with Turkey directed against the economic policy of Muhammad 'Ali. Under Sa'id Pasha the export of cereals was still more important than that of cotton, but since his successor cotton has been leading; at that time it was particularly the civil war in America that had caused a great increase of the cotton export of Egypt. Since the middle of the century the chief purchaser of raw cotton has been England, which country, accordingly, was then already the most interested in the maintenance of cotton cultivation. By the development after 1882 Egypt has become, after America and India, the chief cotton exporting country of the world. The export figures are easily ascertainable in the literature on the subject; they are based chiefly on the custom-house statistics of Alexandria. Not so well known, however, is the manner in which trade has developed since the abolition of the monopoly system. Probably the foreign purchasers used mostly the services of intermediary agents, Syrians or Copts. It seems that methods were often adopted which had a detrimental influence on the development of trade, especially as in the form of advances to the peasants or the purchase in advance of the crops too great risks were taken, with the consequence that both producer and buyer suffered loss. The export of cereals has been much less constant than that of cotton (between 1910 and 1920 the proportion was about 1:9); there have been years (as in the war) when wheat had to be imported. Among the exported industrial products sugar and cigarettes are the most important.

The import from abroad consisted and consists for the greater part of cotton goods and textiles from English factories, next coal (from Turkey), iron, tobacco, machinery. After England the chief importers before the war were Turkey, France and Austria (clothes and fezes). These European imports soon became indispensable to the population and have contributed in a large measure to the material side of Europeanisation.

It is clear that, since the beginning of Egypt's commercial development, England's part in it has been greater than that of any other country. Before the war this part was 37% while in 1919 it was nearly 60%. With a few exceptions, the Egyptian trade has always shown a favourable balance of trade. It is difficult to determine how the country has profited by this circumstance. A great part must have been used for the public debt obligations. In any case the riches which have flowed into the country have found a very unequal repartition: for the peasant class is still poor and indebted. And next to the rich landed proprietors (especially the Turco-Egyptian Pasha-class; see 4) the Europeans too are in a more favourable position, as the capitulations liberated them from all taxation, while the import tax allowed by the capitulations was never more than 8%.

The inland trade too was monopolised under Muhammad 'Ali; he forced the *fellāḥ's* to buy from him at high prizes the grain which they had been obliged to sell at a much lower rate. For

Sa'id's time the inland trade has been described amply by von Kremer (ii. 212 sqq.). Here, notwithstanding the intrusion of European commercial methods, many ancient features have still been conserved. A special mention should be made of the *bāzār* system, which is still very lively (as at Cairo in *Khan al-Khalili*), though the old charm of *bāzār* life and the quality of the wares are no more what they used to be.

4. Population

The rapid growth of the population of Egypt since the beginning of the 19th century clearly proves that the conditions of life have considerably improved. From the time of the French occupation to Sa'id's reign the population has nearly doubled (from 2,460,000 to 4,476,440), if the estimates can be relied upon. The increase has continued in the same proportion until the end of the century (in 1882: 6,813,919 and in 1897: 9,734,405), to diminish a little after that time, the figures being 11,287,359 for 1907 and 12,750,918 for 1917. As the cultivable surface is comparatively small (33,607 K.M.², according to R. M. M., liii. 119), the density of population is considerable.

Actually about 92% of this population constitutes the homogenous indigenous basic element whose tongue is Arabic. To it belong the cultivating class (the *fellāḥ's*) and the native townsmen. About 93% of these are Muhammadans; the other are Christian Copts (854,778 in 1917). The non-indigenous element is composed of Turks, Oriental Christians and Jews, and Europeans. As in other Muhammadan countries the differentiation of religion and race corresponds to an analogous differentiation in social function.

The *fellāḥ's*, the real native stock, live in villages situated on the Nile and on the canals in much the same primitive conditions as centuries ago. Muhammad 'Ali's economic measures impoverished them extremely and since the days of Isma'il the *fellāḥ's* have often been the object of the commiseration of European authors on account of the heavy taxes imposed upon them and the brutal and abusive methods of the tax collectors. But the steady increase of the population in those days proves that, hard as their plight may have been, conditions of life were more favourable to them than in foregoing centuries. The Egyptian peasant always has shown a traditional aversion to tax paying, if not urged by the *kurbāsh*, while, on the other hand, their inability to accumulate capital has kept them as a whole in an inferior condition. When Muhammad 'Ali began to form *fellāḥ* regiments, their dislike to military service made them often try to escape by self-mutilation; still the *fellāḥ's* have proved good soldiers if conducted by able officers e.g. in the Sudan campaign of 1897.

During the 19th century the settled population of several parts of Egypt still reckoned themselves to belong to Arabic tribes. The lowest class of agriculturists have no property at all and work as labourers on the larger estates. Next come the smaller proprietors (under 50 *faddān*). The best situated is the class of the *shaiḫ al-balad's* (see 2), the "squirearchy", as Lord Cromer calls them.

The khedivial period has been most important for the indigenous element, as it has allowed them gradually to take a larger part in the public life and the administration of the country. In the

previous centuries the natives had supplied almost exclusively the ranks of the 'Ulamā'; since Muḥammad 'Alī — who still only admitted the "Turks" to higher positions — a kind of middle class had begun to be formed, and under Sa'īd — who has the reputation of having been a friend of the *fellāḥ* — their rise in the ranks of the army and the civil administration was encouraged. So towards the end of Ismā'il's reign something like a public opinion (for the greater part turcophobe; see 1) was born. Some of the most conspicuous representatives of this native Egyptian intellectual class were 'Alī Pasha Mubārak [q. v.] and the mathematician Maḥmūd al-Falaki [q. v.]. One of the concessions to the indigenous element was also the substitution of Arabic for Turkish as the official language under Sa'īd Pasha. These beginnings of nationalist development, however, had mainly been stimulated by European influence and had no root at all in the conscience of the masses (see 1). Only the revived nationalism of the 20th century seems to have been understood by larger classes of the population. The *fellāḥ*'s, however, have been only reached by nationalist propaganda as far as they live in the neighbourhood of the towns.

The four orthodox Muḥammadan rites are officially organised. The dominant *madhhab* is that of al-Shāfi'i and a part of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt are Mālikites. As, however, since the Turkish conquest, jurisdiction has always been exercised according to Ḥanafī law, the latter *madhhab* is now nearly always followed in all not purely ritual actions. The *ḥaǧǧ* obligation has been performed during the last years by an average of 16,000 Egyptians. Besides the official Sunnī festivals there are celebrated a number of local festive days according to the ancient Coptic calendar, which has survived as the agricultural calendar of the *fellāḥ*'s. The celebration of these days has corresponded from time immemorial to the annual return of certain natural occurrences, in the first place the movement of the Nile. Very famous was the big festival of the opening of the Khalidj in Cairo [q. v.] in August. Many feasts have been connected with Muḥammadan saints whose *mawlid*'s are celebrated (e.g. Shaikh Ḥasan al-Badawī in Tanṭā, Shaikh Baiyūmī in Cairo). The number of *mawlid*'s is immense; many saints are even anonymous. Most places where they are venerated must be pre-Islamic holy places. A very full description of Egyptian popular religion and local uses is to be found in the *Khīṭaṭ Djadīda* of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak (esp. part viii—xvii; cf. Goldziher in *W. Z. K. M.*, iv. 351). The most wide-spread mystical congregations are mentioned in the same work (iii. 129; also *R. M. M.*, liii. 123). Since 1550 these congregations are under the authority of the Shaikh al-Bakrī who, since 1811, is at the same time Naqīb al-Ashraf.

The "Turkish" element of the population, though numerically far inferior to the indigenous, has occupied the foremost place throughout the period of Muḥammad 'Alī's dynasty. The dynasty itself was the chief representative of this class, together with the high officials in the army and the administration. They were the bearers of Turkish political and cultural tradition, but, as to their origin, were composed of all non-Arabic elements of the Ottoman Empire. Those of Circassian descent were already numerous from the Mamluk period on-

wards. Until the English occupation the number of "Turkish" families was occasionally supplied from other parts of Turkey. Apart from being the ruling class, the Turkish Pashas were also, by the favour of the viceroys, the great land proprietors (see 2). Many of these "Turks", however, have become acclimatised in Egypt (Cromer calls them Turco-Egyptians) and have shown sympathy with the nationalist movement. The Prime Ministers Sharif Pasha [q. v.] and Riyād Pasha (in the days of the 'Arābi movement and immediately afterwards) are typical instances of this kind. The "Turkish" grantees have been for two or three generations the most europeanised part of the Egyptian Muḥammadans and appear to be for the greater part agnostics.

The nomads inhabiting Egypt are now about 600,000 in number. They consist of pure Arabs in the Sinai peninsula, in the Delta and in Upper Egypt. The Berber tribes of the Lybian desert have been arabicised, except those living in the Siwā oasis. Autochthonous tribes in Upper Egypt are the 'Abābde and the Bedjā (see these two articles). During the khedival period the government has always been strong enough to protect the population against the raids of these Beduins.

Muḥammadan is also the negro element whose social position is that of slaves. Slavery had been an acknowledged institution in Egypt up to 1877, when, by an Anglo-Egyptian convention, the slave trade was forbidden on Egyptian territory. A new slavery convention of 1895 made interference with personal liberty a criminal offence, and art. 3 of the constitution of 1923 guarantees individual liberty to all Egyptian subjects. Practically slavery subsisted much longer and may not yet have wholly disappeared. The severe measures against the slave trade, however, have made the import of fresh slaves from the Sūdān nearly impossible. Most of the negro slaves were females; the other were eunuchs. The influence of negro blood on the racial characteristics of the Egyptians during the 19th century is still noticeable. White female slaves (*mamlūk*) were still imported in the first half of the century from the Caucasus and from Abyssinia.

Of the other foreign Muḥammadans the alumni of al-Azhar form a noticeable part. Muḥammadans from North Africa and Syria are the most numerous among them; occasionally they enter the corps of the Egyptian 'ulamā'. The Shi'ites only consist of a small Persian colony in the towns, amongst whom even Behā'is are to be found.

The call for the emancipation of Muḥammadan women in Egypt was raised at the end of the 19th century by Kāsim Amin (d. 1908), an Egyptian of Kurdish extraction, who in 1899 by his book *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* and, some years later, his *Al-Mar'a al-Djadīda* (dedicated to Sa'īd Zaghlūl) raised strong opposition and equally strong sympathies. Feminism has also been defended by Muḥammadan women themselves, as Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (born 1886; she wrote *Nisā'iyāt* under the pseudonym of Bahīṭat al-Bādiya). It was likewise strongly supported by some very able Christian Syrian women (see *Oriente Moderno*, v., No. 11). A result of this movement was the progress of female education (see 5 and Martin Hartmann, *Die Frau im Islam*, Halle a. S. 1909).

The Copts (see the art. KIBṬ), with the exception of the Coptic remnants in Upper Egypt, form a lower

middle class living for the most part as handicraftsmen in the towns and supplying the government with lower administrative functionaries. Lane estimated their number to be 150,000; so that their proportional increase has been greater than that of the Muḥammadans. With the latter the Copts — though Christians — have many institutions in common, such as circumcision and the veiling of women; the formerly obligatory dark colour of the turban and clothes has only been maintained by the Coptic clergy. In Muḥammad 'Alī's time the lower technical functionaries in the provincial administration were Copts (see 2). Other notable Copts of his time were quite influential — as they had been likewise in the days of the Mamlūks —; such were Mu'allim Djirdjis al-Djawhari (d. 1811) and Mu'allim Ghālī (d. 1821). They held the function of *ra'īs al-kuttāb*, but at times had to suffer from the Pasha's despotic rule. Dj. Zaidān gives their biographies after a *Ta'rikh al-Ummat al-Kibīyā* by Ya'qub Bey Nakhla Rūfilā. Būtros Ghālī Pasha (born 1847, murdered 1910) was the first Coptic Minister. His assassination put an end to the collaboration of the Copts with the Muḥammadan nationalists (see 1). Asyūt is nowadays the great Coptic cultural centre.

The Armenian community in Egypt is small and consists for the most part of shop-keepers. In the 19th century some notable Armenians have occupied high positions in the government. The most conspicuous are Boghos Bey, a former tax farmer who became a councillor to Muḥammad 'Alī (*Mashāḥir al-Sharḥ*, i. 226), and Nūbār Pasha, several times prime Minister before and after the English occupation. These intellectual Armenians have been an important medium for the spread of French cultural civilisation.

Syrian Maronite Christians (*Ashwām*) have been in Egypt since the Mamlūk time; in Ismā'il's time they became the most useful element in the reorganised administration by their knowledge of languages and their aptitude for assimilating European procedure (Cromer, ii. 217). They hardly ever entered the higher offices. Other Syrians have immigrated to make their fortune by trade, and sometimes to be ruined again as a consequence of the economic difficulties of the time. A typical instance of this kind is Amin Shamīl (1828—1897; biography in *Mashāḥir al-Sharḥ*, ii. 169); he was a Syrian immigrant, gained and lost enormous wealth in the cotton trade and ended his life as a prolific writer and publisher adapting himself to circumstances in a remarkable way. Syrians are to be met everywhere as the promoters of modern intellectual life in Egypt, as publishers, journalists and authors; they are found likewise among the first nationalist propagandists (e. g. Salim al-Naḥḥāsh; see the *Bibliography*). Some of their characteristics have made them, as a class, especially hated by Muḥammadans.

The Greeks form a transition to the European element. Their significance for Egypt is exclusively economic; an enormous commercial activity is displayed by the Greeks in Alexandria. Greeks of the lower classes are everywhere to be found in Egypt as *baḥḥāl's* and occasionally as usurers. As elsewhere in the former Turkish Empire the Greeks in Egypt keep to their particular Greek form of western civilisation.

The Jews are half natives and half foreigners; their number towards the end of the century

was about 30,000. They nearly all live in Cairo and Alexandria and are largely engaged in banking business. They played a part — not unlike that of the Syrians — in the first nationalist manifestations of 1877. One of them, James Sanua, with the pseudonym Abū Nazzāra, founder of the first Arabic theatre in Cairo, published in 1877 a kind of paper in vulgar Arabic in which he criticised the Khedive. Subsequently he was expelled (Sabry, *La Génèse* etc., p. 127). Since 1840 there have been Jewish schools in Cairo.

The steady increase of the number of Europeans is more a consequence than a cause of Egypt's "europeanisation". Many Europeans are only foreigners by their passport and constitute the well known class of Levantines, prospering under the immunities still granted to them by the capitulations. The Europeans who have served the Egyptian government in the execution of reforms and technical works have belonged to different nationalities: French (de Séves—Sulaimān Pasha, the creator of Muḥammad 'Alī's *niẓām*-troops; Clot Bey, the organiser of the medical school; Ferdinand de Lesseps, and others), Swiss (Dor Bey and Münzinger), Austrian (Slatin Pasha in the Sūdān; Blum Pasha, financial adviser under Ismā'il) and English (Baker and Gordon as governors of the Sūdān). An influential class is formed by the foreigners who, though theoretically Egyptian officials, hold or have held functions in institutions such as the mixed tribunals and the Debt Administration, and especially the high British officials in the ministries and other departments (after the occupation). The cultural influence of the English cannot be said to have been considerable as yet. Even the knowledge of the English language is less wide spread than that of French, in accordance with the traditional preponderance of the French form of European civilisation in the country. Lastly, mention has to be made of the numerous European adventurers who came to Egypt in the days of Sa'īd and Ismā'il and, by pretended schemes of commercial or technical enterprises, tried to extort money from the too careless viceroys.

5. Education, Science and Literature

Education continued during the 19th century along the traditional Muḥammadan line, while, on the other hand, a European system of education was introduced by Muḥammad 'Alī. It has not yet been possible to fuse the two systems into a whole.

The ancient Arabic *kuttāb* have continued to exist all over the country until the present day, without any government control (except as far as they were paid from *wakf's* administrated by government) until the law of 1876, which introduced arithmetic. The other pole of religious Muḥammadan instruction is represented by al-Azhar [q. v.], which institution, after having been neglected by Muḥammad 'Alī, has been an object of the solicitude of the later Khedives. In 1924 the number of students at al-Azhar was given as 10,287, of whom 9,758 Egyptians (lecture delivered in August, 1924, by Muḥammad Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm on *The University of al-Azhar*, published at Cairo). Other mosque universities organised on similar lines as al-Azhar are those of Alexandria, Ṭantā, Dasūk and Dimyāt. Besides, there exists in Cairo a special school for the training of ḳāḏīs.

In 1924 the government took some measures for gradually bringing about an equalisation between the diplomas of al-Azhar and the government schools (*Oriente Moderno*, v., N^o. 2).

Elementary and secondary schools exist among the Christian communities, in the first place the Copts.

Muhammad 'Ali introduced European education, mainly in order to provide the military officers and the officials of his army manufactories with the necessary technical knowledge. One of the means followed was the so-called "Mission Egyptienne" (*al-Ba'athāt al-'Ilmiya*) to Paris. It began in 1826 with the sending of 40 young Egyptians but was abandoned about 1870. Its results were not as satisfactory as was hoped, chiefly on account of the military régime to which the students were subjected and that did not cultivate their individual and social independence. Still, some prominent Egyptians have owed their education to this institution. Apart from the purely military schools founded by Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo and Alexandria (to which native Egyptians were not admitted), he created in 1825 the Medical School, under direction of Clot Bey. In 1836 a *Madjlis al-Ma'arif* was instituted, in which French cultural influence was predominant. At the same time about 50 elementary and secondary schools were opened all over the country (the latter modelled after the French lycées); they were more specially intended for the instruction of the Egyptians themselves and the language of instruction was Arabic, but often strong coercive means were necessary to induce parents to send their children to school. 'Abbas I closed all schools, according to Dor, not as a reactionary measure but with the intention of reorganising and reopening them. Under Sa'id the Medical School was opened again by Clot Bey, but under Ismā'il a great many new colleges and educational establishments were created, most of them in Cairo (one of the best known is the lycée *Dār al-'Ulūm*). The leading spirit was 'Ali Pasha Mubārak [q. v.], then Minister of Public Instruction. To him also is due the already mentioned law of November 8, 1867, which distinguished primary, secondary and advanced schools and started from the principle of unifying all Egyptian public instruction into one whole. Still, though the educational activity of this time may have spread much technical knowledge, this "inoculation" (Dor) of western science affected only a small minority of the population. Moreover, the educational methods did not encourage free individual development, and owing to the lack of money — which caused many schools to be closed at the end of Ismā'il's reign — the native teachers received very insufficient salaries. The result was a considerable enlargement of the gap separating the mass of the illiterate population from the Turco-Egyptian and Egyptian intellectual classes. This circumstance is to be regarded as one of the causes of the failure of the first nationalist movement. During the first decades of the English occupation little was done for the spreading of education (see Cromer, ii. 524 sqq., and Vollers' critical remarks in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1909, p. 79 sqq.). Two girls' schools were opened about 1875, but the real progress of the education of Muhammadan girls has only begun since the end of the century (see 4.) At the present time there exist for these girls *kuttāb's*, government schools and private schools (these for the greater part in Alexandria).

The Egyptian University (*al-Djāmi'a al-Miṣriya*) was founded at Cairo in 1908 by means of large subscriptions and gifts and was started under the presidency of Prince Ahmad Fu'ād Pasha, afterwards King. During its first years' only courses on literary and historical subjects were organised, given by Egyptian and European teachers and by European Orientalists expressly invited to that purpose (the lectures have been published at Cairo). This University has sent in the first years groups of young Egyptians to different European Universities with the object of appointing them after their return university teachers in Cairo. In 1924 this university passed under government administration; since that time several projects have been elaborated for the extension of its organisation and activity (*Oriente Moderno*, v. 110, 434). As was to be expected, the new university has encouraged research the results of which have not seldom been in strong opposition to the spirit of orthodoxy prevailing in al-Azhar.

Apart from the already mentioned educational establishments the many foreign schools, among which the missionary schools — first American Missionary school in Cairo in 1855 — in Cairo and Alexandria, sometimes subsidised by the government (as under Sa'id Pasha), have equally exercised an influence on the intellectual education of the Egyptian upper classes.

The introduction of printing into Egypt is closely connected with the educational programme of Muhammad 'Ali; the printing-press which the French had brought with them for their own use has left no traces. About 1821 the first printing office was founded in Būlāk; it began to produce Arabic and Turkish books for the newly opened government schools. Already in these first years began also the important activity of printing and publishing classical works of the Arabic, Turkish and, to a less extent, Persian literature. One of the first works printed seems to have been the grammatical treatise *al-Adjrūmiya* (in 1239/1824; see Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i., Leipzig 1846, p. 19), used in al-Azhar (von Kremer, ii. 285). The greatest printing activity of this kind began about 1850, not without encouragement from Europe; this productivity, to which so many European library catalogues bear witness, has been, however, more to the profit of European Oriental studies than to the scientific and literary development of Egypt itself (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 471). The same can be said of the "Bibliothèque Khédiviale" founded in 1870 by 'Ali Pasha Mubārak. The origin of printing in Egypt is also connected with that of the press, since in 1828 the official newspaper *al-Wakā'ir al-Miṣriya* began to be printed on another press in the Citadel. About 1875 the printing office at Būlāk (belonging to the *Dā'ira Saniya*, as were also the paper factories at Būlāk) was still the most important; besides this establishment there were a few private printing and lithographic shops in Cairo and Alexandria. After 1876, however, printing has gained enormous importance by the services it rendered to the then beginning development of the Arabic press, mainly by the initiative of energetic Syrians and under the influence of the first nationalist movement.

On the Arabic press — which was to be more important for the intellectual development than the printing of books — see the art. DJARIDA (especially on the press movement of 1878: M.

Sabry, *La Génèse* etc., p. 127). The great Muḥammadan political paper *al-Muʿayyad* ceased to exist in 1915, while *al-Muḥattam* and the nationalist organs have continued (*R. M. M.*, liii. 124).

The religious Muḥammadan Arabic literature, so far as it is a continuation of the tradition of previous centuries, has produced only a few remarkable figures and those only in the first half of the 19th century, the most conspicuous being al-Baḍjūrī (q.v., d. 1861). A very important branch of Muḥammadan literature was, however, the literary activity of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [q.v.] and his school, who initiated a theological modernism in Islām. While following the methods of old Islāmic science but with independent interpretation of the holy texts, they tried to prove that Islām is still a living world religion and in no way opposed to modern civilisation. A great many of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's articles have appeared in the review *al-Manār* (published since 1897 by the Syrian Saiyid Rashid Riḍā). Though obviously these modernist views — styled by Goldziher "Kulturwahrheitsismus" — have originated under the influence of the introduction of modern civilisation, it cannot be said to have come under the influence of western thought itself. It has met with strong opposition from the conservative circles of al-Azhar, the press organ of which is *al-Afṭāk*.

Poetry (as literary form) has never abandoned the classical Arabic forms and, though several poets have earned renown in their time (e.g. *Shaiḫ* Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn, 1787—1858; see von Kremer, ii. 294), modern Egypt does not seem to have produced a generally acknowledged famous Arabic poet.

The other branches of literature have abandoned by a more or less gradual process the old forms and the old style for Western literary methods, the models of which had been made accessible by an extensive activity in translation. The first works translated were French scientific books for Muḥammad ʿAlī's schools; since Saʿīd Pasha's reign a great many European scientific and belletristic works have been translated; e.g. the translation of French historical and geographical works by Rifāʿa Bey al-Taḥṭawī (1801—1872) have much contributed to the spread of knowledge of European literary methods. Prose writing has seldom been used for the composition of novels and plays after European fashion. But there has sprung up an extensive semi-scientific literature on political and social questions, to which belong e.g. the works of Muṣṭafā Kāmil and the other nationalist literature; also the treatises on feminism mentioned in 4. This literature has been published partly in the daily press and the numerous periodicals, partly in books; a large part has been contributed by Syrians and Jews.

In contemporaneous historiography the work of al-Djābartī [q.v.] holds a prominent place; it was composed in the traditional style of historical writing. Later books on Egyptian history, such as Farīd Bey's history of Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ilyās al-Aiyūbī's history of Egypt under Ismāʿīl (see the *Bibliography*), follow the methods of European historiography and use European sources. The same applies to the important historical and biographical works of the Syrian Djirḍī Zaidān. In ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's *Khīṭaṭ Djādīda* we may see — as was the intention of the author — a continuation of the typical Egyptian tradition of

Khīṭaṭ-literature; next to Lane's *Modern Egyptians* it is a chief source of information on Egypt and its population in the 19th century. We may include in the same class the various descriptions of travels, particularly those on the pilgrimage to Mekka, as the work of al-Batanūnī (see Lammens in *R. M. M.*, N^o. xxxviii) and the account of different *ḥadīdī*'s (1901, 1903, 1904, 1908) by Ibrāhīm Rifāʿat Pasha al-Liwāʾ in his book *Mirʾat al-Ḥaramain* (2 vol., Cairo 1344/1925).

It should not be left unmentioned that all through the 19th century a considerable popular literature has continued to exist in the vulgar dialect, in the poetical form of *mawālī* and *saḍjāl*'s and in the form of prose ballads or *siyar*, describing the deeds of ancient Arab more or less Egyptianised heroes as Abū Zaid, ʿAntar and others. An endeavour to introduce the vulgar Arabic of Egypt into literature was made by Muḥammad b. ʿUṭhman Djālīl, who translated, between 1880 and 1890, some works of Racine and Molière into Egyptian Arabic; they, however, found no favour with the educated public. An unsuccessful propaganda has been made about 1896 by an American for the introduction of the Latin alphabet to be used for a new popular literature in one of the vulgar dialects of Egypt. Even Orientalists such as M. Hartmann were convinced at the time that an undertaking of this kind might succeed (*Z. A.*, 1898, p. 277 sqq.).

The ancient Oriental shadow-plays, that have continued a waning existence in Egypt up to the present day, have been studied by Prüfer and Kahle. In their present form these shows were revived by the Algerian Ḥasan Kaṣḥkaṣh in the second half of the 19th century (see the art. *KHAYĀL-1 ZILL*). The occurrence of the Turkish Kara-Göz play is mentioned by Lane (ii. 113).

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KHIḌR. [See **AL-KHADIḌ**.]

KHIḌR BEG, an Ottoman scholar and poet, the first judge of Constantinople. He was born on the first of Rabīʿ I, 810 = 6th Aug. 1407 at Siwriḥiṣār, the son of the local judge Djalāl al-Dīn and belonged to a famous family which traced its descent from Khodja Naṣr al-Dīn. On the conclusion of his studies, which he conducted mainly under Mollā Mehmed Yekān, whose daughter he afterwards married, he became a judge in his native town and later *Muderris*. He was next appointed professor in Brussa, then judge in Ainegöl and finally called to a teaching appointment in Adrianople and after the capture of Constantinople was appointed its first judge. His sons were the *Mufti* of Brussa, Aḥmad Paṣha (d. 901 = 1495, buried with the Zeinilis in Brussa), Sinān Paṣha [q. v.] and Yaʿkūb Paṣha, judge of Brussa (d. 891 = 1486; buried in the mosque of Mollā Fenānī), all three distinguished for intellectual gifts and considerable literary attainments. KHIḌR Beg himself was a great authority on Muslim learning and had a wide knowledge of the literature of the three great languages of Islām. He composed a homiletic poem in *baṣīṭ* verses, *al-Nūniya fī 'l-Akḥā'id* [Sambul 1258, 32 fol. (cf. *J. A.*, Ser. iv., Vol. iii., 1854, p. 222)] which has been often commented upon (e.g. by Daʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Karṣī, Cairo 1297, 87 fol.) and a number of other, mainly poetical works. KHIḌR Beg died in 863 = 1458/1459 in Sambul where he was

buried in the Eiyüb cemetery. He founded the little mosque of Hādījī Kadīn; cf. Hāfiz Husein, *Hadīkat al-Djawāmi*, i. 85, sq. (with biogr. notes), cf. thereon J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 62, No. 158. On his tomb cf. *Hadīkat al-Djawāmi*, i. 218, 7. The village of Kādīkōi, opposite to Stambul on the Asiatic side, where Mollā Khidr Beg had great estates, still bears his name ("the judge's village").

Bibliography: 'Ashyḳpashazāde, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1332, 148, 203; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1279, ii. 449 sqq.; Tash-köprüzāde-Medjdi, *Shahā'īk al-nu'māniya*, i. 111 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 277; al-Saiyid Ismā'il Baligh Brūsewī, *Güldeste-i Riyāḍ-i 'Ir-fān*, Brussa 1302, p. 279 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 546; do., *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, i. 142; Ch. Rieu, *Brit. Mus., Turk. MSS.*, p. 5^b sq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 229; Brusall Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmānī mü'ellifleri*, i. 290 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KHIDR KHĀN, Saiyid, of Dihli, founder of the Saiyid dynasty (1414—1451), was the son of Malik Sulaimān, adopted son of Mardān Dawlat, one of the *amir*'s of Firūz Tughluḳ. Khidr Khān succeeded to Mardān Dawlat's fief of Multān, but was expelled in 1396, during the usurpation of Nuṣrat Shah at Dihli. When Timūr invaded India in 1398 Khidr fled into Mewāt, but after the capture of Dihli waited on the conqueror and received from him a grant of the fiefs of Multān and Dipāl-pūr, where he remained independent during the remainder of the troubled reign of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ. On Nov. 12, 1405, he defeated and slew, on the banks of the Satlajī, Mallū (Iḳbāl Khān), Maḥmūd's minister, who was attempting to recover Multān, and having extended his territory towards Dihli, formed a party in the capital. In 1412 he unsuccessfully besieged Maḥmūd in Dihli, but returned in 1414, after Maḥmūd's death, and besieged Dawlat Khān Lōdī who had been acknowledged by the *amir*'s at Dihli as their leader, but surrendered the city on discovering a plot to admit the besiegers. On June 4, 1414, Dawlat Khān was imprisoned in Hīṣār-i Firūza and was shortly afterwards put to death.

Khidr Khān refrained from the use of the royal title and contented himself with that of *Rāyāt-i 'Alā* ("the Exalted Standards"). He is said to have remitted tribute to Timūr's son, Shāh-ruḳh, to whom he owed allegiance.

He first recovered the revolted provinces of Katehr (Rohilkhand) and the Gangetic Doāb, and in 1416 he asserted his authority in Gwalior, suppressed a rebellion of Turks under Taḡhān Ra'īs in Sirhind, and relieved Nāgawr which was besieged by Aḥmad I of Guḍjarāt. In 1417 he completed the suppression of the rebellion of the Turks and in 1418 and 1419 was engaged in restoring order in Katehr. In the latter year a rebel who pretended to be Sārang Khān, Khidr's ancient enemy, who had expelled him from Multān, appeared in Mātiwāra, but was defeated near Rūpar and fled to the mountains, and in 1420 was put to death by Taḡhān Ra'īs. Later in the same year it was again found necessary to send an army into the Doāb and Katehr, and Taḡhān rose in rebellion in the Sirhind district. In 1421 Khidr Khān led an expedition into Mewāt and to Gwalior, whence he returned by way of Itāwa. Here he fell sick and returned to Dihli, where he died on May 20, 1421.

Bibliography: Yahyā b. Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (MSS. are rare); Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; 'Abd al-Kādir Badāoni, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, transl. G. S. A. Ranking; Muḥammad Kaṣīm Firīšta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*; Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*. (T. W. HAIG)

KHIL'Ā (an Arabic word derived from *khala'a* "to divest oneself of one's robe"), a robe from the wardrobe of the sovereign, which he no longer wears and which he bestows, as a gift, on the person whom he wishes to honour (synonym *tashrif*, pl. *tashārif*, Ibn Khallikān, transl., iv. 117; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, v. 80; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭāt*, quoted in *Histoire des Mamlouks*, part. 4, p. 70, note 1, 8; Shihāb al-Dīn, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*, in *N. E.*, xiii. 376). This garment is of course rich and sumptuous and of great value. It is also given as a sign of investiture to an official. Sometimes a sum of money is given instead. Thus it was that in Turkey the name *khil'at-beha*, "the price of a robe of honour", was formerly given to a certain sum of money distributed to the officers of the Janissaries on the Sulṭān's accession (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionn. turc.*, i. 709). The kings of Persia used to send a robe by a special messenger to governors of provinces whom they wished to honour and who wore it on special occasions. In return the latter treated the messenger handsomely and heaped presents upon him. In Central Asia these are made of cloth of gold of the Indies, of Kashmīr shawls, of silk of all colours. At the distribution, the individuals who receive this favour put on the *khil'a* (Pers. and Turk *khāl'at*) over the clothes they are wearing.

In Egypt, under the Mamlūks, these robes of honour were arranged in classes (*menāile*, *meritebe*), according to the rank of the individuals for whom they were intended, and who formed three classes, (1) men of the sword, (2) men of the pen, i.e. officials in the civil service, (3) scholars. A sword enriched with gold was added to the present, taken from the *silah-khāne* (arsenal) and a horse fully caparisoned, covered with a *kunbūsh* (Pers. *kun-pūsh* covering) of gold and brought from the *rikāb-khāne* (royal stables). Fuller details will be found in the *Masālik al-Aḥṣār* quoted by Quatremère in *l'Histoire des Mamlouks*, part. 4, p. 72 sqq., note and in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. lxxix. sqq. — On the use of these robes as a sign of authority cf. G. Meloni, *Alcuni temi semantici*, in *R. S. O.*, iii., 1910, p. 533 sqq.; F. W. Buckler, *Two instances of Khil'at in the Bible in Journal of Theological Studies*, xxiii. (1922), 197 sqq. — For India, especially Lakhnaw, see Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Musulmans of India* (1832; 2nd ed. 1917), p. 149; F. W. Buckler, *The political theory of the Indian Mutiny in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, v. (1922), 81 sqq.

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(CL. HUART)

KHILĀFA. [See **KHALĪFA**.]

KHILĀL. [See **SIWĀK**.]

KHILDJĪ. [See **KHALDĪJĪ**.]

KHIRKA (A.), "rag", hence "a mystic's coarse woollen robe", because it was originally made up of pieces (synonym *murakka'a*). "It is the inner

flame (*harḥa*) which makes the Ṣūfī" said al-Hudjwiri "not the religious dress" (*khirka*). This dress was the outward sign of the vow of poverty taken by the Ṣūfī; it was originally as a rule blue, the colour of mourning. Certain mystics, however, did not like to wear a special costume, saying that if a distinctive mark of this kind was adopted for God's sake, it was useless, for God knows best what is; and if it is for the people, one cannot escape from this dilemma — either the vocation of the dervish is true and then it is pure ostentation, or it is pretended and it is hypocrisy. Nevertheless the distinctive dress was generally adopted. It could not be obtained by the novice until the expiry of the three years necessary for his education. The investiture of the *murīd* with the *khirka* by his tutor (*Shaiḫ*, *Pir*) had a ceremonial character. "The donning of the robe", says Suhrawardī in the '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*', "is the tangible sign that the man is entering upon the way of truth, the symbol of his entrance upon the mystic path, the sign that he is abandoning himself and putting himself entirely in the hands of the *Shaiḫ*". There are two kinds of robe: *khirkaṭ al-irāda* (robe of good-will), which one asks from the *Shaiḫ*, being fully conscious of the duties which this investiture imposes on one and of the passive obedience to which one condemns oneself in accepting it; and *khirkaṭ al-tabarruk* (robe of benediction) given ex officio by the *Shaiḫ* to persons whom he thinks it would be useful to cause to enter upon the mystic path, without their fully realising the significance of the investiture. The first is naturally much superior to the second and distinguishes the true Ṣūfis from those "who only resemble them in external appearance." (E. Blochet, *Études sur l'ésotérisme musulman* in *Muséon*, X, 1909, p. 176 et suiv.).

Bibliography: al-Hudjwiri, *Kāshf al-Mahdīyūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 45 sqq.; H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islam. Vereinswesens* (*Türkische Bibliothek*, xvi.), index; S. de Sacy, *Pend-nameh*, p. lxiii.; *N. E.*, xii., 305; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, p. 204. (CL. HUART)

KHIRKA-I SHERIF, the "noble mantle", the name given to the mantle of the prophet (v. BURDA) venerated as a relic and kept in Constantinople. The day for visiting it is a fête day (the 15th Ramaḍān of each year). It was formerly kept in a special chamber of the serai, where it was preserved in a chest of medium size covered by a green velvet cloth with a broad fringe of gold and silver. The ceremony of the pilgrimage was performed in the following manner. On the appointed day the ministers, the *ulamā*, the generals of the Janissaries and of the other troops, notified on the evening before by letters carried by the *čaush*, assembled before midday prayer in front of the gate of bliss (*Bāb al-Sa'āda*), the second gate of the serai; the ministers and the *ulamā* seated themselves on the right, the soldiers on the left and awaited the arrival of the grand-vizier. The latter, as soon as he had been informed of the arrival at Āyā-Sofyā of the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām, brought by the *Ra'īs al-Kuttāb*, proceeded thither with the functionaries of the Porte. Together they all performed midday prayer and proceeded thereafter to the imperial palace.

After having passed by the '*arḍ-oda-sy*' and having obtained permission to proceed, the pro-

cession entered the chamber of the *Khirka-i sherif*. The first and the second imām of the *Sultān* seated themselves before the chest containing the relic and each recited an '*ushr*' (tenth) of the *Qur'ān*. The *Sultān* in person opened the chest and authorised those who were with him to place their forehead (*yüz sürmāk*) on the relic, first the grand vizier, then the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām and the other dignitaries, after which each one returned to his place, where he remained standing. The *shaiḫs* (heads of religious orders) placed themselves before the chest, said prayers (*du'ā'*) and placed their foreheads on the relic. They went out with the same ceremony and mounted their horses outside the *orta-kapū* (the middle gate). This fête was an occasion for distributing pastries called *baklava* to the Janissaries and to the other troops.

The relic is a mantle with large sleeves, a white mohair camel. After the reception was finished, the grand vizier and the general of the *silihdār* wiped it with a piece of muslin (*dūlbend*) and gave this muslin to their followers. Then they washed in a goblet of gold the spot where the forehead had been placed and dried the wet spot by fumigations of aloes and of ambergris.

In 1265 (1849) the mantle was moved to a mosque specially built for it by the *Sultāna Wālide*, the mother of the *Sultān* 'Abd al-Madjid. This monument called *Khirka-i sherif dāmī'i* stands in Stambul in the Yeñi bāghçe quarter, to the west of the mosque of Fātiḥ on the south slope of the fifth hill. Situated in the middle of a large garden enclosed by a railing of iron, it is a type of construction unique in Constantinople and marks the tendency to follow European models; for it is the application of ironwork to the construction of religious buildings. It is an elegant octagonal building surmounted by a cupola and flanked by pavilions to which it is joined by glass galleries. A beautiful border of iron runs along the roof. A fluted minaret supports a light balcony of hammered iron.

Bibliography: Es'ad-Efendi, *Teshrifāt-i kādima*, p. 14, 18; [L. Rousset], *De Paris à Constantinople* (Guides Joanne), p. 263; Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation du Serrail*, (*Voyages*, t. vi.), p. 189. (CL. HUART)

KHITA. [See *ḲARA KHITĀI*].

KHITĀN (A.), circumcision. According to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *kh-t-n*, the term is exclusively used in connection with the circumcision of males, whereas in the case of females *khafā* is the proper word. If this statement should be exact, the expression *al-khitānāni* "the two circumcised parts" (viz. that of the male and that of the female) would be a dual *a potiori*. This expression occurs in the tradition "If the two circumcised parts have been in touch with one another, *ghusl* is necessary" (Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Haid*, trad. 88; Abū Dā'ūd, *Tahāra*, bāb 81, 83).

Some words connected with the root *kh-t-n* denote the father-in-law, the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law (*khatan*, *khātana*), or marrying (*khutūna*). Some of these words must have belonged to the primitive Semitic language, as they occur also in the same or cognate forms in North-Semitic languages. We shall have to discuss the relation between this class of ideas and circumcision below.

Circumcision must have been a common practice in early Arabia. It is mentioned, not in the *Qur'ān*, but in old poetry (I am indebted to F. Krenkow's

kindness for references to the *Dirwān* of the Hudhali's, to Farazdaq and other poets) and in *ḥadīth*. The early language has also a special word for "uncircumcised" (*aghral*, Hebrew *arel*).

In *ḥadīth* it is said that Ibrāhīm was circumcised in his 80th year (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 151). This tradition is based on the Biblical report. Ibn Sa'd has preserved a tradition according to which the patriarch was already circumcised at the age of 13 (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/i. 24).

This tradition is apparently a reflex of the practice of circumcision in the first centuries of Islām. We may confront it with the statements concerning Ibn 'Abbās' circumcision in *ḥadīth*. According to some traditions (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 273) he was 15 year old when Muḥammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time (Bukhārī, *Istī'dhān*, bāb 51; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 264, 287; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 2639, 2640).

Circumcision is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in the story of the Emperor Heraclius' horoscope (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Wahy*, bāb 6). Heraclius read in the stars the message of "the king of the circumcised". Thereupon an envoy of the king of Ḥassān arrived who reported the news of Muḥammad's preaching of Islām. This envoy appeared to be circumcised himself and he informed the Emperor of the fact that circumcision was a custom prevalent among the Arabs.

It is further recognised in *ḥadīth* that circumcision belongs to the prae-Islamic institutions. In the traditions which enumerate the features of natural religion (*al-fiṭra*), circumcision is mentioned together with the clipping of nails, the use of the toothpick, the cutting of moustaches, the more profuse length of the beard etc. (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Ṭaharā*, trad. 49, 50; Tirmidhī, *Adab*, bāb 14 etc.). Perhaps circumcision of females is implicitly understood here. In a tradition preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (v. 75) circumcision is called *sunna* for males, honourable for females. Circumcision of females is also testified by the nickname *ibn muḳattī'at al-buḡūr*, i. e. "son of the woman who circumcised females", which is given some Makkans.

There are differences between the several *madh-hab*'s concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of giving a survey of the different views it may be sufficient to translate the passage al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1283, i. 328) has devoted to the subject, also because it contains a description of the operation.

"Circumcision is obligatory (*wādjib*) according to al-Shāfi'ī and many of the doctors, *sunna* according to Mālik and the majority of them. It is further, according to al-Shāfi'ī, equally obligatory for males and females. As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the *glans*, so that this latter is wholly denuded. As regards females, it is obligatory to cut off a small part of the skin in the highest part of the genitals. The sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) view within the limits of our school, which is shared by the large majority of our friends, is that circumcision is allowed, but not obligatory in a youthful age, and one of the special views is that the *walī* is obliged to have the child circumcised before it reaches the adult age. Another special view is, that it is prohibited to circumcise a child before

its tenth year. The sound view according to us, is that circumcision on the seventh day after birth is *mustaḥabb* (commendable). Further there are two views regarding the question whether in the "seventh day" the birthday is included or not".

The treatment of circumcision has not a prominent place in the books of law. More important, however, is the value attached to it in popular estimation. "To the uneducated mass of Muslims" says Snouck Hurgronje "as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstinence from pork together with circumcision, have even become to a certain extent the criterium of Islām. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the mass attaches less importance" (*De Islam*, Baarn 1912, p. 30; *Verspr. Geschriften*, i. 402; cf. iv/i. 377). In Java circumcision is generally considered as the ceremony of reception into Islām and therefore sometimes called *njelamaké-salam* ("rendering Muslim"). Apart from this term many other words denoting circumcision are used on Java (*o. l.*, iv/i. 205 sq.).

In Atchīn circumcision of infidels only is considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 398). The importance attached to circumcision appears also from the tradition according to which Muḥammad was born circumcised (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/i. 64). In North Africa a child born with a short foreskin is considered as a blessing (Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, p. 353).

At Makka, where the rite is called *ṭahār*, children are circumcised at an age of 3—7 years, girls without festivities, boys with great pomp. On the day preceding that on which the rite will be performed, the boy who is clad in heavy, costly garments, is paraded through the streets on horseback, several footmen walking on both sides in order to prevent him from falling and to refresh him by means of a perfumed handkerchief. He is preceded by men with drums and duffs who accompany the *dhikr*'s sung by others. Nearest to the boy goes an elderly black handmaid of his father's, bearing on her head a brazier burning with charcoal, resin and salt. The second part of the procession is formed by the boy's poorer comrades, equally on horseback. The procession passes through the main streets during the time of *ʿaṣr* and comes back to its starting-point a little before sunset. The female members of the family pass the evening with their friends; the party is enlivened by female singers.

Next morning, at sunrise, the barber performs the operation. The foreskin is pressed together by means of a thong, the boy lying on his back, while his mother tries to divert his attention by sweets. A plaster is applied to the wound which usually is healed in a week. The operation is followed by a breakfast for the nearest relatives. It is to be observed that Ḥaḍramites who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 141 sqq.).

In Egypt boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his

attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a part of his face in order to avert the evil eye. As in Makka he is preceded by musicians. The foremost person of the procession is usually the servant of the barber (who performs the operation), who bears his *haml*, a case of wood of a semi-cylindrical form, with four short legs; its front is covered with pieces of looking-glass and brass, and its back with a curtain. It is to be noted that the Copts also circumcise their boys (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Chapter on Infancy and Education).

D'Ohsson in his *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1787, i. 231 sqq., describes circumcision as practised in Turkey under the heading "Circumcision, *sunnetlik*", a designation which is also reflected in the word *sunnet-dji* for the barber who performs the operation. It takes or took place in the presence of the imâm of a mosque who accompanies the ceremony with prayers for the preservation of the child, who is usually 7 years old when he is circumcised. Plate 20 of d'Ohsson's work shows children dressed for the ceremony, plate 21 adorned victims which are slaughtered at this occasion. Parties for relatives, friends and poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

The circumcision of the imperial princes used to give occasion to the displaying of great pomp. Long before the appointed day intimation was sent to the high dignitaries of the empire, sometimes even to the other courts of Europe. D'Ohsson gives a translation of Murâd's III letter of invitation to the dignitaries on the occasion of the circumcision of the crownprince.

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Dan, as cited by Douâté, *Merrâkech*, p. 351, at Algier a stone knife was used for the operation. Nowadays this custom seems to be no longer known. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 sqq. where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife of the operation (Wilken, p. 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony.

On Java circumcision of boys is often combined with the *khatm*- or *kataman*-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelago cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i. 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is higher (14—15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (*tarup*) is made before the house or *pendopo*, and a small room (*kobongan*) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious meal at which several dishes are

offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings.

Festivities such as *wayang*, *tayuban*, *djagongan* precede or follow the ceremony. The *djagongan* always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon *kataman*, the recitation of some chapters of the Kur'ân by the boy.

On the day preceding circumcision a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of *naga*'s or other animals. They wear the bridegroom's dress, and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with *borèh*. It occurs also that the boy wears the *hadjdji*'s dress. Just as in North Africa poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

The boy has to keep quiet for some days before and after the operation and to abstain from hot dishes as well as to beware of any action which is considered to be unlucky in this time. Before the operation he is bathed with the recitation of a great many prayers and formulas. Then he is placed on the lap of an elderly person, usually a *santri* who has many children, a circumstance which is expected to exercise a wholesome influence on the boy's marriage. For further details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i. 205 sqq.

Girls are not always circumcised on Java. The ceremony is called *sunu* (*sunna*), whereas the Sundanese denote it by *gusaran* "filing of teeth"; a fictitious filing of teeth takes place the day before circumcision. Girls are circumcised on Java at an age varying between 2 and 8 years. During the last decades the ceremony has been, covered under a mysterious veil in some circles. Parents, however, who cling to the *adat*, do not share this tendency.

In Atchin boys are usually circumcised by the *mudêm* (probably = *mu'adhdhin*) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Kur'ân study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 399 sq) consists in a complete circumcision; in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atchin the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e.g. to arrange a *Rapa'i*-performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bride, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

Girls are circumcised in Atchin soon after the *peutron* (the ceremony of taking the child from the house into the open air for the first time), consequently at a very young age. The operation is performed without any further ceremonies; even the father does not know when his daughter is to be circumcised.

Circumcision is a rite practised by many peoples, primitive peoples of the present time as well as those mentioned in ancient literatures, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Israelites, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites (see Jeremiah, ix. 25).

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islâm in that part of

the world (cf. G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den inaischen Archipel in B.T.L.V.*, Ser. iv., vol. x., p. 166, 180 sq. = *Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Wilken*, iv. 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups.

a. Among many peoples females as well as males are circumcised. We must consequently start from the view that the rite was not originally applied to one of these classes to the exclusion of the other. It may be observed that among some Muslim peoples girls are circumcised at a younger age than boys and with less or hardly any festivities; often the circumcision of females is covered with a veil of mystery; sometimes no males are allowed to assist at it (Wilken, *Verspr. Geschriften*, iv. 238).

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 207). In the Muslim world we have the instance of Malaysians who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djidda for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 312).

c. Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair ('*akika*', cf. Douté, *Merrâkech*, p. 351), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Qur'an. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter-of-fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellers. In Central Arabia, it is said (e.g. Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 213, note), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 141). From a note to the passage just referred to, it may, however, be seen that the author doubts whether any of the travellers' reports is based on eyewitness; according to him they are handed down by townspeople. Be this as it may, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the Javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a *santri* who has many children (see above and Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 225).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e.g.: the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above); the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 220); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception in to the Muslim community; cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii.; see also Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 227).

e. Many accessory rites express the intention to avert danger: the boy's being dressed as a girl, the use of the handkerchief, the burning of charcoal and salt; the drums and duffs; the recitation of *dhihr's* and prayers; possibly the displaying of charity and the slaughtering of victims may also be viewed in this light.

In the literature on the subject different views regarding the origin, the original signification and the gradual extension and modification of the rite are to be found. For several reasons it seems unnecessary to review these opinions here. An exception may, however, be made for Wilken, who bases his opinion partly on that of Ploss, and for van Gennep (*Les rites de passage*, Paris 1909, espec. the fourth chapter).

According to Ploss the rite was meant as a surgical operation, serving to remove or to prevent phimosis, as it was believed that this anatomical deviation and perhaps the foreskin in general, was an impediment to the sexual function. Consequently the operation could take place at any age before marriage. Ploss' theory seemed to find support in the reports of some travellers (Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 224 sqq.). Wilken combines this view with an extension in the religious direction. If the aim of circumcision was the promotion of fecundity, the rite became a religious one, because begetting children was a precept of religion among many peoples.

Ploss' and Wilken's theories do not regard, as may be seen from the short *resumé* just given, the circumcision of females. According to Wilken the rite is in this case originally nothing but a surgical operation serving to prevent abnormal deviations of the genitals.

These theories are open to several objections. The conjecture of a different meaning of the rite in the case of males and females, can only be admitted if a common explanation appears to be impossible. Further the rite is practised among peoples who do not know of a connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of children. Another objection regards Ploss' and Wilken's method as such. It may be observed that an enquiry into the origin and development of widely spread rites such as the one in debate, has scarcely ever led to satisfactory results, because such rites, if they may have originated from one clearly definable idea at all, sooner or later have become receptacles of other more or less cognate ideas, a process which has covered them under such a mass of tangle-wood that it is no longer possible to find a thread of evolution.

During recent years ethnologists have, therefore, given up the genetic method, in order to return to the descriptive one, hoping thus to be able to set the important sides of the rites in the best light. This method has been applied to sacrifice by Hubert and Mauss, to circumcision by van Gennep.

In his *Rites de passage* van Gennep has shown that a great many rites may be described as rites of transition from one state of life into another one. Circumcision must be placed on the same level with the first shaving of the hair ('*akika*'), the filing of teeth, with initiations of various kinds, etc.

This point of view accounts for many of the features of circumcision mentioned above. It accounts for the fact, that children are submitted to the operation at ages varying between the seventh day after birth and the beginning of the manly age or the time of marriage; that females as well as males are circumcised; that the rite is sometimes repeated; that it shows a deeply rooted connection with marriage; that it is considered as the act of reception into a religious community;

that it is sometimes preceded by a bath; that processions take place, which show a striking similarity with bridal processions and so on.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHĪWA. [See **KHĀRIZM**.]

KHLOṬ, an Arab tribe of North western Morocco. Its name in literary Arabic *Khulṭ* has become *Khloṭ* in the vulgar dialect by regular metathesis, but the primitive form of the word is found in the adjective *Khulṭī* fem. *Khulṭiya*.

The *Khloṭ* who came into North Africa with the Hilālī invasion in the fifth (eleventh) century formed a part of the group of mixed Arab elements, known as *Djusham* from the name of the ancestor of one of them. According to Ibn *Khal-dūn* and other Muslim historians, the *Khloṭ* were the Banu 'l-Muntafiq. In Little Africa, the *Djusham* spread through Central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the fighting which devastated Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they tried to rebel but were cruelly put down. A little later, the Banū *Ghaniya*, rivals of the Almohads, had no difficulty in getting them as allies after the taking of Bougie [q. v.]. But the Almohad Caliph al-Manṣūr, victorious over his enemies, punished their Arab allies and transported the *Djusham* and *Riyāh* Arabs to Morocco to the coast of the Atlantic. The *Riyāh* were settled in al-Habaṭ and al-*Gharb*, the *Djusham* in al-Tāmesnā (the present *Shawia*), a country which had been empty since the extermination of the schismatic Berghwāta by the Almohads. Al-Manṣūr thought he would settle these tribes permanently and make them auxiliaries for the *djihād* in Spain. His attempt was doomed to failure.

Under the successor of al-Manṣūr, the intrigues of the Almohad *Shaikhs* found excellent allies among the *Djusham* (*Khloṭ* and *Sufyān*) and the jealousy between the *Khloṭ* and *Sufyān* aggravated the internal dissensions still further. In 621 (1224 A.D.) the *Khloṭ* took the side of the pretenders al-Ma'mūn against the Caliph al-ʿAdil supported by the *Sufyān*. In 625 (1228) al-Ma'mūn was proclaimed Caliph. In 630 his son al-Rashīd succeeded him but he was forced to take strong measures against the chiefs of the *Khloṭ* on account of their robberies and other misdeeds. The *Khloṭ* rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir. The *Sufyān* made their peace with al-Rashīd. They attacked the *Khloṭ* on the banks of the Umm al-Rabi' and wrought terrible carnage among them. The *Khloṭ* in return proclaimed as Caliph the pretender Ibn Hūd from al-Andalus. But al-Rashīd pursued and routed them, took their chiefs prisoners and beheaded them (635 = 1237/1238). Weakened and compelled to submit, the *Khloṭ* took part in the expeditions of the Caliphs but their rivalry with the *Sufyān* was not extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 646 (1248) at the siege of Tamzesdekt held by the Ziyānid pretender Yaghmorāsan, the rivalry resulted in the death of the Caliph al-Sa'īd and the defeat of the Almohads.

The rise of the Marinids in Morocco again made the *Khloṭ* feel the hand of the conqueror. Sulṭān Abū Thābit took steps to punish them for their brigandage (707 = 1308), but he used their help to destroy the power of the *Riyāh* Arabs. The *Khloṭ*, installed in the latter's territory, in *Azghār* and in *Habaṭ* formed part of the *makhzan* [q. v.]

of the Sulṭāns of Morocco, contracted matrimonial alliances with these rulers and furnished them with governors of provinces, ambassadors and councillors. Vassals of the Marinids, the *Khloṭ* passed into the service of the Banū Waṭṭās, their successors. It is even claimed that intermarriage between them and Bū Hassūn, the last Waṭṭāsīd Sulṭān, prevented them from taking the side of the Sa'dian *Sherifs* on the latter coming to the front.

The Sa'dian *Sherifs* at first had no dealings with the *Khloṭ*, in spite of the importance of this tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put into the field 12,000 horsemen and 50,000 foot-soldiers. But the important part played by *Khloṭ* in the Moroccan victory over the Portuguese at Wādī *Makhāzin* made them admit them partially into the *Makhzan* of the *Sherifs*. But the plundering and undisciplined spirit of the *Khloṭ* made them dangerous to any regular authority. During the decline of the Sa'dian dynasty, the marabout pretender al-ʿAiyāshī [q. v.], who wished to make them take the field against the Christians of Larache' could not subdue them and was assassinated by them in 1048 (1638/1639).

Under the Filālī *Sherifs* the *Khloṭ* took the side of the petty chiefs of Northern Morocco who had made themselves independent under cover of the *djihād*. Mūlāy Ismā'il and his successors after conquering them deprived the *Khloṭ* of their position as a *makhzan* tribe and encouraged the settlement in this region of heterogeneous Arab elements, the *Tliḳ* and *Badāwa* groups who could only disturb and weaken the older occupants of the land. At the present day these groups have each their *kā'id*s who keep a jealous watch on one another; any attempts made by the *Khloṭ* against the Moroccan authorities have for a long time been uniformly unsuccessful.

The territory occupied by the *Khloṭ* is now about 50 miles in length from N. to S., and 20 in breadth from E. to W. It is bordered on the N. near *Aṣila* by the Wādī *Salem*, the tribe of Banū 'Arūs and the Wādī 'Aiyāsha; on the E. by the tribe of Banū *Gorfet*, and of *Ahl Ṣarīf*; in the S. E. by the *Djabal Ṣarṣar*; in the S. by the *Gharb*. In the W. from *Aṣila* to Larache, the *Khloṭ* are cut from the Ocean by the narrow territory of the *Saḥal*; from Larache they stretch along the Atlantic as far as the marshes of *Mar-dja Zarka*.

Bibliography. One could quote here all the works dealing with the history of N. W. Africa from the second Arab invasion. M. M. Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon in *Archives Marocaines*, iv., v., vi., Paris 1905-1907, have given a very full account of the territory, ethnography, administrative organisation, political position and divisions of the *Khloṭ* in their article on *Les Tribus Arabes de la vallée du Lekkus*.

(A. COUR)

KHODABENDE. [See **ULJĀITU**.]

KHŌDJA (Pers. *Khwādjā*), name of a community of dissenting Muslims, mainly to be found (a) in the *Pandjāb*; (b) in *Sindh*, *Kāčh*, *Kathiāwār* and the Western Coast of India; (c) in *Zanzibar* and on the East Coast of Africa; (d) in scattered groups under the name of *Mawālīs* or *Mawlā's* in the Hindu *Kūsh* region and the North-west frontier of India, in *Afghānistān*, in the *Khānates* of Central Asia, in the hilly districts of Eastern Persia and in the Persian Gulf District.

The numbers enumerated in India at the Census of 1921 (*Census of India 1921*) were:

Province	Male	Female	Total	Census of India 1921
Bombay. . . .	30,703	27,925	58,628	1/ii ¹⁶
Pandjāb. . . .	45,629	41,852	87,481	1/ii ¹⁶
Kāshmir State	2,536	1,705	4,24	XXII/ii ¹⁰
British India	76,332	69,777	146,109	1/ii ⁵⁵

The Pandjāb Khōdjas do not own allegiance to H. H. the Āghā Khān, but hold religious beliefs similar to those held by the Bombay Khōdjas (*Census of India 1901*, xvii. 150 sq.). They are, like the Bombay Khōdjas, converted Hindus, who are mainly engaged in commercial occupations, keep accounts in Hindī and follow Hindu customs. Allied to them are the Parāṭas of whom there are about 4,000 in the Pandjāb. The Pandjāb Khōdjas derive their origin from Ḥādjdī Saiyid Ṣadr al-Dīn, who came in the 15th century as an Ismā'īlī preacher from Khurāsān and lies buried in Trinda Gorgedj in the Pēshkāri of Gōthcāni in the Bahāwālpūr State. He presented his doctrines to the Hindus in a form which would appeal to their Hindu traditions. He is reputed to have been the author of the *Das-Avātār*, in which the incarnations of Viṣṇu are described as leading to Islām. The first nine incarnations are treated as a Hindu would treat them. The tenth incarnation (Skr. *niṣkalangka*, "unspotted") which the Hindus expect in the future is described as having materialised in the unrevealed Imām of the Ismā'īlis. Both the *Das-Avātār* and Ṣadr al-Dīn's hymns are used up to the present day by the Pandjābī Khōdjas as well as by the Āghā Khān's Indian followers and their offshoots in East Africa. For practical guidance the Pandjāb Khōdjas look to fakirs of the Qādiriya and Čishtiya sects and other Pirs, whose religious beliefs are not, however, necessarily identical.

The Khōdjas of the Bombay Presidency and their offshoots in East Africa form a much better organised community and are in direct touch with H. H. the Āghā Khān. Their religious ideas are in origin the same as those of the Pandjāb Khōdjas, but their living contact with the Imām in the person of the Āghā Khān has isolated them from the influence of Muslim religious orders. Secessions have taken place from their ranks from time to time, but notably in the seventh decade of the 19th century, when a section of them attempted to declare the whole community Sunnī, and more recently, in 1901, when a small number under the leadership of men educated on Western lines declared themselves to be Ithnā-Ash'ariya [q. v.] Shi'is (what may be called the orthodox school of the Shi'a faith). They have built a separate mosque and made a separate burial ground in Bombay (called the Ārām Bāgh), but they maintain social intercourse with the main body of the Bombay Khōdjas.

The Khōdjas are mainly governed by customary law. The Bombay High Court has held (1847) that the Muslim law of succession does not apply to them and that, as under Hindu law, their females are excluded from immediate succession (Sarjun Meer Ali's case; cf. Sir Erskine Perry, *Cases Illustrative of Oriental Life and the Application of English Law to India*, London 1853, p. 110).

The Bombay Khōdjas have a tradition of an

earlier preacher than Pir Ṣadr al-Dīn, viz. one Nūr Satāgur or Pir Sat Gur Nūr who is supposed to have lived in the 12th or 13th century of the Christian era. About 1594 A. D. their Imām Āghā 'Abd al-Salām wrote in Persian for the guidance of the Indian Khōdjas a book called the *Pandiyād-i Djawān-mardi*, which in its old Sindhi form is revered as the 26th in the list of Khōdja Pirs or saints (cf. with this the personification of the Sikh scripture as the Granth Ṣāhib).

The marriage, divorce and funeral customs of the Bombay Khōdjas are different from the general law and customs of Islām. The marriage customs show traces of archaic Hindu ceremonies. The actual *nikāḥ* ceremony used until recently to be celebrated by Sunnī qādis. A marriage certificate in due form is issued in Guḍjarātī, with the names of the four archangels, Djibrā'il, Isrā'il, 'Azrā'il and Mika'il, in the four corners. No divorce is permitted without the *djāmā'at*'s sanction, and the *djāmā'at* usually requires the consent of both parties. A second wife is not allowed in the life-time of the first without the *djāmā'at*'s sanction, which is, however, usually granted if Rs. 2,000 are deposited for the first wife's maintenance. A curious custom followed on the approach of death is that of *samarikhānta* or the sprinkling of holy water to the reading of the *Das-Avātār*.

The organisation of the community is in the form of a complete fiscal centralisation round the sacred person of the Āghā Khān, but of complete congregational independence in administrative matters, including even questions of excommunication. Every congregation has its own *djāmā'at-khāna* (pronounced in Guḍjarātī *djūmāt-khānūn*), which is both a meeting house and a mosque. The officers are the *mukhī* (headman, treasurer, chairman) and the *kāmaḡia* (secretary, accountant). They are sometimes appointed by the Āghā Khān, but are frequently elected. Offerings for the Imām are collected through them; these comprise the fixed *Dasandh* or tithe (the Momnas split from the community in the 16th century and mainly on their refusal to pay this) and various minor dues on special occasions, either recurring (as the festival of the new moon) or occasional (as the rites of birth, marriage, burial, etc.).

Very little is known of the present day organisation of the followers of the Āghā Khān in Persia, Central India, or in the North-West Himalayan frontier. In point of doctrine they keep to the pure Ismā'īlī [q. v.] doctrine [see the art. ISMĀ'ILĪYA] of the Nizārī branch, as opposed to the Musta'ali branch of the Egyptian and Arabian Ismā'īlis and of the Bohoras of India, who are derived from them.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, ix/ii. 36—50 (Bombay 1899, the best modern account in English); *Revue du Monde Musulman*, i. 48—85 (supplements the information given above, with some history of the Ismā'īlī sect and of the Āghā Khān's ancestors) and Index to vols. i.—xvi., s.v. *Khojah* and *Aga Khan*; Jaffer Rahimtoola, *History of the Khojas*, Bombay 1905 (written by a Khōdja graduate of the Bombay University in Guḍjarātī and containing a useful roll of honour of the Khōdja community); *Judgment by the Honourable Sir Joseph Arnould in the Khojah case, delivered 12th November 1866*, Bombay 1866 (sums up

the history of the *Khōdjas* to date and rejects the contention of a minority that the community were Sunni); *Census of India 1901*, vol. xvii., *Punjab*, p. 150—151 (Simla 1902; account of the *Pandjāb Khōdjas*); J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1898 (slight glimpses of the Frontier Ismā'īlis); M. Dumasia, *A Brief History of the Ağa Khan*, Bombay 1903 (uncritical, written by a Parsi author); S. Nāndjānī, *Khōdjā Vrittānt*, Aḥmadābād 1892 (written by a *Khōdjā*, but before the results of modern research were known); Mīrzā Muḥammad Fānī, *Dabistān-i Madhāhib*, Calcutta n.d., p. 348 sqq. (transl. D. Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris 1843, ii. 397—451). (A. YUSUF ALI)

KHODJA EFENDI, SA'D AL-DIN B. HASAN DJAN B. HAFIZ MUHAMMAD B. HAFIZ DJAMAL AL-DIN AL-ISFAHANI, usually called *Khodja* (Sa'd ed-Din) Efendi, a famous Ottoman historian and Shaikh al-Islām. He was born in 943 (1536—1537) in Stambul, the son of a certain Hasan Djan who had immigrated from Persia and served as a chamberlain to Sultān Selim I during the last seven years of his reign. Hasan Djan told his son all sorts of anecdotes of the life of the Sultān which Sa'd al-Din worked into a *Selim-nāme* and then added it as an appendix to his famous history (ii. 221—401) (cf. Pertsch, *Türk. Hss. Berlin*, p. 241, N^o. 212; Flügel, *Die ... Hss. ... in Wien*, ii. 210, N^o. 987; thereon J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii., p. vi. 10; ii. 634; ix. 203, 59 and his *Lettere sui mss. orientali in Bibliotheca italiana*, xlii. [1826]; the *Selim-nāme* was translated (without the introduction) into German by H. F. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, i. 256—302 [Berlin 1811]). Sa'd al-Din studied law, became an 'ulemā' early, in 963 (1555/1556) *mulāzim* of the famous jurist Abu 'l-Su'ūd [q.v.], in Muḥarram 981 (1573/1574) tutor (*khodja*, whence his popular name, the one by which he is still generally known) to the heir-apparent Murād, then governor of Maghnisa. On the accession of Murād III in Dec. 1574 he remained his trusted adviser and retained the rank of *Khodja-i sultānī*, tutor to the Sultān, under Murād's successor Mehmed III. In Sha'bān 1006 (1598/1599) he became Shaikh al-Islām and died in this office two years later in Stambul on 12 Rabi' I, 1008 (Oct. 2, 1599), just as he was preparing to celebrate the birthday service (*mewlūd*) in the Aya Sofia. Four of his five sons, some of whom attained high rank (Mehmed [cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 144] and Mehmed As'ad [cf. *ibid.*, i. 330 sq.] became Muftis, 'Abd al-'Azīz [cf. *ibid.*, iii. 338] and Šālih [cf. *ibid.*, iii. 200 sq.] kādī 'asker, Mas'ūd died young as "guardian" [cf. *ibid.*, iv. 365 sq.], bore their father's coffin to Aiyūb, where he was buried in the school for the recitation of the Qur'ān.

Sa'd al-Din was the author of the famous Ottoman history known as the *Tādī al-Tawārikh*, which although not written by the imperial command (S. was not the so-called imperial historian, *Wak'a Nūwīs*, cf. also *Mitt. zur osm. Gesch.*, i. 241), is still generally regarded as an authoritative source for Ottoman history and not only consigned all earlier chronicles of the house of 'Othmān, called *Tewārikh-i Al-i 'Othmān*, to oblivion, but even made them appear contemptible (cf. Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ii. 112, N^o. 2158 and J. H. Mordtmann in *Isl.*, x. 160). The work dealt with the history of the imperial Ottoman house from its foundation to the death of Selim I (d. 21. ix.

1520), copying from the earlier historians and written in a style often bombastic and extravagant. The work which was finished in the reign of Selim II (1566/1574) and was strictly speaking intended as a supplement to the Persian *Mirāt al-Adwār wa-Markāt al-Akhbār* of Mušliḥ al-Din Muḥammad al-Lāri (d. 979 = 1571), which Sa'd al-Din translated into Turkish (MS. in Vienna, cf. Flügel, ii. 80, N^o. 845), was disseminated and read in numerous manuscripts until it was made generally accessible in a printed edition in 1279 (1861) in two large volumes (586 and 619 pp., large 800, cf. *J. A.*, 1863, ii. p. 262). MSS. of the book often beautifully produced (e.g. one in the Vatican) are common in European libraries. The most important and most useful for a future critical edition may be mentioned: Berlin, N^o. 213; Dresden, N^o. 386; Leiden, Cat., iii. 27; London, Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 51^b sqq.; Mailand, Ambrosiana, N^o. 243; Munich, N^o. 76—81; Oxford Uri, *Cat.*, N^o. 1. and 4; Paris, N^o. 63—70; St.-Petersburg, Univ.-Bibl., N^o. 1 and 2; Cat. von C. Salemann and V. v. Rosen, p. 21; Rome, Vatican, a splendid MS. formerly belonging to the Swedish Queen Christina (cf. J. v. Hammer in *Bibl. ital.*, xli. 35, 115 and P. Horn in *Z.D.M.G.*, li. [1897], p. 45 sq.); Uppsala, N^o. 245; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, N^o. 30, 85, 3 and 134; Vienna, Nat.-Bibl., Flügel, ii. 244; Konsular-Akademie, A. Krafft, *Die ... Hss. d. or. Ak.*, N^o. 263. — The book found early recognition in the west and parts of it have been frequently translated: cf. W. Seaman, *The Reign of Sultan Orchan*, London, 1652; V. Bratutti, *Chronica dell' origine e progressione della casa ottomana composta da Saidino Turco*, part. i., Vienna 1649, part. ii., Madrid 1652 (cf. *W. I.*, vii. [1919], p. 110 and *Isl.*, xii. [1922], 228 sq.); *Saad ed-Dini Annales Turcici usque ad Muram I. Turcice et Latine curā Fr. Kollar*, Vienna 1755, fol.; incomplete, cf. Pertsch, *Türk. Hss. Berl.*, p. 243, note and *W. I.*, vii. [1919], p. 125 sq.); parts transl. by J. H. Garcin de Tassy in *J. A.*, iv. 347; viii. 306, 340; ix. 153; *The Capture of Constantinople*, ed. E. J. W. Gibb (with a biography of Sa'd al-Din), London 1879.

A MS. of a French translation of the *Tādī al-Tawārikh* was prepared by Antoine Galland in 1710; the MS., the first volume of which seems to be lost, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris as MS. anc. fds. fr. 6074.

Sa'd al-Din's son, Mehmed As'ad Efendi, is said to have continued the history written by his father; cf. Brūsālī Mehmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānī mü'ellifleri*, ii. 22 sq.; *İlmiye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 426 sqq.

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sons Mehmed and Mehmed As'ad, *ibid.*, p. 426 sq. resp. 436 sq.); preface to the edition of the *Tađi al-Tawārikh*; also Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 164, 165, 205—208 and his *The Capture of Constantinople*, London 1879, preface.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KHODJA ILI. [See **ҚОДЖА ИЛИ**]

KHOI (in Arabic *Khowaiy*), a town in Persia in the province of Ādharbāidjān, on a plateau 70 miles W.N.W. of Tabriz; population from 20,000 to 30,000. Its territory is irrigated by a water-course which rises in the mountains of Salāmās and flows into the Aras; the town is surrounded by gardens which produce, amongst other fruits, figs, and a superior quality of pears called *paighambari*, "pears of the Prophet". At the present day cotton is cultivated in the neighbourhood. The bazaars are large and busy. In former days a material called *Khoidjīya* was manufactured there. Now socks of knitted or woven wool are made here. The present defences (earthworks) were built at the beginning of the 19th century by General Gardane's expedition. The town was in part destroyed by the earthquake of 1842. It was near Khoi that Shāh Ismā'īl I lost the battle of Cāldirān against Sultān Selim I in 920 (1514).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 502; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 220 (also from the *Nuzhat al-Ķulūb* of Hamd-Allāh Mustawfī, ed. Browne, p. 84); Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 239, n.l.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, ed. Reinaud, p. 396; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 166; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 50 sqq.; J. P. Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 304.

(CL. HUART)

KHOĶAND, Arab. *Khuwākand*, later written *Khūkand* (which is given a popular etymology, *khūk* + *kand* = town of the boar), a town in Farghāna, cf. above, ii., p. 64, 66 where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Özbek kingdom with *Khōkand* as capital in the twelfth (eighteenth) century. The accession of the first ruler *Shāhrukh* was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called *Eski Urda* was built by his son, 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 1746). 'Abd al-Karīm and his nephew and successor İrdānā Bī 'are several times mentioned in the history of the Atalīk Muḥammad Raḥīm, afterwards *Khān* of Bukhārā (d. 1759, cf. i., p. 782; Muḥ. Wafā Karminagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, M. S. of the Anat. Mus., c. 581b, especially fol. 33^b sq., 145^b sqq.). When the Kalmuḥ empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghāna (1758), İrdānā also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J. Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, i. (1825), pp. 81 sqq. from the *Tai ts'ing yi t'ung chi*. İrdānā later was a member of a coalition of Muhammadan rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Aḥmad *Shāh* Durānī (cf. i., p. 169, 202 sqq.), the ruler of Afghānistān, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Aḥmad *Shāh* in 1763 appeared in Turkeṣtān at the head of an army and occupied the territory between *Khōkand* and Tāshkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Kara-Ķirgiz was made from *Khōkand*, Klaproth, *op. cit.*, p. 83), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises on other

directions. 'Abd al-Karīm's grandson, Nār Buta Beg (probably reigned 1188—1213 = 1774/5—1798/9, cf. L. Zimin in *Protokol' Turk. Kruška Lyub. Arkheologii*, xviii. 102, and Walidow, *ibid.*, xx. 112 sq.), was also nominally under Chinese suzerainty. To the early years of this reign belongs the journey of the Russian sergeant, Filipp Yefremow, who was taken prisoner by the Ķirgiz in 1774 and sold in Bukhārā and in 1782 returned to Russia via India and England. According to his *Travels* (F. Yefremow, *Stranstrovaniye v Bukharii, Khiwie, Persii w Indii* ² (St. Petersburg 1794, p. 59 sq.)), Nārbuta was already entitled *Khān* "by the Chinese," was allied with China and at enmity with Bukhārā. No mention is made of prominent buildings in the capital (the Medrese Mīr was built in the reign of Nārbuta); on the other hand, a high pillar (apparently a minaret), said to be over 280 feet high in the market-place in Marghinān, is described. According to Filipp Nazarow (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Nārbuta's two sons, 'Alim and 'Omar, are the real founders of the state and city of *Khōkand* as we later know it. The chronology of these reigns (1213—1237 = 1798/1799—1821/1822) is not sufficiently established; even the year in which 'Alim was assassinated and 'Omar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Shāhrukhī* (ed. Pantusow, p. 106) 'Omar died in the year 1237 = 1821/1822 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, p. 101; French translation, p. 124), who here follows another source (the *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* of Hakīm *Khān*), 'Alim was not murdered till the spring of 1232 (i.e. 1817, not 1816 as in Nalivkin); on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ. orig., p. 185; French transl., p. 228) puts the building of the chief mosque of *Khōkand* by 'Omar *Khān* in 1231 (1815/1816). The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarow, who was in *Khōkand* in the winter of 1813/1814, calls the ruler of *Khōkand* Amir Walliami (*Zapiski o niekotorykh narodakh Sredney Azii*, St. Petersburg 1821, p. 50 sqq.). This is probably for *Walī al-Ni'amī*, not *Walī Miyani*, as in Klaproth, *op. cit.*, p. 43. The ruler at this time was only twenty-five years of age; this statement can only refer to 'Omar, not to the much older 'Alim; according to 'Abd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī also (ed. Schefer, p. 102), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the *Khōkand* envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropawlowsk) both took place in the reign of 'Omar *Khān*. According to 'Abd al-Karīm, p. 99, 'Alim had already been killed in 1224 (1809), which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated *Djuma'dā I*, 1225 (June 1810) (*Protokol' Turk kruška, Lyub. Arkh.*, iii. 165, sq.). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1813.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1213 (1798/1799), 'Alim still regards himself as the representative of an un-named *Khān*; later he appears as an independent ruler with the title *Khān* or Amir; after the conquest of Tāshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amir of Bukhārā. In 'Omar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarow; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. p. 110 sq.; French transl., p. 134 sq.), the town of Turkeṣtān with the parts of the Ķirgiz steppes

belonging to it was incorporated in the kingdom of *Khokand*. 'Omar thereupon took the title of *Amir al-Muslimin*. There were several wars with *Bukhārā* regarding the possession of *Ura Tūbe* in the reigns of both 'Ālim and 'Omar. The town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest. The memory of these hostilities is said still to survive in the children's game "*Ura Tūbe is mine*" (*Žizn' Nacionalnostey*, i., 1913, p. 195).

'Omar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers 'Ālim had made up his mind to break the power of the *Özbeg* families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of *Qarātegin*, *Darwāz* and other lands (*Tārīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, p. 42 sq.). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the clergy, especially the dervish orders; the historians on this account describe 'Ālim as a godless tyrant (*gālim*); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of 'Omar, who was put on the throne by 'Ālim's murderers. 'Omar built the present chief mosque of *Khokand*, which is also used as a medrese and therefore is known as *Medrese-i Dīāmī* (picture in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. B., 1900, p. 224). 'Omar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (*takhallus*) *Amir*; verses by the *Khān* himself, his officials and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) entitled *Madjmi'at al-Shu'arā* by M. Hartmann in *Mitt. des Seminars f. Orient. Sprachen*, vii., Westas. Stud., p. 87 sqq. It was probably 'Omar who founded the town of *Shahr-i Khān* (west of *Andijān*); the great canal, led to it from the *Qara Daryā*, *Shahr-i Khān Sāi*, is now 110 versts (nearly 75 miles) long; the area watered by it is about 6,000 square miles. The irrigation of *Farghāna* was completely altered by the excavation of this canal.

'Omar's son and successor, *Madali* (properly *Muhammad 'Alī*), was twelve at his accession (according to others fourteen). During the first half of his reign, the state of *Khokand* reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of *Qarātegin*, *Darwāz*, and *Kulāb*, which now belonged to *Bukhārā*, were all conquered; in the north-east taxes were levied on the *Qara Kirgiz*, on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of *Qazak Kirgiz*; the *Khān*'s representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the *Ili* [q.v.]. The rebellion of *Khodja Djahāngir* in *Kashgharia* (1826), which received support from *Khokand*, met with no success; nevertheless the officers of the *Khān* were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (*alī? shahr*): *Aksū*, *Üsh Tūrfān*, *Qashghar*, *Yangishahr*, *Yārkand* and *Khotan*. Like *Khokand*, where one of the largest medreses bears the name of *Madali Khān* (picture in N. P. Ostroumow, *Islamovedeniye*, Tashkend 1914, p. 185), *Tashkend* attained considerable prosperity; from 1835 the *Beglerbegi* of *Tashkend* was given the administration of all the northern provinces of the kingdom; a memorial of this period is the great *Beglerbegi Medrese* (picture, *op. cit.*, p. 188). The excavation of the great *Khān Harīk* canal in the region of *Tashkend* also belongs to this period (*Protokol' Turk. Kruška Lyub. Arkh.*, iii. 175).

In spite of the great extent of his kingdom, the authority of the *Khān* was not firmly established; his vicious life and cruel rule had aroused general discontent. *Naṣr Allāh*, *Amir of Bukhārā* [q.v.], is said to have been asked by people in *Khokand* itself to put an end to the rule of this blood-thirsty and godless tyrant. The *Khokand* army was completely defeated; the capital itself was taken by the enemy (for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom); *Madali* was killed while trying to escape (1258 = 1842). The conquerors were driven out again in the same year and *Shīr 'Alī*, a cousin of 'Ālim and 'Omar, was placed on the throne; but down to the Russian conquest domestic peace was never restored for any length of time. The reigns of *Shīr 'Alī* (1842—1845) and his sons *Khudāyār* (1845—1858 and 1865—1875) and *Mallā* (1858—1862) and several short-lived rulers were a period of continual confusion and bloody fighting, notably between the *Özbegs* of the *Qipčāk* tribe and the "Sarts", i. e. the native population. *Khudāyār*, who was still a minor, was raised to the throne by *Musulmān Kul*, the chief of the *Qipčāk*; the *Qipčāk* drove the Sarts out of their houses in the capital and took possession of the canals in the country; the Sarts were only allowed the water necessary for their fields on payment of a fixed sum. In 1269 (1852) *Musulmān Kul* was overthrown by *Khudāyār* and put to death; the land again passed to the Sarts. *Mallā* then relied on the support of the *Qipčāk* and restored to them the lands taken by the Sarts. Banished pretenders usually took refuge in *Bukhārā*. Under these circumstances *Naṣr Allāh* was able to advance as far as *Khodjande* in 1275 (1858), his successor, *Muẓaffar*, in 1279 (1862) and again in 1282 (1865) to occupy *Khokand* itself. The struggle against foes at home and abroad was waged with medieval cruelty. *Madali*'s father-in-law, *Muhammad Sharif Atālf*, governor of *Tashkend*, was bound to a horse's tail by order of *Khān Shīr 'Alī* and dragged across the steppes; after the capture of *Ura Tūbe* by *Khudāyār* in 1265 (1848) a tower of skulls (*kelle-minār*) was erected of the heads of the enemy killed.

In spite of all this, the kingdom retained its former extent down to the Russian conquest. The Russian troops had been in contact with the troops of the *Khān* of *Khokand* since 1850 on the upper course of the *Sīr Daryā*, about two hundred miles from the mouth and in the north-east since 1860 between the *Ču* [q.v.] and *Ili*. All these regions were still under the governor of *Tashkend*, who was also responsible for the maintenance of agriculture; the governor *Mirzā Aḥmad* (1853—1858) is said to have carried out irrigation works from the town of *Turkestan* to the valley of the *Ču*. It was only shortly before the Russian conquest in 1865 that *Tashkend* passed into the possession of the *Amir of Bukhārā*. From 1866 the kingdom of *Khokand* became limited to *Farghāna* and remained nominally independent within the boundaries of the latter, even after the treaty with Russia in 1868. To this period belongs the digging of the *Ulugh Nahr* canal (Middendorf, *Einblicke in das Ferghana-Thal*, St. Petersburg, 1881, Appendix, p. xxi) and several buildings (the *urda* or palace of the *Khān*, frequently reproduced, e. g. in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, p. 412, and better in W. Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 701 and 703; the

Medrese Hākim Ayin and M. Sulṭān Murād Beg, built by the mother and the brother of the Khān, reproduced in M. Ostroumow, *Islamovedeniye*, p. 184) were erected at this time.

After the deposition of Khān Khudāyār by a popular rising and the new troubles thereby provoked, the remainder of the kingdom was incorporated in Russia as the "territory of Farghāna". Khokand still continued to be the largest town (113,636 inhabitants, according to the census of 1911) under Russian rule and the most important trading centre in the territory; the newly founded town of New Marghelān, later Skobelew, now called Farghāna, was the residence of the governor. The last time Khokand played a part on the political stage was in 1917, when an "autonomous government of Turkestan" was formed there; in the next year the victory of the Red Army put an end to it.

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KHOLT. [See **KHLOT**].

KHOMAIR (KHUMIR). A people of northern Tunis. Khumiria has as its boundaries, to the north the Mediterranean sea, to the west the Algerian frontier, to the south the Wādī Ghezala, a tributary of the Medjerda, to the east the country of the Nefza and the Chiahia. The area of this region is about 350 square miles. It is a country with a very hilly surface, occupied by a mountain mass stretching as far as Algeria. Although the average altitude hardly exceeds 3,000 feet, these heights cut by deep ravines and steep gorges, give to the country a very rugged aspect. Khumiria is for the natives "the mountain" par excellence, *Djebel Djebaliye*. The sandstone formations which constitute nearly everywhere the subsoil are favourable for arboriculture. The forests of cork-oak and of Zean-oak occupy here an area of a hundred thousand hectares. The rainfall here reaches 66 inches a year. The water filtering through the sand-stone reappears on reaching the impenetrable marl as springs and flows towards the valley of the Medjerda and especially towards the Mediterranean. Agriculture can scarcely be practised except in the alluvial plains of Ṭabarḳa. Everywhere, besides, a border of dunes stretches between the coast and the forest, and partly arrests the waters coming from the interior. Deposits of zinc, of lead, and of iron have been recognised at different points.

The population of Khumiria is about 6,500 individuals. The natives called Khumir or Khumair are divided into 4 tribes: Khumir of Ṭabarḳa, Atafta, Tadmaka, Sellūl. The rearing of animals, oxen, sheep, and goats is their means of livelihood. Only those who live around Ṭabarḳa devote themselves to agriculture. The women manufacture coarse cloth, and household utensils in common pottery. Lastly numbers of natives are employed by the administration for the exploitation of the forests of cork-oak. The Khumirs are settled, or half settled. They live in huts or *gourbis* of branches, usually situated on the slopes of the mountains or in the neighbourhood of the river. Some of them have retained the use of tents. Near Ṭabarḳa there is also a small colony of Zwāwa, the descendants of Kabyls of the Bougie district, settled at this place in the xviith century by the Bey Ḥamūda. They cultivate vegetables and fruit, live in stone houses, and enjoy a comfort much in excess of the other natives. The Europeans, who are few in number, are found in the centres of 'Ain Draham [q.v.] and Ṭabarḳa [q.v.].

The Khumir may be regarded as the descendants of the Ṣanhādja, who occupied the northern coast of Tunis and of the province of Constantine at the time of the Muslim conquest. This primitive stock has been reinforced by other Berber elements, driven from the centre towards the north after the Hīlālī invasion, and finally mixed with Arab blood. In spite of their Berber origin, the Khumir have for a long time been arabicised. They have given up the use of the Berber language which has only left traces in their dialect and have given themselves an Arab descent. They claim, indeed, as their ancestor, a certain Khmis b. Amor, of Arab origin, whose descendant Sidi 'Abd Allāh b. Djemāl, is said to have established himself near 'Ain Draham. According to another tradition this personage is said to have attached himself to the tribe of the Ḥmir or Ḳmīr, who at the time of the conquest, had passed from 'Irāk into the extreme Maghrib, from which 'Abd Allāh is said to have migrated into Tunis some centuries later. The different Khumir tribes are said to be descended from the sons of Sidi 'Abd Allāh, whose "Marabout" is still at the present time the religious centre of this district. Twice a year in spring and in autumn, a much frequented *Zerda* is celebrated there. It has also been held that the Khumir had for a long time inhabited the south of the Regency under the confederation of the Shabbia, and that after the destruction of this confederation in the xviith century they fled for refuge into the mountains of the north.

In the shelter of their forests and of their mountains, the Khumir retained until the end of the nineteenth century an almost complete independence. Their political organization was very rudimentary. They did not possess Ḳādis and their disputes were brought before the *djama'a*. The tribes were often at strife with one another; they, however, sometimes formed federations to combat the populations of the valley of the Medjerda, or to resist the attacks of the Beys. The latter, under whom they nominally were, never could make them pay the taxes. Installed in the island of Ṭabarḳa, the soldiers and the officials of Tunis found themselves forbidden access to the country. The Zwāwa settled on the coast by Ḥamūda, in order to prevent the incursions of the mountaineers, were content

to receive the pay which was granted to them, but refrained from entering into conflict with their dangerous neighbours. The *Khumir*, on their side, lived mainly by brigandage at the expense of the Tunis tribes, or of the Algerian tribes of the frontier. The Beys of Tunis showed themselves powerless to put down these depredations. Acts of violence multiplied under the government of Muḥammad al-Ṣaddok. Thus the French government decided in 1881 themselves to punish the guilty ones. This was the origin of the Tunis expedition which aimed at the establishment of the French Protectorate. The operations against the *Khumir* were very brief. At the end of the month of April, 1881, a column from Algeria under the command of General Delebecque penetrated into *Khumiria* from the west, while a detachment disembarked at Ṭabarḳa; on the 8th May the column occupied the marabout of Sidi 'Abd Allāh b. Djemāl and, on the 13th, 'Ain Drahām. By the end of the month the conquest of the *Khumir* was achieved. The construction of a fortified post at 'Ain Drahām assured the final pacification of the country. Since then the most complete tranquillity has never ceased to reign, and *Khumiria* is to-day the region of Tunis where the fewest thefts and crimes of violence are committed.

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KHORĀSĀN (Country of the "rising sun", from *kūhr* "sun" and *āsān* "rising"; P. Horn, *Grundriss der iran. Etymologie*, No. 23; *Grundr. der iran. Philologie*, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 176; *Wis a Rāmīn*, p. 119; cf. Yāqūt, s. v.; opposed to *khorbarān* the "west"), a vast country to the east of Irān, comprising the lands situated to the south of the Āmū-daryā (Djihūn) and to the north of the Hindū-kush (Paropamisus), but embracing also politically Mā-warā' al-Nahr (Transoxiana) and Sidjīstān (Sakastana). Under the Sāsānids *Khorāsān*, classified under the fourth clime, was part of Ērānshahr; it was administered by a *ispahbadh*, who held the title *pādshōspān* and by four *marzbpān*, each governing a fourth of the territory: 1. Merw-*Shāhadjān*; 2. Balkh and Tokhāristān; 3. Herāt, Būshandj, Bādāghīs, Sidjīstān; 4. Transoxiana (Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 18). This province yielded a revenue of 37 million dirhems. To the Arab geographers this country had for its boundaries on the east, Sidjīstān and India (including Wakhkhān), on the west the desert of the Ghuzz and Djurdjān; on the north Transoxiana (Mā warā' al-Nahr) and on the south-west the desert of Persia, and the canton of the Kūmis ('Irāk-adjami). The principal towns were: Naisābūr, Merw-*Shāhadjān*, Herāt, Balkh; other towns: Tūs, Nasā, Abiward, Sarakhs, Asfizār, Bādāghīs, Djūzadjān, Bāmiyān; Ghardjīstān and Tokhāristān were also included amongst them. At the present

time the province of this name includes less than half of ancient *Khorāsān*; the rest of the country, to the east of a line starting from Sarakhs in the north and running directly to the south and passing half way between Meshhed and Herāt, belongs to Afghānistān; the region which extends from Merw to the Oxus is Russian territory. Meshhed has remained the capital of this shrunken province. The chain of mountains which runs along the southern border is from 11,000 to 13,000 feet high. Water is scarce in this province. The country offers the appearance of a group of oases, watered by intermittent rivers and by wells situated along their subterranean course. The population is sparse and mixed.

At the time of the Muslim conquest Herāt, Bādāghīs and Būsheng were put under the authority of a chief whom Balādhuri (p. 405, i, 12) calls 'Aẓīm "the great". Herāt in particular was in the territory of the Ephtalite Huns (*Haīṭal*, Balādhuri, p. 403, 15; Ṭabari, I, 2885) so that the last Persian territory to the north was marked by the town of Marw al-rūdh, under the command of a *Marzbān* called Bādāhām. In the year 31 (651-652) an army, which set out from Fārs and from Khuzistān, and was put under the orders of Dāghāk b. Ẓais whose surname was al-Aḥnaf, by the command of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Kuraiz, invaded *Khorāsān* by way of Fahla (Pahlaw whence the Parthians originally came), conquered Tokhāristān and brought about the capitulation of the inhabitants of Balkh (cf. Sebēos, p. 137). According to Ibn Kūtaiba (Muḳaddasī, p. 293), the inhabitants of this province were converted very quickly to Islām; at all times arrogant and unruly, they often rebelled against the central authority. During the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, the Arabs were driven from Naisābūr (Ṭabari, i. 3249, 3350; Balādhuri, p. 408) and the Chinese installed a Turk as governor of Tokhāristān; 'Alī sent Khulaid b. Ka's in 37 (657) to bring the inhabitants of Naisābūr to submission (Dinawarī, p. 163).

As soon as Mu'āwiya was the undisputed master of the Empire, he appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Karaiz governor of Basra and bade him reconquer *Khorāsān*; the latter in the year 42 (662) named Ẓais b. al-Haiṭham as his lieutenant, but in the year 43 (663) he sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, who had already governed Sidjīstān under the Caliph 'Othmān, to reconquer Balkh and Kābul. The first of these two towns was retaken in the year 51 (671) by al-Rabi' b. Ziyād. In the year 90 (708) the Tarkhān Naizak of Bādāghīs rebelled, took the yabghū (*djaghū*) of Tokhāristān prisoner but in the following year was conquered by Kūtaiba b. Muslim and put to death.

It was in *Khorāsān* that Abū Muslim and the 'Abbāsīd propaganda recruited the troops which overthrew the caliphate of the Omayyads. A *ḥadīth*, without doubt made up after the event, claims that the Prophet declared: "When you see the black flags coming from *Khorāsān*, go to meet them, for in their midst you will find the Mahdī" (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḍisī, *Livre de la Création*, ed. Huart, ii. 156). An attempt was made to find in this an indication of the coming of the resurrection; but even by the time of this author it was explained by the revolt of Abū Muslim (*op. cit.*, ii. 157). The internal disputes between the insurgent Arabs had for a long time fomented disorder; the Azd representing the Yemenites, the Tamīm and the 'Abd al-Ẓais of the race of Moḳar

fought for supremacy; the first seemed to triumph with the family of al-Muhallab, which remained for a long time in power. Naṣr b. Saiyār had called the attention of the Damascus caliph to the 'Abbāsid movement without obtaining reinforcements. When Abū Muslim, gathering around him the Shī'is, established a camp not far from Merw, he was then able to intervene successfully in the battle fought by Naṣr in the streets of this town against Ibn al-Karmānī and to put Naṣr to flight (130 = 748). The whole country was soon afterwards conquered.

Khorāsān really recovered its independence with the foundation of the Tāhirid dynasty by Tāhir b. al-Ḥusain, nominated in 205 (820) governor of the eastern regions by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. It was joined to his possessions in Sijdīstān by 'Amr b. al-Laith al-Ṣaffār in 283 (896), then it was annexed to Transoxiana by Ismā'il al-Sāmānī in 287 (900); it was occupied by the Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Subuk-takīn al-Ghaznawī in 384 (994). Toghrilbek the Seldjūk seized Naisābūr in 429 (1037) but the inhabitants revolted in 430 (1038) while the Sulṭān Mas'ūd reconquered Khorāsān, but only for a short time, because Toghrilbek finally conquered the Ghaznawid sulṭān in the following year. On the death of the Sulṭān Sandjar in 552 (1157) the Ghuzz recommenced their incursions and devastated anew the country, a part of which recognised the authority of Albeh al-Mo'ayyad, the slave of Sandjar [q.v.]. Anarchy and brigandage favoured the expeditions of the Khwārizmshāh and of the Ghūrids, and the country finally remained in the hands of the former. The conquests of Činghiz-Khān completely destroyed their independence in 617 (1220).

At the death of the Mongol Khān Abū Sa'īd in 736 (1320), Khorāsān saw the dynasties of the Kert and the Serbedār [q.v.] give a certain life to the country up to the time of the campaigns of Timūr (783 = 1381). It was the centre of the empire of his son Shāh-Rukh. Shaibek-Khān Özbek conquered it in 913 (1507) after disputing its possession with Shāh Ismā'il I. With the exception of Naisābūr and of Meshhed, it was incorporated into Afghānistān by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī after the death of Nādir-Shāh about the year 1160 (1747). In 1249 (1833) Kāmraṇ defended Herāt against Abbās Mirzā, the son of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, who was supported by Russia and concluded with England, who had sent an expeditionary force to occupy the chief towns of Afghānistān, a treaty which was signed by Lieutenant Pottinger. In this treaty he recognised the sovereignty of Shāh Shudjā' [q.v.]. From this time Khorāsān has remained in two sections, the boundary of which starts from the Hari-rūd at Sarakhs and runs from the north to the south, on the east side of the Persian province of Sijdīstān as far as Lake Hāmūn.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 409; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 197; J. Marquart, *Éranšahr*, p. 47 sqq. (not in the index); Fr. Spiegel, *Éran. Alterthumskunde*, i. 28 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 147 sqq.; Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 253 sqq.; Ibn-Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 308 sqq.; Muḥaddasi, *B. G. A.*, iii. 293 sqq.; Mehren, *Cosmographie*, 310; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, ed. Reinaud 441; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān San'at al-Dawla, *Maṭla' al-Shams*, in Persian, Teheran 1301. (CL. HUART)

KHORĀSĀN (BANU), a Tunisian dynasty. The establishment of the Banū Khorāsān in Tunis was a consequence of the Hīlālī invasion. Irritated because the Zirid Sulṭān al-Mu'izz did not protect them against the brigandage of the Arabs, the inhabitants of Tunis in 451 (1059) asked the Ḥammādid sovereign of al-Ḳal'a to send them a governor. This prince chose for this office 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Khorāsān, a personage originally from Tunis according to certain authors, but belonging, according to Ibn Khaldūn, to a Ṣanhādji tribe. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ gained the support of the inhabitants by his good administration, and succeeded in putting an end to the plunderings of the Arabs by signing a treaty with them. But he had to fight the Zirids who wished to recover Tunis. Besieged by Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz, he was forced to recognise him as sovereign. On his death (488 = 1095) his power passed to his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and after him to his grandson, Aḥmad. This prince was, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the most notable representative of his dynasty. He put to death his uncle Ismā'il, got rid of the council of *shaiḳhs*, which 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ had associated with him in the government, and ruled as an absolute monarch. He surrounded Tunis by a fortified wall, and concluded a treaty with the Arabs, to ensure the provisioning of the town and the security of travellers. He constructed for himself a palace and surrounded himself by men of letters. The Zirids, however, had not disarmed. They supported Muḥriz b. Ziyād, the chief of the Arabs, who were installed in the ruins of Carthage, which Aḥmad had attacked and obliged the governor of Tunis to submit to their demands (510 = 1116/1117). Four years later the Ḥammādids, not wishing to allow their authority to be lessened for the benefit of the Zirids, came in their turn to besiege Tunis. Aḥmad saw himself forced to recognise the sovereignty of the Sulṭān of Bougie. He kept, however, the government until 522 (1128). At this time he was deprived of power, imprisoned at Bougie and replaced by a Ḥammādid official. After an interval of twenty years, the Tunisians having expelled their governor, the Banū Khorāsān regained their power. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was chosen by them as Amīr (543 = 1148/1149). He died in 552 (1157) while the Almohads besieged the town. His nephew 'Alī b. Aḥmad replaced him, but at the end of five months, had to capitulate and make his submission to 'Abd al-Mu'min. Sent to Marrākesh with all his family, he died during the journey.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Adhārī, *al-Bayān al-Muḡrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 324 sqq., transl. Fagnan, i. 474 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 205 infra, 207, 209, 210-212, transl. ii. 22, 25, 27, 29-32; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle*, constantine—Paris 1913, chap. ii. (G. YVER)

KHORSĀBĀD, the name of a place noted for its Assyrian excavations, situated on the plain to the northeast of Mosul, at a distance of 12 miles (5 hours by caravan) from the town and eight miles from the Tigris at the south west of the foot of the Djabal Maḳlūb, and on the left bank of the Khawser. At this place the village of Khorsābād was situated in the year 1843; inhabited by the Shabak [q.v.] it was the village that Botta, the first explorer bought, and transplanted the inhabitants to another place in the plain, so that

he might be able to begin excavating. Khorsābād is mentioned by Yāqūt as Khurstābād, a village with good irrigation. The form given by Yāqūt would seem to be in opposition to the derivation from Khorsūbād, which is supported by Oppenheim. Yāqūt mentions in this neighbourhood a town in ruins, which he calls Šarūn, a dependency of Nainawā (Nineveh) where it was believed treasures were to be found. Šarūn ought very probably to be corrected to Šarghūn, the form under which the name of the Assyrian king Sargon II (who died in 705 B.C.), the founder of this Assyrian capital, has survived.

The village was situated on the highest summit of a group of artificial mounds. The excavations were begun in 1843 by Botta, French Consul at Mosul, and were continued and completed from 1851—1855 by Place. The Assyrian town, Dūr-Sharrukin, was in the shape of a rectangular parallelogram with corners facing the four points of the compass. The palace of Sargon was on the southwest side, and the great temple was built on both sides of the northwest wall of the town. The antiquities which were discovered were transported to the Musée du Louvre in Paris.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

KHOSRAW. [See KHOSREW, KHUSRAW, KHUSRŪ, KISRĀ.]

KHOSREW, MOLLĀ, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Mehmed b. Firāmurz b. ʿAlī. M. Khosrew according to one statement was of Turkoman (tribe of Warsak) descent and born in the village of Qarḡhūn (half way between Siwās and Tokat), according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islām. According to Saʿd al-Dīn his father was of Romaic (Rūm) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Taftazānī, Burhān al-Dīn Ḥaidar of Herat (cf. *Islam*, xi. 61 and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Taʿdī al-Tawārīkh*, ii. 430), and received a teaching post in the Shāh Malik medrese in Adrianople; in 848 (1444) he became kāḍī of Adrianople and later Kāḍī-asker of Rumelia. On the death of Khiḍr Beg [q.v.], the first kāḍī of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time müderriş at the Aya Şofia. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kurānī [q.v.] being promoted over him, he went to Brusa in 867 (1462) and built a medrese there. In 874 (1469) he returned to Sтамbul by command of the Sulṭān, became Shāikh al-Islām and died there in 885 (1480). His body was taken to Brusa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Sтамbul, which bears his name (cf. Hāfiẓ Husein, *Hadīkat al-Diawānī*, i. 201; J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 87, No. 428).

Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the often annotated *Durar al-Hukkām fī Sharḥ Ghurar al-Ahkām* on the principles of legal practice, written in 877—883 = 1473—1477 (printed Cairo 1294 and

1305), also a dogmatic work *Mirḳāt al-Wuṣūl fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl* (printed Cairo 1262 and Sтамbul 1304). On others works by him cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 589 sq. and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 226 sq.

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KHOSREW BEG, also called GHĀZĪ KHOSREW, Ottoman governor of Bosnia.

Khosrew was the son of the governor of Bosnia (869/870), later of Skutari (Albania) Naşūh Beg, who had married a daughter of Bāyezid II in 894 (1489) (cf. *Die altsman. anonymen Chroniken*, ed. by F. Giese, Breslau 1922, p. 122, 5, l. col.; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 302, and *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, iii. 555, s.v. Naşūh Beg). He is therefore sometimes called Sulṭānzāde. Thanks to his connections, Khosrew Beg was appointed governor of Bosnia at quite an early age in 924 (1518) and then transferred in 927 (1521) in the same capacity first to Skutari (Albania), later to Semendria (Smederovo, Serbia). In 932 (1525) Khosrew returned to Bosnia, was later temporarily disgraced, dismissed, but restored again to office. He lived in Serajevo [q.v.] where he died in 948 (1541/1542) and was buried in the mosque built by him in 937 (1530). One of GHĀZĪ KHOSREW's sons was called Maḥmūd.

GHĀZĪ KHOSREW BEG attained fame for his numerous conquests in the frontier lands of Turkey, notably in Bosnia; but he also ravaged Hungarian territory with his raiding parties (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 189), when he plundered and occupied the country round Eszék and Požega. Ewliyā Čelebi gives the number of his conquests as 170 fortresses, no doubt with the usual exaggeration. GHĀZĪ KHOSREW however is still more famous, especially in his own district, for his rich endowments which Ewliyā Čelebi probably with less exaggeration puts at 300. In Serajevo alone his charitable foundations are very numerous. Besides the mosque which bears his name, he built opposite it a medrese, also baths for men and women and a bezezān with 90 roofed shops, a *taşlu-khan* with 60 roofed store-rooms. In a foundation grant (*wakf-nāme*) of the year 938 (1531) the various foundations are detailed. The property which Khosrew left for the maintenance of his buildings and for public kitchens was enormous. In money, gold and silver vessels and jewels alone, it amounted to 3,000,000 dirhems, an enormous sum for those days, which although the foundation has been reduced in course of time to less than a quarter of its former size, still yielded an annual income of £ 2,500 a few decades ago. The estates and the house-property of the endowment still exist. Khosrew Beg therefore created for himself in Bosnia a permanent memorial of gratitude and remembrance in the hearts of the people, who everywhere revere him as a saint and great benefactor.

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Seyahetnāme*, v. 441; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, i., Wien 1893, 503 sq.; C. v. Peez, *Die ottomanischen Statthalter von Bosnien* (ibid., ii. 344 sqq.), based on the *Sālnāme* of Bosnia for 1295, gives the tenues of office by *Khosrew Beg* as 924/927 and 938/949 and his successor Hasan or Mikhālzāde [q. v.] Mehmed. — The splendid letter of renewal, yards long (*Mukarrer-nāme*) of Sultān Osman II for the foundations of Ghāzī *Khosrew Beg* dated Dhu 'l-Kāde 1027 (1618/1619) is in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden (cf. H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus codd. mss. orr.*, Leipzig 1831, p. 47, N^o 320, 2) and still awaits editing and publication; Rifāt, *Dawḥat al-Mashā'ikh*, Stambul, n. d., p. 8 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KHOST. There are two places of this name in Afghānistān. One is in the Oxus basin, near Andarāb, in what is now called Afghān Turkistān, and is on the borders of Badakhshān. It lies S.E. of Balkh, S.S.E. of Haibak, N. of Kābul and Čarikār, and at the back of (i.e. north of) the Hindu Kush mountains. The place seems little known, and is seldom marked on the maps, but was of importance in old times. Yāqūt (Barbier de Meynard's translation) calls it "le chef lieu d'un petit pays fertile et boisé", and it is several times mentioned in Bābur's Memoirs. He spells it *Khwāst*, and it seems to be identical with the *Khūst* of Kazwīnī and the *Khāsh*t of other writers. In S. Zain's translation of Bābur's "Memoirs" it is called *Khost-i Badakhshān*. Two of Bābur's daughters were born at *Khost*, one of his chief wife Māham, and the other of Dildār Bēgam. Evidently Māham was closely connected with *Khost*. Her brother Muḥammad 'Alī Taghai was a Mirzazāda of *Khost*, and Bāyazīd Biyāt in his Memoirs, called the *Tārīkh Humāyūn* (I. O. MS. No. 223 of Ethé, p. 26a), mentions that Humāyūn (Māham's son) visited his maternal grandparents at *Khost*. We also find Bābur making special mention of the place when referring presents from India (see the *Tabaqāt-i Bāburi* of his ecclesiastical judge S. Zain, who notices that the people of *Khost* were distinguished for piety). This seems to point to Māham's family, for she was descended from the famous saint Aḥmad Dījam. Yāqūt says that *Khost* was the birthplace of an early traditionist (Barbier de Meynard, p. 219). Ibn Battūta also speaks of the many cells of religions in the Hindu Khush. It is probable that *Khost* has been ruined by the Turcomans and Uzbeks. For references to *Khost* see Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 410 and 417, *Tārīkh-i Rashidi*, translation, p. 103 and note, Vambéry's *Shahbānīnāme*, Canto 63, p. 360, and *Khawāfi Khān*, i. 615, where there is an account of Dījagat Singh and his Rājipūts gaining a victory over the Uzbeks at *Khost*, and of their erecting a wooden fort there, as timber was plentiful. See also *Bādshāhnāma*, ii. 463; the year was 1645 (1055 A.H.).

The other *Khost* is a valley in the S.S.E. of Afghānistān, and borders on the Peshāwar district. The inhabitants are warlike and have given trouble by making raids into British territory. See Raverty's *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 75; Clement Markham in *Proceed. Geog. Society* for 1879, p. 49; the *Official Report of the Second Afghan War*, London 1908, and *The Times* of March 28, 1914.

There is a third *Khost* in Balōčistān, 35

m. E. of Quetta, which is the seat of a coalfield (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, iii. 138 and vi. 306). *Khwāst* in Persian means an island, and so may have the same import as Andarāb.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHOTAN, a town in Chinese Turkestan. In the oldest Chinese records (from the 2nd cent. A. D.) the town is called Yu-tien for Yotkan; this is the name still given to the ruins of the pre-Muḥammadan town, the most eastern part of which lies 5 miles west of the modern town. Later the name is written K'iu-tan and Ho-tan (cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukine [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 125). The Indian name Kustana or Kustanaka "breast of the earth" in Chinese transcription Kiu-sa-tan-na is explained by Sir Aurel Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, 1903, p. 402, as a learned etymology of the native name. On the ruined site of Yotkan and its surroundings cf. especially M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, p. 190 sqq. As Stein shows, old Buddhist places of worship are now revered as the tombs of Muslim saints. The oldest dated Buddhist monument found by Stein is of the year 269 A. D. (*Sand-buried Ruins*, p. 405); but Buddhism must have been disseminated in *Khotan* much earlier. The oldest documents and writings are in an Indian dialect in which Stein now, in contradiction to his earlier opinion, sees not the language of the native population but a literary language which arose under the influence of Indo-Scythic dominion (M. A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 1912, i. 290 sq., 386 sq.). Later we find instead of this in *Khotan* and east of it the native Aryan language called "language II" by E. Leumann, which is Iranian in grammatical structure but has a vocabulary much influenced by Sanskrit, cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi. 648 sqq. and especially E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur*, Strassburg 1912, p. 29 (the language seems "an almost indianised Iranian just as English is a romanised Germanic"); whether this language had already been driven out by Turkish in pre-Muḥammadan times, is not certain. In contrast to *Kāshghar* and the northern part of the modern Chinese Turkestan, *Khotan* is not mentioned in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (MS. of the Asiatic Mus., f. 14a) in the description of Turkish tribes and their lands, but under China; the town was in the frontier-land between China and Tibet and was under the rule of a separate prince who called himself "suzerain of the Turks and Tibetans" (*'aẓīm al-turk wa 'l-tubet*). On the other hand according to Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Öljet o piezdkie v Srednayuyu Aziyu*, p. 94) the town of Kai (?) fifteen days' journey from *Khotan* on the road to China was under the rule of the (Turkish) Tughuzghuz. According to Gardīzī the people of *Khotan* were Buddhists but he also mentions a Muslim cemetery north of *Khotan* and two Christian churches in the town itself (neither Christian nor Manichaean relics have so far been found in the ruins).

Islām spread much later in *Khotan* than in *Kāshghar* and was brought thither by force of arms. Ibn al-Athīr gives as the conqueror of *Khotan* Kaḍr Khān Yūsuf who died in 423 (1032) of whom we have coins struck in *Kāshghar* and Yārkand from the year 404 (1013—1014) (A. Markow, *Inventarniy Katalog* etc., p. 192 sq.). *Khotan* like *Kāshghar* was later under the rule of the *İlek-Khāns* (cf. above, ii., p. 465) and the *Qara*

Khitai (ii., p. 738); on the conquest of the country by Küclük, the ruler of the Naiman and the persecution of Islām instituted by him, see ii., p. 739. According to *Djuwainī* (*Ta'rikh-i Djihān Gushā*, ed. Mirzā Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, i. 49 and 52 sqq.) he had the Imām 'Alā al-Dīn *Khotanī* nailed to the door of his medrese. Nothing was known of this martyr by the time of Haidar Mirzā (cf. ii., p. 232 sq.); his tomb was also unknown (*Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 298). There was therefore no native historical tradition in *Khotan*; the references to *Khotan* in the Arabic and Persian geographical works are extremely scanty; even the site is wrongly given by Sam'ānī (D. S. Margoliouth, *Gibb Mem. Series*, f. 189b) and by Yāqūt (ii. 403) who follows him.

In the xiiith century *Khotan* according to Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 188 sqq.) was under the rule of the Emperor of China, not like Yarkand under the rule of prince *Ḳaidū* (cf. above, i., p. 848). *Khotan* later seems to have regularly shared the political history of *Kāshghar* and other towns of this region, belonged like *Kāshghar* in the xviiith century to the state of the *Khodja's* (saints), had to submit to Kalmuck and later to Chinese rule, after the events of 1280 (1863—1864) to the rule of the invader Ya'qūb Beg and returned after his death (1877) to its allegiance to China. On a history composed in *Khotan* quite recently (finished on 18th Sha'bān 1311 = Feb. 24, 1894) dealing with events since 1280 (1863) cf. *Bulletin de l'Acad.*, etc., 1921, p. 209; and see also the section on the *Khodja* of *Khotan* in the *Ta'rikh-i Emeniyi*, ed. Pontusow, p. 161 sqq.

In the modern town the silk industry, much cultivated here from the earliest times, still survives. The number of inhabitants is very variously given; according to Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, p. 275 only: 15,000; according to G. and P. Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia*, London 1920, p. 246: 50,000.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text see more especially: E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, ii. 47 sqq., 246 sqq.; M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, p. 93 sq. — On the rule of saints in Islām and the relation of *Khotan* to this see M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, Berlin 1905, i., p. 195 sqq. and index. (W. BARTHOLD)

KHUBAIB B. 'ADĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ, one of the first martyrs of Islām. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows: After the battle of Uḥud (on the chronology see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was spied out and surrounded between Mecca and 'Uṣfān by 100 (or 200) Liḥyānis who belonged to the Hudhail. The leader of the hard-pressed little band, 'Āṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (according to others the leader was al-Marḥad), proudly refused to yield. He and six others were killed whereupon *Khubaib*, Zaid b. al-Dathina and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. *Khubaib* fell into the hands of the Banu 'l-Hārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf who on the expiry of the sacred period took him out of the Haram to al-Tan'im, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (*ṣabran*) in revenge for al-Hārith whom *Khubaib* had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, *Khubaib*

asked for time to perform two rak'a's which was a *sunna* for martyrs, comparable to the last prayer of Christian martyrs. *Khubaib* is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body as Allāh was able to bestow his blessing even upon his severed members. *Kunūt* formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sufyān hurriedly pressed the little Mu'āwiya to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Sa'īd b. 'Āmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death 'Āṣim prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened. His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wāḳidī, p. 155, however, Muḥammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Bī'r Ma'ūna; and according to Ibn Hishām, p. 641, it was not 'Āṣim but *Khubaib*, who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muḥammad to be informed. — According to al-Zuhri and 'Urwa (see the latter's brief account in al-Wāḳidī, p. 156) the ten men were sent out as a *sariya* to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishām, p. 638, al-Wāḳidī, p. 157 and Ibn Sa'd, II/i. 39 sq.; III/ii. 33 sq. ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like that which has been woven round the drama of Bī'r Ma'ūna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wāḳidī tells us under the year 6 A. H. that *Khubaib* was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans (p. 227). The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud as 'Āṣim fought there. In the official *Sīra*, the incident is recorded under the name Yawm al-Radjī' and put by Ibn Hishām in the year 3 and by al-Wāḳidī in 4 A. H.

The figure of the protomartyr *Khubaib* lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al-Hārith (according to others Māwiyis, a client of Hudjair b. Abi Ihāb) in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. — When his martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when *Khubaib* noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. — The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake have grown in Ibn Hishām to a whole poem. The same author (p. 644 sqq.) gives the laments for him. For how his corpse was taken from the *Ḳuraish* and swallowed up by the earth, see Ṭabari, i. 1436 sq. = *Isāba*, i. 862.

Bibliography: al-Zuhri's or Abū Huraira's tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 294

sq., 310 sq. and in al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, B. 170; Ibn Ishāq's version, p. 638 sqg., goes back to 'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda; al-Wakīdī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 156 sqg. (cf. 226 sq.) compiled the whole story from various sources; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, ed. Horowitz, II/i, 39 sq.; ed. Sachau, III/ii, 33 sq.; al-Diyārbekrī, *2'arikh al-Khamis*, Cairo 1203, i. 454 sqg.; Ibn Haǧǧār, *Iṣāba*, i. 860 sqg.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 111 sqg.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Anno 4, § 7, 8; Anno 6, § 2; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1431 sqg., who gives the two main versions.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHUDĀWENDIGĀR (r.), derived from *Khudāwend*, signifying master, lord, prince, and often used in literature to denote God. In the history of the Ottoman Empire this word was: 1) the surname of the Sultān Murād I (1360—1389, q. v.) and 2) the name of the sandǧak and later of the wilāyet of which Brūsa was the capital.

The earliest Ottoman chroniclers do not yet give this surname to Murād I (generally called Sultān Murād Ghāzī, see e. g. Anonymous Chronicle, ed. Giese). It does not appear until the xvth century (Iḍris Bidlisī, Sa'd al-Dīn; see von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 107). But the title of *Khunkīār* is found amongst the earliest historians (v. 'Aṣhīk Pasha Zāde, *2'arikh-i*, Constantinople 1332, p. 68) and is generally considered as an abbreviation for *Khudāwendigār* ('Āli, *Kunh al-Akhḥār*, v. 16; *Ferheng-i Shu'arī*, s. v.; Sāmi, *Kāmus-i Tūrki*, i. 589; Nāǧī, in his *Lughat*, derives it however from *khunuk-ār*, "bringing happiness"; see also *J. A.*, 2nd Series, xv. 276, 572). The title of *Khunkīār* is given to all the Ottoman Sultāns, at least until the xvth century, along with that of Pādīshāh. The historian Ibn Iyās says that the Egyptians were amazed at this strange title borne by Selim I (see Barthold in *Isl.*, vi. 393). But *Khunkīār* is also given as a title to several great men of religion and mystics, especially to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who is often called Mollā *Khunkīār*. The title of *Khunkīār* derived from *Khudāwendigār* seems then to belong to the same category as that of Pasha, which is probably derived from Pādīshāh (see Giese in *Z. S.*, ii. 262) that is to say both these titles originated in the atmosphere of mysticism which surrounded the origins of the Ottoman Empire. The surname of *Khunkīār* in its primitive and literary form *Khudāwendigār* then became attached more especially to Murād I (see however below), in the same way as the words pasha and pādīshāh have each had their special development. *Khunkīār* (Constantinople pronunciation *hünkār*) is also found amongst geographical names such as *Khunkīār Iskelesi*, etc.

2) After the conquest of Brūsa by Orkhān, the town with its surrounding districts, was given as a sandǧak to Prince Murād Beg; 'Aṣhīk Pasha Zāde, p. 43, says that the sandǧak was called after him, Beg Sandǧaghī. But the later historical tradition had it that the sandǧak and later the wilāyet of which Brūsa became the capital, were called *Khudāwendigār* after the surname of its first governor (see Ḥaǧǧidī Khalifa, *Djihān-Numā*, p. 656). Ewliyā Čelebi, however, says that from his time (1640) Brūsa was the capital of the eyālet of Anadolu and the residence of the governor (*hākim*) who bore the title of *Khudāwendigār* (Const. ed., ii. 10). It is then probable that the origin of the geographical name *Khudāwendigār*

does not go back exclusively to Sultān Murād I, but that it is derived from a title borne by the high official who had his head-quarters at Brūsa. The religious buildings in the town of Brūsa bearing the name of *Khudāwendigār* such as the Dǧāmi'-i *Khudāwendigār* or Ghāzī *Khunkīār* Dǧāmi'si (Ewliyā, ii. 14; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 127) and the Medrese-i *Khudāwendiyē* (Ewliyā, ii. 17) are however connected with Murād I.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-KHUDJANDĪ, HĀMID B. AL-KHIDR ABŪ MAḤMŪD died about 391 (1000). He lived in al-Raiy in the time of the Buyid Faḥr al-Dawla (366—387 = 976—997); he gave the latter's name to the sextant (not the sextant in our sense) which he made (*al-suds al-faḥrī*). This consisted of two parallel perpendicular walls A and B 12 feet apart, which reached 30 feet above the earth and 30 feet below it (reckoning an ell at 18 inches). At the south end and perhaps also at the north end of the south wall was a dome with an orifice. Around the latter a sextant with a radius of 60 feet was described, which was formed by the carefully polished surface of a wall erected between the two walls. The sextant reached from 30 feet below the earth's surface to the latter and every 10" was marked. The rays passing through the orifice were caught on a white plane which moved along the circle. The greatest altitude of the sun was thus obtained. Al-Khudjandī calculated with the sextant the plane of the ecliptic in 384 (994). As cloudy weather prevailed, the observations which were made in the days before and after the culmination of the sun in Cancer and Capricorn had to be approximated for the calculation of the ecliptic. By careful calculation and interpolations, it was successfully done. The plane of the ecliptic proved slightly different from earlier calculations at 23° 32' 21". This figure differs by 13¼ minutes from the true value then in use. From al-Bīrūnī we learn in the *Mas'ūdī Canon* that al-Khudjandī's value was falsified by the fact that the instrument used for one of the two calculations had been damaged. Al-Khudjandī explains at great length that, as the astronomical values are variable, there is no fundamental reason against a variability of the plane of the ecliptic also.

Al-Khudjandī also constructed the instrument called *al-āla al-shāmila*, "the comprehensive instrument" (cf. J. Frank, *Über zwei astronomische arabische Instrumente*, *Zeitschr. für Instr. Kunde*, xli., 1921, p. 193—200). It is a universal instrument, filling the place of both astrolabe and quadrant, but at first could only be used for one latitude. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥunain al-Baḍī' Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Aṣṭurlābī made it applicable to all latitudes (cf. Ibn al-Kiṭīfī, p. 339 and H. Suter, N° 278).

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KHULK. [See **AKHLĀK.**]

KHULM, name of a place, situated 2 *marhala* (10 *farsakh*) to the East of Balkh, on the road to the frontier of Badakhshān. Ibn Khurdābih calls the station halfway between Balkh and Khulm Walārī. A. Burnes reckons a distance of 40 miles from Khulm to the ancient city of Balkh; the mediaeval geographers give the following distances from Khulm to Simindjān, Waralīz (or Warwālīz) and Bahār respectively: 2 days (Iṣṭakhri and Muḳaddasī; acc. to Yāqūt: 5 days); 2 days; 6 *farsakh* (Ibn Khurdābih; the extract from Ibn Dja'far's *Kitāb al-Kharāj* gives 7 *farsakh*, and notes besides 3 *farsakh* from سواحی to Khulm).

The height of the place is said to be 1,800 feet above the sea (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 11). The river of Khulm, Āb-i Khulm or Khulmrūd seems to be the Artemis of the ancients (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, ii. 1305). Ibn Khurdābih (p. 33) mentions a *nahr al-Dirghām* in the neighbourhood of the town; can this be the same as the Khulmrūd? The fall of the river of Khulm amounts to 60 feet in each mile. On the upper course of this river the village of Duāb is situated; the stream itself runs to the West of and parallel to another water-course, the Ghurī, to join the Oxus after passing Haibak and Khulm. Herewith may be compared the description in Burnes' *Travels* (iii. 176): "Heibuk and Khooloom stand on the same rivulet, the water of which is dammed up on certain days, and allowed to run on others. The gardens on its banks are rich and beautiful, and among the fruit-trees, one again meets the fig, which does not grow in Cabool".

The town of Khulm is reckoned by the geographers to Tukhāristān, or, in a wider sense, to Khurāsān (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 518: Tukhāristān is *min nawāḥi Khurāsān*). al-Idrīsī seems to consider Khulm as a locality belonging to Badakhshān (*Géographie d'Édrisi* . . . par P. A. Jaubert, 1836, i. 474). The town belonged to the "*mudun laisat bi 'l-'izām*" (Yā'qūbī, ed. de Goeje, p. 288); its dependencies were numerous (Muḳaddasī); we find mention of Kharūrāndj (Yāqūt) and "Muzar" (Burnes; Mazār?). The climate is, according to the mediaeval authorities healthy, but breezy during the summer; the place was inhabited by Arabs from the Azd, Tamim and Kais, who had settled there at the time of the conquest. Two theologians, Abu 'l-'Awdjā Sa'īd and 'Uthmān al-Khalilī were, according to Yāqūt, natives of Khulm.

As regards pre-Islāmic times, it has been supposed, that the Aornos mentioned by Arrian, *Anab.*, iii. 29, was in the neighbourhood of Khulm, but this cannot be proved (comp. *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 474, ann. 5; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, i. 2659). Next, the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mentions the kingdom of Hu-lin (Khulm): it measures, according to his account, ± 800 *li* in circuit; the circumference of the capital is 5 to 6 *li*. There were more than 10 Buddhist monasteries, and above 500 monks. To the West of Hu-lin was Fo-ho (Balkh); but, though this identification seems to be correct, the transscription, according to Watters, "seems to require an original like Bokhar or Bokhara, the name of the country which included Balkh". Comp. S. Beal: *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Popular Edition), i. 43; Th.

Watters: *On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India* (1904), i. 106, 109. Later, Khulm sometimes is mentioned during the struggles which the Muslims waged against the Turks of Central-Asia, e. g. in the year 90 (708/709), in the war of Qutaiba b. Muslim with them; in 119 (737), when Asad b. 'Abdallāh was in the field against the Khākān, the latter tried in vain to take the town. Khulm is also met with in the assessment-list of 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir of the years 211/212 (826/827—827/828): it is noted there for the sum of 12,300 *dirham*. On these data comp. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 82, 218 sq., where the authorities are given. In 268 (881/882) the rebel Ahmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khudjastānī, after beating the army of Abū Talha, the general of 'Amr b. al-Laith at Sarkhas, defeated him a second time near Khulm (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 209).

In the beginning of the sixth century, Khulm is described as having a mixed population consisting of Tadjik's, Uzbegs and Kābuli's. Under the reign of Kiliḍj Ali Beg (an Uzbek prince of Balkh, nominally tributary to the crown of Kābul), the town, then an important place, was liable to be harassed by the nomads of its neighbourhood. Because of this, the seat of government, which seems to have been at Khulm, was transferred to the locality of Tāsh Kurgān, situated on a distance of ca. 4 English miles from it. When Moorcroft visited these regions (1824), another calamity also had befallen Khulm. The year before, Murād Beg, the prince of Kunduz, had forced the inhabitants to migrate to Kunduz, such compulsory removals being not uncommon during his reign. Since that time, Khulm proper has decayed, and its place has been taken by Tāsh Kurgān. This Muḳammad Murād of Kunduz had held a command of minor importance under 'Ali Beg, but after the death of the latter, Murād attained so much power, that he became in reality an independent ruler in the regions north of the Hindū Kush. New Khulm (Tāsh Kurgān) had, at the time Burnes travelled there some 10,000 inhabitants; it was the frontier town of Murād's state. The sons of 'Ali Beg, in their turn, had become vassals of Murād, and reigned in his name over the district, whose capital was Khulm, and which contained moreover Haibak, Ghurī, Andarāb, Taliḳān and Hadrāt-Imām.

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KHUMĀRAWAIH B. AḤMAD B. ṬULŪN, born in 250 (864) was appointed by his father Aḥmad his deputy in Egypt as early as 269 (882). Before his death, while on a campaign in North Syria, Aḥmad at the request of his generals, designated Khumārawaih as his successor and died shortly after in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 270 (May 884). His older son 'Abbās had previously rebelled against him and was regarded as cruel and untrustworthy. On his deathbed Aḥmad had shown an inclination to make peace with Muwaffaḳ, the all-powerful brother of the reigning Caliph al-Mu'tamid; the latter had readily considered the proposal. The negotiations however were interrupted by Aḥmad's death, for only his great prestige had induced his enemies to consider peace negotiations on a basis of his appointment as governor in Egypt and Syria. When the negotiations fell through, two partisans of the Caliph, Ibn Kindādī, who had previously been appointed governor of Damascus, and Abu 'l-Sādī, the governor of Northern Mesopotamia, went with their troops to Syria and sought Muwaffaḳ's support, which he promised them. The governor of Damascus joined them and handed over Antioch, Aleppo and Ḥims to Ibn Kindādī. Khumārawaih now sent troops to Syria who put down the rebellion in Damascus and advanced as far as Shaizar [q. v.] on the Orontes. The winter forced the two parties to go into winter quarters. Al-Muwaffaḳ's son Aḥmad now arrived in Syria in command of the Caliph's army. Aḥmad along with Ibn Kindādī attacked the quarters of the Egyptian army, inflicted a severe defeat on them so that they fled to Damascus; driven out of this city they retired to Ramla. Aḥmad however now quarrelled with the Caliph's two generals and was left with only 4,000 men. Khumārawaih had in the meantime reached Ramla from Egypt with a large army (70,000 men it is said). The armies met on Shawwāl 16, 271 (April 6, 885) in the famous battle of al-Ṭawwāḥin (north of Jaffa). Khumārawaih, who had never been in battle before, did not resist for long but fled back to Egypt with the majority of his army. Aḥmad's troops then fell upon the camp and were plundering it when a body of Egyptian troops that had been kept in reserve attacked them. Aḥmad thought that Khumārawaih had returned with his troops and fled precipitately to Damascus. When the governor shut its gates against them, the troops went on to Tarsus in Southern Asia Minor. A great part of the army had already been taken prisoner and carried off to Egypt. On this occasion Khumārawaih showed his extraordinarily fair and peaceful character. He gave the prisoners the choice of returning to the 'Irāḳ without a ransom or of settling in his kingdom. Aḥmad returned to Mesopotamia.

One of his own generals rebelled against Khumārawaih but was defeated by him, as he had now regained his personal courage and he was also able by his bravery to conquer Ibn Kindādī who had taken up arms against him. He now began negotiations with Muwaffaḳ and in 273 (886) was recognised for a period of 30 years as governor of Egypt, Syria and the marches against Asia Minor and Armenia for a trifling tribute. In 273—277 (886—890) there was again fighting between Khumārawaih and rebel governors, which ended in Khumārawaih being also recognised as suzerain of Mesopotamia. In Raddjāb of the year 279 (Oct. 892) the Caliph al-Mu'tamid died and was suc-

ceeded by Muwaffaḳ's son Aḥmad, with the title al-Mu'taḍid. The latter confirmed Khumārawaih in his office and the latter became ambitious to be closely related to the Caliph. He offered him his daughter as a daughter-in-law, but the Caliph married her himself. To attain his end Khumārawaih had to make enormous financial sacrifices. The dowry of the princess is said to have been £ 50,000. On this occasion the contrast between the rich provincial governor and the poverty of the central government which represented the Caliph was striking. It was impossible for the latter to collect money from the provinces as the independent governors kept all the revenues for themselves and paid only a moderate tribute to him. It is related that when the princess came to Baghdad, the Caliph and his chief eunuch sought for candlesticks in order to receive her in a fitting manner. The chronicler records that he could only collect 5 silver and gold plated candlesticks and then heard that the princess was accompanied by 150 servants each of whom carried a gold and silver plated candlestick. He then said to the chief eunuch: "Come let us go and hide ourselves, lest we be seen in our poverty". The princess Kaṭr al-Nadā was noted for her wit and beauty and must have ruled the Caliph as the anecdotes show. Once when the Caliph entered her room, she said: "Alas, my father is dead". Asked how she knew, she said: "Hitherto when you came to me, you sunk on your knees and touched the earth with your forehead to greet me, but now you say simply "good day".

Khumārawaih's extravagance in daily life and on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter naturally did great harm to the finances of the lands he governed. As an example of the boundless extravagance, which he displayed in the maintenance of his court and in the erection of costly buildings, the palace is mentioned, in the court of which he erected a basin of quicksilver supported by pillars, to alleviate his insomnia. He lay on cushions, filled with air on the surface of the quicksilver, and tied to the pillars, and was gently rocked to sleep by their motion on its surface. It was a particular misfortune for Egypt that Khumārawaih fell a victim to a plot while still young. He learned that his favourite wife was deceiving him with one of his servants and the latter, to escape punishment, resolved to kill his master. He and several conspirators fell upon him and killed him. On the whole he procured a period of peace for his lands. Egypt itself was spared from war during his reign. Nevertheless as a result of his extravagance the country was so injured that his sons who followed him steadily lost power. The family of the Ṭulūnids had ceased to reign by 292 (905).

Bibliography: See the article AḤMAD B. ṬULŪN where the main sources are quoted and especially also the critical discussion, marking a great advance on Wüstenfeld (*Statthalter*) in C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, ii. 149—153 and 182—192; also Ibn al-Aṭhir, *Kāmil*, vii., passim, s. Index; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 432—434, 468, 481; Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, ii. 462—473 (translation of the chapter al-Ḳaṭā'ī' from the *Ḳhiṭaṭ* of Makrīzī, where details of his life are given and Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 498—500). (M. SOBERNHEIM)

KHUMBARADJĪ, in Turkish "bombardier", a body of regular troops formerly in the Ottoman army. It was composed of 300 men provided with military fiefs; the Count of Bonneval becoming the chief (January 24, 1732) with the title of *Khumbaradjī-bāshā*, in the reign of Sultān Muṣṭafā III, began to enlarge it by 300 paid men. The force was increased to a thousand men by Sultān Selim III, latterly it was commanded by an Englishman named Ingliz-Muṣṭafā. It was disbanded in the reforms. This body was included in the *kapu-kullī*, "slaves of the Porte", and thus attached to the personal service of the Sultān. It was part, as one would say to-day, of the Imperial Guard.

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(CL. HUART)

KHUMIR. [See **KHOMAIR**.]

KHURDĀDH (P.), the name of the third month of the movable Persian solar year, also the name of the sixth day of each month. The 6th *Khurdādh* as the day on which the name of day and month were the same was called *Khurdādhgān*. To distinguish the day *Khurdādh* from the month of *Khurdādh*, the former was called *Khurdādh-rūz* ("day of *Khurdādh*") and the latter *Khurdādh-māh* ("month of *Khurdādh*").

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(M. PLESSNER)

KHURRAM (P. "joyful"), the name of the favourite (*khāṣṣekī*) of the Ottoman Sultān Sulaimān I, the Legislator, better known in European historians by the name of Roxelana. She was a slave of Russian origin ("altra donna di nation Rossa, giovine non bella ma grassia") in the report by Piero Bragadino [1526], Marini Sanuto, xli.), who was the mother of three sons, Sultān Selim II, princes Murād and Muḥammad and one daughter, Mihrimāh Sultāne. She was anxious to secure the succession to the throne for her eldest son and is accused of having brought about the execution (960 = 1553) of Muṣṭafā, eldest son of Sulaimān by a Slav girl. It was owing to the superiority of her brain and character that she was able to remain the Sultān's trusted adviser till her death in 965 (1558); but her genius for intrigue urged her to crimes; she brought about the overthrow and execution of two grand viziers, Ibrāhīm Pasha and Aḥmad Pasha. Her son-in-law, Rustam Pasha, by birth a Croat, was through her efforts appointed grand vizier in 951 (1554). She was buried in a türbe specially built for her in the court of the Sulaimāniya Mosque in Constantinople. Several pious foundations and charitable buildings were built or instituted at her expense in Constantinople; these were the imperial mosque, the hospital, and the school of the *Khāṣṣekī* in the Awrat Bāzār quarter.

Khurram-Bēgum was the name of the wife of Mirzā Sulaimān, son of Khān Mirzā, son of the Timūrid Sultān Abū Sa'īd, ruler of Badakhshān, died at Lahore in 997 (1589).

Khurram is also the name of an alleged king of

Djurdjān, hero of the *Ilāhi-nāme* of Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār and of its imitation the *Khairābād* of Nābī (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 370 sqq.).

Mirzā *Khurram* was the proper name of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Djahān [q.v.] which he bore before his accession in 1037 (1628).

Pahlawān *Khurram* Khurāsāni, a general of the Muzaffarids, contributed to placing Shāh Shudjā' on the throne; appointed governor of Iṣfahān, after the deposition of Sultān Zain al-'Abidin, he held office till his death (Ḥamdullah Mustawfī, *Tarikh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 701, 712, 721; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Mozaffériens*, p. 41, *J. A.* [1844—1845]; Khondamir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii., part. 2, p. 32).

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KHURRAMĀBĀD, capital of the province of Lūristān with 6,000 inhabitants, situated in 33° 32' N. Lat. and 48° 15' East Long. (Greenwich) about 4700 feet above the sea-level between Iṣfahān and Kirmānshāh on the river of the same name. On an isolated ridge of rock between the town and the river lie the ruins of a castle Diz-i Siyāh, "black castle", in the middle ages the residence of the governor, with annexes called Falak al-Aṣlāk which at the beginning of the sixteenth century were the residence of the governor of Lūristān. At the foot of the old castle is the modern residency, built about 1830 with commodious courts and gardens. Opposite the town are the ruins of the ancient *Samha* with a monolith, the inscription on which dates from the time of Maḥmūd, grandson of Malik Shāh. The town was visited by J. Rich and H. Rawlinson. The town is not mentioned by the older Persian geographers; on the other hand Yāqūt and others knew two places of the same name near Ray and near Balkh.

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KHURRAMĪYA, a sect whose name is derived by Sam'āni from the Persian word *khurram* "agreeable", on the ground that they regarded everything that was agreeable as lawful; but it is more likely to be derived from *Khurram*, a district of Ardabil, where the sect may have arisen. According to Mas'ūdi, *Murūūj*, vi. 186, they came into prominence after the execution of Abū Muslim of Khorāsān in 136 A.H., but while some of them denied that he was dead and foretold his return "to spread justice in the world", others maintained the *Imamate* of his daughter Fāṭima, whence they got the names *Muslimiyya* and *Fāṭimiyya*. One Sanbadh started a rebellion in Khorāsān, demanding vengeance for Abū Muslim, but this was suppressed within seventy days. They are next heard of in the reign of Ma'mūn, when Bābak the *Khurramī* rebelled against the Muslim government and entrenched himself in *Badhḥ* (sometimes in the dual *Badhḥān*) "a village between Ādharbāidjān and Arrān"; he maintained himself from 201 till 223, when his fortress was taken by Afshīn, an officer of Mu'tasim; he was himself captured and sent to Sāmarrā, where he was tortured to death, displaying marvellous fortitude under torture (*Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarat*, p. 75). His daughter was taken into

Mu'tasim's harem (*Irshād al-Arib*, i. 369,7). Many odes of both Abū Tammām and Buhturī are devoted to eulogizing the conquerors, who are said to have served the cause of Islām. In Mas'ūdi's time (332), members of the sect were to be found in Raiy, Ispahān, Ādharbāidjān, Karadj, Burdj, and in Masabadhan. Shortly before Mas'ūdi wrote, some fortresses held by them were stormed by 'Alī b. Buwaihi (afterwards 'Imād al-Dawla, 321 A.H.; Miskawihī, i. 278); and about 40 years later they were in possession of some fortresses in the neighbourhood of Tiz and Mukran, which they surrendered to 'Aqūd al-Dawla's agent, 'Abid b. 'Alī (*ibid.* ii. 321).

The best account of their doctrines seems to be that furnished by Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir, who states that he had met members of the community in their homes, Masabadhan and Mihirdjan-kadhaḳ. It is as follows (*Livre de la Création*, ed. Huart, v. 30): "They are divided into various sects and sorts, but all agree on "return" (i.e. transmigration), asserting, however, that names and bodies are changed. They maintain that all the Apostles, though their codes and religious systems differ, are inspired by one spirit; that revelation never ceases; and in their opinion every adherent of a religion is in the right, so long as he hopes for reward and fears punishment. They do not approve of defaming such a person or harming him, provided he shows no desire to injure their own community or attack their system. They strenuously avoid bloodshed except when they are in open rebellion. They highly esteem Abū Muslim and curse al-Manṣūr for having put him to death. They frequently implore the divine favour for Mahdī b. Feroz owing to his being a descendant of Abū Muslim's daughter Faṭima. They have *Imām's* to whom they have recourse in legal matters, and Apostles who go on circuit among them, and whom they call by the Persian name *Firishlah* (Angel). Wine and liquors are in their opinion more fortune-bringing than all other things. The basis of their system is Light and Darkness. Those whom we have met in their homes Masabadhan and Mihirdjan-kadhaḳ were found by us to be most scrupulous about cleanliness and purity, and most anxious to win people's favour by spontaneous acts of kindness. Some of them, we found, permit promiscuity where the women consent, and indeed the enjoyment of anything craved by the natural mind, provided no injury results to any one therefrom".

Iṣṭakhrī (p. 203) somewhat similarly says of them "they have mosques in their villages, and they read the Qur'ān, only it is asserted that secretly they hold no religious dogma but lawlessness" (*ibāha*). Probably then they differed from the Sunni Muslims in their theory of the *Imamate*, which they supposed to be inherent in the family of Abū Muslim, whereas their practice of promiscuity (if true) was similar to the *Shi'ī mut'a*; further in believing in the continued existence of Abū Muslim and in supposing his daughter to inherit his rights they resembled various *Shi'ī* groups.

Since the member of the sect who attracted most attention was Bābak, we should have expected to learn something of his doctrine, and indeed a special history of this person by Wākīd b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī is quoted in the *Fihrist*; it is a string of fables, translated by Flügel in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 531 foll. This writer agrees with Ṭabari in assigning

him a predecessor named Djāwidān. 'Abd al-Kāhir (*al-Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ*, p. 252) asserts that the followers of Bābak make the founder of their religion a prince of theirs who lived in pre-Islāmic times, called Sharwin, whose father was of the Zandj, whereas his mother was the daughter of a Persian king. This would seem to be another form of a story told by Ibn Isfandiyyār (transl. E. G. Browne, p. 237) that one Sharwin of the house of Bāw (called by Ṭabari, iii. 1295, 5: Sharwin b. Surkhāb b. Bāb) was the first person who took the title "King of the Mountains". He adds that they have a feast on their mountains which is marked by gross licentiousness; but for all that they ostensibly maintain the ceremonies of Islām. The attempts made to connect them with the old Persian Mazdakites are probably without historical basis. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

KHURSHĪD II, *isphabdh* of Ṭabaristān, the last prince of the line of Djilān Shāh which ruled this province for 116 years; he was the son of Dādh Mihr b. Farrukhān and had the title of Farshwād Marzbān; he was descended on the female side from the Nahābida (Arm. *nahapet* "patrician") of Sūl and reigned from 122 to 150 (740—767). His paternal uncle, Sārūya, the regent of the kingdom, wished to hand over the power to him when he attained his majority; he was prevented from doing so by a conspiracy amongst his own sons, and Khurshīd was not able to reign until he gained a victory over his cousins at Kaṣr-i Dādūkān, between Tammīsha and Sārī. He repaired the castle of Kisa and built a fortress called Se dile (cf. Sadir near Hira); he established a market around the latter and built a caravanserai. After the assassination of Abū Muslim, Sombādh handed over his treasures to the care of Khurshīd when he rebelled against the Caliph al-Manṣūr. After his defeat he wished to take shelter with Khurshīd but he was assassinated on his way by one of the cousins of Khurshīd, Ṭūs, in revenge for an insult. The Caliph demanded that the treasure should be surrendered to him but Khurshīd refused, consenting however to pay tribute. Thinking of the large sums that Ṭabaristān might yield him, al-Manṣūr determined to conquer it; the town of Āmul surrendered; Khurshīd placed his women and children in the fortress of 'Ā'isha Kargili Diz, called by the Arabs Kal'at al-Ṭāk, "the citadel of the vault", while he himself went to raise troops in Gilān and Dailam; the garrison of the fortress having been decimated by plague gave itself up to the invaders. Khurshīd in despair poisoned himself and Ṭabaristān passed under the sway of Islām. The date given by Ṭabari and Ibn al-Athīr, 141 (758), is wrong. The last coinage known of Khurshīd II belongs to the year 148 (765) corresponding to the year 114 of the era of Ṭabaristān.

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KHURYÂN-MURYÂN, the name of a group of islands in the bay of the same

name on the south coast of Arabia, consisting of Ḥellāniya, Ḳarzawit (Ḳarzawt or Aḳarizawt), Sōdā (Suwaidiya), Djebelīya and Ḥāsikī. The first of these alone is inhabited; but the number of dwellers on it has greatly diminished in spite of the facts that the inhabitants of Sōdā had all migrated to it. Vegetation on Ḥellāniya is also scanty; a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and mimosas here and there enliven the monotonous landscape. In the centre of the island a peak rises to a height of 1,510 feet above sea-level; in front of it in the west lies a high plateau. The water is usually brackish, the best being found in a well dug by European sailors. The same is true of Suwaidiya. Djebelīya is quite waterless and desert and inhabited only by sea-fowl so that the island possesses extensive deposits of guano. Djebelīya was once inhabited as a few tombs on it show. The most westerly island of the group is Ḥāsikī, which is only 20 miles from the coast and is commanded by two peaks 400 feet high; it also is devoid of water and vegetation but occupied by numerous flocks of pelicans and goosanders.

This group of islands which was early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zenobios, formed the frontier mark between the kingdom of the Parthians and the kingdom of Ḥaḍramūt, so that the Parthian frontier should be located in the innermost corner of the Khūryān-Mūryān Bay or in about 56° 45' E. Long. (Greenwich). The inhospitality of the land made the inhabitants dependent on the sea and they naturally became a race of fishermen. Idrīsī (d. 1164) already knows that the inhabitants of the Khūryān-Mūryān islands, who were then politically under al-Shihr, were very poor in winter and only managed to make a moderate livelihood in the sailing season. They used to sail to 'Umān, 'Aden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell which they traded to the Yemenis and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Idrīsī calls the bay containing the islands Djawn al-Ḥashīsh (Bay of Herbs). It was the Portuguese who first directed the attention of Europeans to the islands. In 1503 the Khūryān-Mūryān islands were discovered by Alfonso d'Albuquerque. As the Curia-Muria islands they continually appear in Portuguese sources, while Suwaidiya appears as Sodīé Ḥāsikī as Asquīé and Ḳarzawit as Rodondo. The islands later passed into the possession of the Sultān of Maṣṣāḥ, who ceded them to the English on July 14, 1854.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHUSHḤĀL KHĀN, warrior and poet, forebear of poets, father of fifty-seven sons, was the famous chief of the Khataḳ [q. v.] tribe of the Pathāns during the reigns of the Mughal emperors, Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb. Born in the year 1022 (1613), he succeeded his father as chief in 1050. His father's fief was confirmed to him by Shāh Djahān together with the charge of protecting the royal road from Atak on the Indus to Peshāwar. After the death of Shāh Djahān he fell under the displeasure of Awrangzēb and was confined in the fortress of Gwalior for seven years. While in captivity, he wrote many of his poems. On release Khushḥāl Khān returned to the Khataḳ country, of which Akora was the chief town, and later on we find him in alliance with the Afridis waging a determined war against the Mughals. Affairs at Peshāwar became so serious that Awrangzēb appeared on the scene in person and for about two years remained encamped at Atak. The Pathān confederacy was broken up and Khushḥāl resigned the chieftainship to his eldest son. He died in the seventy-eighth year of his age. From all accounts he was a voluminous author of poetry and prose in Persian and Pashto. His poetry is of the patriotic and popular type.

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(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KHUSHKADAM AL-MALIK AL-ZĀHIR SAIF AL-DĪN AL-NAẒĪRĪ (so called from his first master), Sultān of Egypt and Syria, reigned from 865—872 (1461—1467). He was the first Sultān to come from the Sultanate of Rūm (in Asia Minor) which however many also say of Baibars II [q. v.] and Sultān Lādjin (696—698 = 1296—1298). Purchased as a slave by Sultān Shaikh [q. v.] he was enrolled in the corps of Djāmdārs [q. v.]. Under Shaikh's son Aḥmad, who reigned only a few months, he became a member of the body-guard (*khaṣṣkī*) and only in the reign of Sultān Cāḳmaḳ [q. v.] did he become an amīr of 10 Mamlūks in 846 (1442) and *ras nawba* (leader of a company). In 850 (1446) he became commander of 1000 Mamlūks in Damascus, in 854 *Ḥādīb al-Hudūdīyāb* (president of the military court) in Cairo. Three years later under Sultān Ināl he was War Minister and in 860 (1456) he commanded an expedition against the prince of

Ḳaramān whose land he devastated most cruelly without meeting his troops. Ināl's son Aḥmad (see under INĀL) appointed him Atābeg. The Aḡrafiya (Sulṭān Aḡraf Ināl's Mamlūks) were however dissatisfied with Sulṭān Aḥmad, conspired against him and offered the throne to Dīānim, the governor of Damascus. The Ṣāhiriya (Sulṭān Ṣāhir Çakmak's Mamlūks) however preferred Khushkadam. They therefore hurried to elect the Atābeg Khushkadam Sulṭān before Dīānim's arrival, took Aḥmad prisoner and sent him to Alexandria. When Dīānim later arrived in the vicinity of Cairo, there was nothing left for him to do but recognise Khushkadam and return to Damascus. As he did not feel safe for long there he sought refuge with Ḥasan al-Ṭawil, Sulṭān of the White Sheep Turkomans, where he was murdered not long afterwards. Another influential amir of the Ṣāhiriya, the governor of Dīdda, Dīānibey, to whom the Sulṭān owed everything, was murdered by his orders. He thus deprived the Mamlūk corps of their leaders and was able to play one corps against another. The Mamlūks were also weakened by the campaigns against Cyprus, which were a result of Ināl's policy. The latter had supported king James against his sister Charlotte who in her turn expected help from the Knights of St. John of Rhodes. The governor of Tripolis was entrusted by Ināl at the end of his reign with a campaign against the Queen, but on account of the change on the Egyptian throne only engaged in it for a short time. The amīrs, who had been sent with a corps to Cyprus to support James soon returned on account of the disturbances which broke out after the assassination of Dīānibey. Only one of the amīrs with a small body of troops was left in Cyprus. The capital Famagusta had surrendered to James, who was now master of practically the whole island. He therefore no longer required the assistance of the Egyptians, who had acted arrogantly and impudently towards him. To get rid of them he had them attacked in the rear by the people of Famagusta and then fell upon them himself. To the Sulṭān he represented the massacre as a rising among his subjects, of which he was quite innocent. Queen Charlotte revealed the truth to Khushkadam to get his assistance and also gained his favour by ransoming a ship that had been captured by the Knights of Rhodes, but the Sulṭān was glad to live at peace with James, especially as the latter paid him regular tribute. He was in close alliance with his vassal, the Sulṭān of the White Sheep Ḥasan al-Ṭawil, because the latter had to rely on the help of the Egyptian Sulṭān in his continual struggle with the Sulṭān of the Black Sheep and the governors of Abulustin of the house of Dhu 'l-Gḥādir.

Ḥasan, whose relations with the Ottomān Sulṭān Muḥammad II were also not of the brightest, therefore remained faithful to Khushkadam in the midst of all the intrigues and fighting. Muḥammad II had overthrown Ḥasan's relative, the Byzantine emperor of Trebizond. Ḥasan in turn along with Khushkadam supported Iṣḥāk, ruler of Ḳaramān, who was at war with the Ottomans. He and the Sulṭān also aided the princes of Abulustin, Budāgh and Rustam, successively against their rival for the governorship, Shāh Suwār, who sided with the Ottomans (see ḲĀ'ITBEY). Although it never came to actual fighting between the two Sulṭāns, there was always a latent enmity. While Khushkadam

was able to keep the Mamlūks of his predecessors in check, his own Mamlūks committed countless outrages on the people. The Sulṭān's finances were always in a muddle; he endeavoured to secure money by the sale of offices as well as by visits to his subjects (cf. ḲĀ'ITBEY). The Sulṭān fell ill in 872 (1467) and died in ten days. He was not really a great ruler but he was able to keep Egypt at peace. During his reign Egypt was spared epidemics. He was averse to reforms and adhered strictly to the old customs in contrast to the turbulent Ḳā'itbey.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Bulāk* 1311, ii. 70-84; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 240-315; Muir, *The Mamluk or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 163-171. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

KHUSRAW. [See ANOṢHARWĀN, KISRĀ, PARWĪZ.]

KHUSRAW FIRŪZ, AL-MALIK AL-RAḤĪM ABŪ NAṢR B. ABĪ KĀLĪDĪJĀR, a Būyid. After the death in Dīmadā I 440 (Oct. 1048) of Abū Kālīdījār [q. v.] Khusrav Firūz (var. Khorrā Firūz) was recognised as Amir of the Irāk while his brother Abū Maṣṣūr Fūlādh Sutūn seized the town of Shirāz. Soon afterwards Khusrav Firūz sent an army under Abū Sa'd Khusrav Shāh, who was also his brother, against Shirāz; the town had to surrender and Abū Maṣṣūr was taken prisoner (Shawwāl 440 = March-April 1049) but released after some time. In 441 (1049/1050) he recaptured Shirāz and seized a part of al-Ahwāz but in Rabi' II of the following year (Aug.-Sept. 1050) Khusrav Firūz invaded al-Ahwāz and soon conquered 'Askar Mukram. In Muḥarram 443 (May/June 1051) al-Ahwāz was invaded by Arabs and Kurds. After they had sacked Surraḡ, they were put to flight by the troops of Khusrav Firūz. The latter then left 'Askar Mukram, because Abū Maṣṣūr in alliance with the Kurd chief Hezārasp intended to march on Tustar. Khusrav Firūz succeeded in anticipating him and when the advanced patrols met, Abū Maṣṣūr and Hezārasp had to withdraw. After a bloody battle Khusrav Firūz also took Rāmahurmuz, while Abū Sa'd took the two towns of Iṣṭakhr and Shirāz. In the meanwhile Abū Maṣṣūr had applied to the Saldjūk prince Toghrīl Beg; the latter sent him reinforcements and after a two days' battle Khusrav Firūz had to retire to Wāsiṭ (end of Rabi' II = Sept. 1051). In 444 (1052) his troops conquered Baṣra; the governor there, Abū 'Alī also his brother, saved himself by flight and went to Iṣfahān to Toghrīl Beg. Khusrav Firūz then made peace with Hezārasp. In the following year Abū Maṣṣūr again became lord of Shirāz and drove out Abū Sa'd; in Muḥarram 447 (April 1055) a Dailamī chief named Fūlādh seized the town and drove out Abū Maṣṣūr. Although Fūlādh declared he would submit to Khusrav Firūz and Abū Sa'd, they did not trust him and Abū Sa'd joined with Abū Maṣṣūr and marched on Shirāz. After a long siege Fūlādh had to fly, and the two brothers occupied the city in the name of Khusrav Firūz. In the same year the Būyid dynasty was overthrown. Under the pretext of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, Toghrīl Beg asked permission to enter Baghdād, which was granted him by the Caliph al-Ḳā'im. On Ramaḍān 22 (Dec. 15, 1055) the *khutba* was read in his name and three days later he made his ceremonial entry into the capital. But as the people of Baghdād rose against the foreign troops, Toghrīl Beg in spite of the Caliph's protests had Khusrav Firūz

arrested as the alleged fomentor of the strife. He died a prisoner in the citadel of al-Raiy in 45 (1058/1059).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 374 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iv. 488—494; Wilken, *Gesch. der Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bajeh nach Mirchod*, xviii.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 80 sq., 94—97.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KHUSRAW MALIK. [See ii. 157^b.]

KHUSRAW PASHA, the name of two Turkish grandviziers.

1. The Bosnian Khusrav Pasha, grandvizier under Murād IV. Brought up in the imperial palace, he held the offices of *Silīḥdār* and of Agha of the Janissaries (from 1033/1624) and later in Radjab 1036 (March—April 1627) he received the rank of *Wezīr-i Kubbe-nishin*. In November 1627 after the failure of the grand vizier Khalīl Pasha [q. v.] to subdue the rebel Abāza Pasha at Erzerūm, a council called by the Sultān decided, on the proposal of the Shaikh al-Islām Yahyā Efendi, to depose Khalīl and to appoint Khusrav Pasha as his successor. The latter was a "novus homo", and his rank was not yet sufficiently high. He was therefore at first nominated wālī of Diyār Bakr and at once he left the capital. The great seal of the Empire was only sent to him when he was at Iznīk (Sha'bān 1037/April 1628). The campaign had been well planned and the new grandvizier arrived at Erzerūm before Abāza expected him. The latter surrendered after a fourteen days' siege (18th September) and he returned with Khusrav Pasha to Constantinople along with the Persian general Shams Khān who had been taken prisoner. The victorious entry of Khusrav into Constantinople (9th December) — celebrated by a *ḡaṣīda* of the poet Nef'ī — was followed by the pardon of Abāza (afterwards nominated Wālī of Bosnia) and by a period of absolute power of the grandvizier; he reigned by terror, relying for support above all on the troops of the Sipāhī and the Janissaries, to whom he guaranteed anew the pernicious privileges which, a short time before, had been abolished. At this time the young Murād IV had not yet sufficient power to counterbalance the influence of his grandvizier. The latter again left the capital — never to return — in July 1629 as *serdār* of a new military expedition, against Persia. Radjab Pasha, the future grand-vizier, remained as *Kā'im-makām* at Constantinople. The Army went to Aleppo, Diyār Bakr and Mōsul, where the inundation of the country caused by torrential rains, forced it to wait for seventy days until the end of January 1630. Great military preparations were made for the capture of Baghdād but in the meanwhile Khusrav Pasha himself marched eastwards. He crossed the two Zāb's and advanced upon Shehrizūr [q. v.] while the Kurd chiefs came and offered submission to him. Then after sending several bodies of soldiers against Lower Mesopotamia he advanced to meet the Persian general Zainal Khān who was at Hamadān. Zainal Khān tried in vain to reconquer the castle of Mihribān (on the Hamadān road) taken by Noghāi Pasha, beglerbeg of Aleppo, by the orders of Khusrav; the loss of this battle cost him his head. The grandvizier arrived in person at Mihribān on the 5th May 1630; thereafter he destroyed Hasanābād and arrived on June 10th before Hamadān. This town which had been abandoned

by its inhabitants was completely sacked. Khusrav Pasha still continued his advance as far as Derguzin (on the Kazwīn route); he then turned here towards Baghdād, the goal of the expedition. He passed by the Derteng defile and by Kaşī Shirin [q. v.] and arrived on the 6th September before Baghdād. The siege began a month later. Hādjī Khalīfa was present as a scribe in the Ottoman army and he describes the siege in the *Fedhlike* (p. 299). A general assault took place on the 9th November but had no result so that Khusrav had to retire on Mōsul leaving garrisons at Hilla and several other places. At Mōsul where he arrived on December 12th, he learnt of the capture of Shehrizūr by the Persians; soon the Turkish garrisons left in the neighbourhood of Baghdād were also put to flight. Khusrav then retreated to Mardin in order to spend the winter there; the following year was passed in inactivity, due to the indecision of the grandvizier and the discontent of the Sipāhī and the Janissaries. The *Munsha'at* of Feridūn (ii. 179—188) contains four documents issued by the Sultān and addressed at this time to Khusrav to testify that he was pleased with him and to encourage him. But at last the Sultān was convinced of the lack of capacity of the grand-vizier; he deposed him (25th Oct. 1631) and nominated in his stead the former grandvizier Hāfīz Ahmad Pasha [q. v.]. A *ḡaṣīd* was sent to go and bring back the seal of office; near Malatīa he overtook Khusrav who complied immediately and went to Tokāt. His dismissal was, however, the signal for a general revolt of the troops in Constantinople as well as in Anatolia, a revolt which very soon cost the grandvizier his life (10th February 1632) and nearly led to the overthrow of the Sultān himself. The rebellion was secretly fomented by Khusrav and Radjab, who was created grandvizier sometime afterwards. Murād then commanded Murtaḡa Pasha, wālī of Oczakow, to see to the execution of Khusrav. Murtaḡa, appointed wālī of Diyār Bakr, went to Tokāt, and took the steps necessary for overcoming the resistance of Khusrav Pasha. The latter resigned himself to his fate and was strangled on the 29th Sha'bān 1041 (March 21st, 1632). His head was sent to the capital where the rebellion could only be quelled after the execution of Radjab Pasha (18th May).

Khusrav Pasha left behind him the reputation of a man, courageous but bloodthirsty and intriguing. All opposition which he encountered was stifled in blood; the roads by which he passed were marked by a series of executions. This strategic capacity is severely criticised by Na'imā (i. 495) because he wasted his time and his troops in making minor conquests before attacking Baghdād. His name is given to a *khān* which he had built on the great road between Eski Shehir and Konya (see Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 102 and the map).

Bibliography: The principal sources are: Hādjī Khalīfa, *Fedhlike*, p. 282—305; and Na'imā, i. 452—515; also 'Othmān Zāde, *Hādīkat al-wuzarā'*, p. 74 sqq.; Sidjill-i 'Othmānī, ii. 274 (there are errors in the dates); Pečewi, *Tārīkh*, ii. 409 sqq.; Munedjdjim Bashī, iii. 677 sqq.; von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1837, ix. 99 sqq.

2. Muḥammad Khusrav Pasha, a statesman and a grandvizier in the reigns of the Sultāns

Maḥmūd II and 'Abd al-Madjid. He was by birth an Abkhazian slave and served first in the *enderūn* as servant of the Ča'ush Bāshī Sa'īd. In 1206 (1792) he left the palace as *mühürdār* and *kiāya* to his compatriot Küçük Ḥusain Pasha, just appointed Kapudan Pasha. He gained promotion quickly in his military and administrative career and became in 1800 *müteşarriif* of Kara Ḥiṣār. He accompanied the Turkish fleet which in March 1801 landed in Egypt under Küçük Ḥusain Pasha and afterwards became commandant at Alexandria. In September of the same year he was appointed *wālī* of Egypt, after having been raised to the rank of *wezīr*. Khusrav Pasha made his ceremonial entry into Cairo in January 1802, and immediately began military operations against the Mamlūk beys. But his inexperience and avarice, which had caused him to dismiss his own troops, brought about his failure. The Mamlūks gained ground and the *wālī* was not able to maintain his authority over the Albanian troops, under the command of Tāhir Pasha and Muḥammad 'Alī. The latter encouraged the revolt of these troops and on the 3rd May 1803 Khusrav was forced by them to leave Cairo and to entrench himself in Damietta. At first he fought with success against the Albanian troops who were now allied with the Mamlūks, but in July 1803 the allies commanded by Muḥammad 'Alī and 'Othmān Bey Bardīsī took Damietta and Khusrav was taken a prisoner to Cairo. Meanwhile the Porte had replaced him as *wālī* by 'Alī Pasha Djezā'irli. An attempt to escape from Cairo failed. On the 13th March 1804, the Albanian troops beat the Mamlūks in their turn and Muḥammad 'Alī proclaimed Khusrav once more *wālī* of Egypt, but two days later through the influence of the relatives of Tāhir Pasha who had died in the meanwhile, the arrangements of Muḥammad 'Alī were upset. Khusrav was taken to Rosetta where he was given leave to embark for Constantinople. From this Egyptian period Khusrav always had an inveterate hatred for Muḥammad 'Alī, whom he considered, not without reason, as the principal author of his failure.

Thereafter Khusrav Pasha began a long career as *wālī* of a great number of *wilāyet*'s; from the beginning of 1812 to 1817 he was Kapudan Pasha and again from December 1822 to February 1827. During this latter period he took part in the taking of Missolonghi (April 1826). When the news of the massacre of the Janissaries reached him, he had all the Janissaries in the fleet thrown into the sea in order to show his zeal for reforms. On May 9th 1827 he became *Ser-Asker* at Constantinople, an office which he kept until 11th November 1836. During this time his power was unlimited. Although he had little education (he never learnt either to read or write) no one was more in favour with Sulṭān Maḥmūd than he, on account of his great zeal for reforms. It was he who was the first to present the Sulṭān with a body of troops trained according to the European method. Moreover as minister of police, he was able to maintain perfect order in the capital in spite of the troubled situation in the Empire. The population knew him and feared him under the name of "Topal Pasha". "He was the very genius of intrigue of Turkish officials" (Rosen). He assembled around himself a large clientèle of dependents amongst whom some gained the position of *dāmād*, for example his adopted son Khalil

Pasha. Von Moltke, sent in 1835 to Constantinople as instructor of the new Turkish troops, has given a description of the *Ser-Asker* who, by this time, had attained a considerable age. He was an old man, very active, with a red face and white hair (there is a portrait in the *Tārīkh-i Lutfi*, vol. viii., Constantinople 1328, p. 86). He had, however, a disastrous influence on the operations of the Turkish armies against the Egyptian troops of Muḥammad 'Alī. By his jealousy he thwarted the plans of the Turkish generals Ḥusain Pasha in Syria (April 1832) and Rashid Pasha (battle of Konya, 21st Dec. 1832) so that the failure of the Turks must be largely attributed to him. In the period of upheaval which followed, he took very little part in the diplomatic intrigues; he never showed a very definite sympathy either with Russian influence or with that of France. The fall of Khusrav in November 1836 was ultimately due to the influence of the conservative party, and also to the plague which had been ravaging Constantinople during these last years. He returned, however, to the head of the Government in March 1838 as chief of the cabinet with the title of *re'is-i şhurā* and *re'is-i medjlis-i wālī*; in this cabinet the young Rashid Pasha was minister for foreign affairs. This ministry continued the organisation of the civil service (*tanzimāt-i khairiye*). In 1839 war broke out anew with Muḥammad 'Alī, which led to the catastrophe of Nizib (24th June 1839). During this time Khusrav was able to maintain tranquillity in the capital even at the time of the death of Maḥmūd II, which took place on June 30th 1839. Thus on the accession of the young Sulṭān 'Abd al-Madjid, Khusrav was the person indicated to fill the office of grandvizier, an office which was re-established after having been temporally abolished. The situation of the Empire was at this time very critical because of the defeat of the army and the loss of the fleet which had gone over to Muḥammad 'Alī. During this time Khusrav was the soul of the resistance to the viceroy, his ancient enemy, but he took very little part in the diplomatic negotiations with the Powers, negotiations the object of which was to save Turkey. It was Rashid Pasha who directed foreign affairs and who took the initiative in the proclamation of the famous *Khatt-i sherif* of Gülkhāne on Nov. 2nd 1839. Khusrav was not the man to appreciate such a measure and played a very passive role during the ceremony. Little by little the intrigues of Muḥammad 'Alī at Constantinople seconded by Khalil Pasha who had become *ser-asker* succeeded in undermining the position of the grandvizier; the Sulṭān dismissed him in June 1840 and banished him to Rodosto. At the end of a year, however, the conservative influence was re-established in Constantinople, so he was recalled and he held the office of *ser-asker* again from January 1846 to December 1847. Finally he retired for good, and this, the last Turkish grandvizier of the old school, died on the 13th Djumādā II, 1271 (4th March 1855) aged nearly a hundred years, without leaving any children. He was buried in a special *türbe* at Eiyüb; at this place there is also a library which he founded. During his life-time he had amassed enormous wealth. Many of his old slaves and servants rose to positions of high dignity in the civil and military service.

Bibliography: Djawdat, *Tārīkh-i*, Constantinople, 1303, vii. 104, 111—113, 130, 184,

194, 212; *Lutfi Ta'rikh-i*, ii.—vii., Constantinople 1291—1306, passim, viii., Constantinople 1338, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharaf, p. 87, 131; Thuraiyā Efendi, *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, ii. 275; al-Djabarti, *'Adjā'ib al-āthār*, Bulak 1290, i.; Felix Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed Aly*, Paris 1823, i. 16—18, 29, 39, 47, 90 sqq.; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1893, p. 30—33, 105, 468; G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, Leipzig 1866, esp. i. 235—237.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KHUSRAW SHĀH. [See i. 157^b.]

KHUSRAW SULṬĀN, eldest son of Djahāngir by the daughter of Rādjā Bhagwān Dās, was born at Lahore in 1587. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign, was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghānistān, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Asīrgarh near Burhānpūr in the Deccan in 1622, and was in all probability murdered by Shāh Djahān. His sister had his body buried in the Khusrav Bāgh at Allāhabād. His two sons, Dāwar Bakhsh, otherwise Bulākī, and Garshāsp, were put to death at Shāh Djahān's accession. See *'Amal-i Sālih* (still in MS.), Djahāngir's *Memoirs* (O.T.F.) vols. 1 and 2, R. A. S. J. for 1907.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHUSRŪ, ABU 'L-HASAN AMIR B. AMIR SAIF AL-DIN MAHMŪD SHAMSĪ, born in India 651 (1253). His father was a Turk of the tribe of Lācīn, emigrated from Hazāra, near Balkh, during the reign of Djingiz Khān, to India and settled at Patyālī where he married the daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, a great noble of the court of Dehli. Khusrū lost his father at the early age of nine and was brought up under the care of his maternal grandfather. He was very intelligent and had great love for study. He was fortunate in enjoying the favour of seven successive kings of Dehli: (1) Muḥammad Sulṭān b. Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Din Balban (664—686 = 1265—1287); (2) Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Din Kaikubād (686—689 = 1287—1290); (3) Sulṭān Djalāl al-Din Firuz Shāh II b. Djalāl al-Din (689—695 = 1290—1295); (4) Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh I, 'Alā' al-Din (695—715 = 1295—1315); (5) Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh I, Kuṭb al-Din (716—720 = 1316—1320); (6) Sulṭān Taghlaq Shāh I, Ghiyāth al-Din (720—725 = 1320—1324) and (7) Sulṭān Muḥammad II b. Taghlaq (725—752 = 1324—1351).

Khusrū was a pupil or votary of Nizām al-Din Awliyā' (d. 725 = 1324) for whom he had the greatest regard and sincerest devotion; and it is said that when he was accompanying Ghiyāth al-Din Taghlaq Shāh in his march to Bengal, the news of the demise of his spiritual leader reached him. On hearing it he hastened back to Dehli, gave up the royal service and distributed all he had to the poor, and took up his abode at the tomb of the saint, and died six months after in Dehli, 725 (1325).

He is the author of the following works:

(1) *Tuhfat al-Sighar*, the poems which were composed from the poet's 15th to 19th year;

(2) *Wasf al-Hayāt*, the poems which he composed from his 20th to 34th year;

(3) *Ghurraṭ al-Kamāl*, the poems which were written during the 34th to the 43rd year;

(4) *Baqiya-i-Nakīya*, select remnants or poems of old age.

Selections from the preceding four *dīwān*'s have been lithographed with the title of *Kulliyāt-i-Amir Khusrū* in the press of Naval Kishore, Lucknow.

(5) *Nihāyat al-Kamāl*, a collection of *Ghazals* (lyrical poems) and *Rubā'īs* (quatrains);

(6) *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, a poetical account of the campaigns of Djalāl al-Din Firuz Shāh II during the first year of his reign, i.e. from his accession, 689 (1290), to his return to Dehli in 690 (1291);

(7) *Maṭla' al-Anwār*, a moral and religious poem, written in imitation of the *Makhzan al-Asrār* of Nizāmī;

(8) *Shirin wa-Khusrū*, an imitation of Nizāmī's *Khusrū wa-Shirin*;

(9) *Madjūn wa-Lailā*, an imitation of Nizāmī's *Lailā wa-Madjūn*. It has been lithographed, Calcutta 1244, Lucknow 1286;

(10) *A'ina-i-Sikandarī*, a counterpart to the *Iskandar Nāma* of Nizāmī;

(11) *Hasht Bihisht*, a poem on the loves of Bahram, written in imitation of Nizāmī's *Haft Paikar*;

(12) *Kirān al-Sa'dain*, a poetical account of the meeting of Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Din Kaikubād and his father Naṣir al-Din Bughrā Khān, Sulṭān of Bengal, which took place on the bank of the river Ghāgrā in Oudh, 688 A. H.; lithographed, Lucknow 1259;

(13) *Nuh Sipahr*, a poetical description of the court of Kuṭb al-Din Mubārak Shāh, with an account of the principal events of his reign;

(14) *Duwalrānī Khidr Khān*, a poem on the love adventures of Khidr Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Din, with Dewal Rānī, the daughter of Rāi Karn of Gujrat.

(15) *I'djāz Khusrāwī*, a work on Rhetoric, lithographed in the press of Naval Kishore, Lucknow. In 1914 an attempt was made under the guidance of the late Nawwāb Hādijī Muḥammad Ishāq Khān, the then secretary of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh (now Aligarh Muslim University) to publish well edited texts of the *Kulliyāt Khusrū*, but, owing to the death of the Nawwāb, only Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14 of the above list could be lithographed.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kaṣim Firishtāh, *Ta'rikh-i Firishtā*, vol. ii., p. 753; Dārā Shikūh, *Safinat al-Awliyā*, p. 98; Azād al-Bilgiramī, *Khazānat-i 'Amira*, p. 209; G. Ouseley, *Biographical Notices*, pp. 148—163; Sprenger, *Oude Catalogue*, pp. 467—470; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, p. 609; Ethé, *Ind. off.*, No. 1186 and *J. Moslem Institute*, October—December 1906, ii, No. 2, p. 89.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

KHUSŪF. [See KUSŪF.]

KHUṬBA (A.), sermon, address by the *khaṭīb* [q.v.]. The *khutba* has a fixed place in Muhammadan ritual, viz. in the Friday-service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. In the Friday-service it precedes the *ṣalāt*, in all the other services the *ṣalāt* comes first. A short description of the rules for the *khutba* according to al-Shirāzī (q.v., *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll,

p. 40), one of the early *Shāfiʿī* doctors, may be given here. *a.* One of the conditions for the validity of the Friday-service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The conditions for the validity of these sermons are the following: the *khaṭīb* must be in a state of ritual purity; his dress must be in accord with the prescriptions; he must pronounce the two *khuṭba*'s standing and sit down between them; the number of auditors required for a valid *djum'a* must be present.

Regarding the sermon itself are obligatory: the *ḥamdala*, the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both *khuṭba*'s, prayer (*duʿā*) in behalf of the faithful, recitation of a part of the *Qurʾān* in the first *khuṭba* or, according to some doctors, in both. It is commendable (*sunna*) for the *khaṭīb* to be on a pulpit or an elevated place; to salute the audience when directing himself towards them; to sit down till the *adhān* is pronounced by the *muʾadhdhin*; to lean on a bow, a sword or a staff; to direct himself straightway to his audience; to pray (*duʿā*) on behalf of the Muslims; to make his *khuṭba* short.

b. Regarding the *khuṭba*'s on the days of festival the same author says (p. 42) that they are like those of the Friday-service, except in the following points: the *khaṭīb* must open the first with nine *takbīr*'s, the second with seven. On the *ʿid al-ḥiṭr* he must instruct his audience in the rules for the *zakāt al-ḥiṭr*, on the *ʿid al-adḥā* in the rules for the sacrifice of this day. It is allowed to him to pronounce the sermon sitting.

Regarding the *khuṭba*'s of the service during an eclipse, al-*Shīrāzī* (p. 43) remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid, and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allāh's pardon, in the opening of the first *khuṭba* nine times, in the second seven times; further he must repeat several times the *ṣalāt* on Muḥammad as well as *istighfār*, recite *Sūra lxxvi. 9*, elevate his hands and say Muḥammad's *duʿā* (which is communicated by al-*Shīrāzī* in full). Further he must direct himself towards the *qibla* [q. v.] in the middle of the second *khuṭba* and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Muḥammadan pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *khaṭīb* must sit down between the two *khuṭba*'s; it explains also why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the *khuṭba* precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions *ṣalāt* comes first. *Ḥadīth* tells us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the first to change this order of things by pronouncing the *khuṭba* before the performance of the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival (e. g. Bukhārī, *ʿIdain*, bāb 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, *ʿIdain*, trad. 9).

It is also said that Marwān was the first to hold the *khuṭba* on these days on a pulpit, the old custom being a service without *minbār* or *adhān*. According to other authorities (cf. Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 78, 79 and al-Nawawī's commentary) the *khuṭba* before the *ṣalāt* was an institution going back to *ʿUḥmān* or even to ʿUmar. The common opinion of traditionists is, however,

that it was an innovation due to the general tendency of the Umayyads to favour their own dynastic interests rather than those of religion. If this opinion should be right, the innovation as well as the holding of the *khuṭba* in a sitting attitude, may be looked upon as an endeavour to go back to the pre-Islamic judicial rites concerning *minbar* and *khuṭba*.

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (*duʿā li 'l-mu'minin*) it must be observed that in this prayer before the Friday-*ṣalāt* it has become customary to mention the ruling sovereign. The history of Islām is full of examples of the importance which was attached to this custom, especially in times of political troubles, the name mentioned in this *duʿā* betraying the *imām*'s political opinion or position. Though it is not prescribed by law to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the *khaṭīb* to suspicion on the part of the ruler. In countries where Muslims live under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler may expose the *khaṭīb* to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, p. 13 sq. = *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 430 sq.; do., *Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het mohammedaansche recht*, in *Ind. Gids*, vi/i. 809 sq. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 214 sq.). The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the fifth century B. C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Pap. i., line 26; cf. also Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, i. 286).

Several of the characteristics of the *khuṭba* prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in *ḥadīth*. The *khuṭba*'s of Muḥammad usually begin with the formula *ammā baʿdu* (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 29). Side by side with the *ḥamdala* (Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 44, 45) the *shahāda* occurs (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 302, 343: "A *khuṭba* without the *shahāda* is like a mutilated hand"). In a large number of traditions it is stated that Muḥammad used to recite passages from the *Qurʾān* (e. g. Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 49—52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 86 sq., 88, 93 etc.). The *khuṭba* must be short, in accord with Muḥammad's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *khuṭba* short" (Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 47). Just like the *ṣalāt* the *khuṭba* must be right to the purpose (*ḥaṣḍan*, Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 41). The audience must be silent and quiet; "who says to his neighbour "listen", has spoken a superfluous word", Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 36). The two *khuṭba*'s pronounced by the standing *khaṭīb*, who sits between them, are based on Muḥammad's example (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 27; Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 33—35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 35, 91, 98). During the *adhān* Muḥammad used to sit on the *minbar*; the *ikāma* was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the *khuṭba* standing); this order was observed by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 449 bis).

Neither the term *khuṭba* nor the verb *khaṭaba* in their technical meaning occur in the *Qurʾān*. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the *ṣalāt* which is mentioned (*Sūra lxxii. 9—11*). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the *khuṭba* did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muḥammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the different kinds of service were accurately regulated from the be-

ginning. *Ḥadīth* has preserved descriptions showing that Muḥammad's *khutba* often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-diyāt*, bāb 13: Muḥammad had sent Abū Dījahm b. Ḥudhaifa as a collector of the *zakāt* to the clan of Laith. When a man made difficulties concerning the payment of *zakāt*, Abū Dījahm knocked him on the head. Then his clanspeople went to Madīna and laid before Muḥammad a claim on retaliation. After a discussion they agreed upon a blood-fine to a certain amount. Then Muḥammad said to them: to-night I will hold a *khutba* and propose to my people the amount you have agreed. At night Muḥammad pronounced his *khutba* saying: These men of Laith have come to me in order to claim retaliation. They did not accept several proposals, but finally have agreed to such an amount. Do you agree with it? They answered: No. Then the Muhājirūn were angry with the embassy of Laith, but Muḥammad persuaded them not to importune them. Finally they received a greater amount after Muḥammad had agreed on it with them in a second *khutba*. — This kind of *khutba* apparently is a sample of the addresses of the early Arabian rulers to their people and has scarcely anything to do with a sermon. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds, as may appear from the following traditions. In a tradition on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī it is said that Muḥammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the *ṣalāt*; then he pronounced the *khutba* "and his *khutba* usually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 56 sq.). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, *Ṭadwīn*, trad. 9: "When Muḥammad had concluded *ṣalāt* on the days of festival by the *taslīm*, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it; he used also to say: give alms, give alms, give alms; . . . then he went away. This state of things lasted till Marwān etc.". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muḥammad's time. Yet, it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to contrast the simple service of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who had even a *minbar* built on the *muṣallā*. The following instance refers to the Friday-*khutba*: "Abū Rifa'a says: I addressed the Prophet while he pronounced the *khutba*, saying: Oh Apostle of Allāh, I am a stranger who wants information concerning his religion which he does not understand. Thereupon the Apostle of God abandoned his *khutba* and came to me. Then a chair was brought (it seems to me that its legs were iron); the Apostle of Allāh sat down on it and began to teach me what Allāh had taught him. Then he finished his *khutba*" (Muslim, *Ḍiḥm'a*, trad. 60). This tradition, interesting though it may seem, betrays the tendency to accentuate the absence of a *minbar*. Other traditions of this type give an equally simple picture of the Friday-service, e. g. those in Muslim's chapter, *Ḍiḥm'a*, Nos. 54—59, which represent Muḥammad pronouncing his *khutba*, when a man enters. Muḥammad at once directs to him the question: Have you performed the two *rak'a's*?

Apparently the tendency is to show that Muḥammad laid so much stress upon the two non-obligatory *rak'a's* that he even interrupted himself in his *khutba* in order to accentuate their importance.

However uncertain the value of these traditions may be, it seems not out of place to suppose that a fixed order of service on Friday and the days of festival arose only after Muḥammad's lifetime. This order reposes on three elements: the early Arabian *khutba*, Muḥammad's *sunna* and the example of Jews and Christians.

In his study on the history of Muslim worship C. H. Becker has endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the mass on the other. The main features of his position are the following. The first *khutba* corresponds to the first part of the mass ("Vormesse"). *Adhān* and *khutba* are an echo of the responses between the deacon and the priest who administers the mass. The obligatory recitation of the *Qur'ān* corresponds to the recitation of the scripture. Concerning the two *khutba's* he states that this duality is subject to *ikhtilāf* on the part of the *faḳīh's*; it has found its way to the service on the days of festival coming from the Friday-service. The second *khutba* corresponds to the sermon and the general prayer.

This view was combated by Mittwoch who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to *adhān* and *ikāma*, to the *ḥamdala*, the recitation of the *Tora* (first *khutba*) and the recitation from the Prophets (second *khutba*). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question; probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy have exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muḥammadan service.

Instead of a history of the Muḥammadan sermon which has not yet been written, a few notices only may be given here. Muḥammad's first and second *khutba* in Madīna are in Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 340). It may follow here in translation, not because of its being considered as genuine, but as a standard specimen. "The Apostle of Allāh praised Allāh and said: *Amma ba'du*. Oh people, provide for yourself (by good works), accept instruction. By Allāh you will be thunder-stricken and everyone of you will leave his cattle without shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him, speaking without a dragoman and without a screen: Has not my Apostle come to you? He preached to you and I provided you with money and gave you abundance. What have you provided for yourself? Then you will look to the right and to the left, without perceiving anything (which can aid you); then you will look before you, but not perceive anything besides Hell. Therefore, whosoever will be able to avoid Hell, even though it were on account of a piece of a date (given as alms), he should do it, or on account of a good word, if he should not possess a date. For good deeds are rewarded ten, nay even seven hundred times. May peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you".

Muḥammad's last sermon is communicated in Bukhārī's collection, *Ḍiḥm'a*, bāb 29: his emotion when he preached is described in Muslim, *Ḍiḥm'a*, trad. 43. An accurate description of the Friday-service with a translation of two *khutba's* in Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Paisley and London 1895, p. 99 sqq.

A collection of sermons ascribed to 'Alī is in the former Royal Library in Berlin; among them is a *khutba* without the letter *alif*.

As the office of the *khatīb* became a regular function, the *khutba* became to the *khatīb* what a calligraphed document is to the professional scribe; the one displayed his art in flourished initials, the other in rhymed prose. Collections of sermons are often arranged following the calendar, viz. four sermons for every month and additional ones for the days of festival, the Prophet's birthday, and his Ascension; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. Hss.*, iii., p. 437.

It is customary to hold the *khutba* in Arabic. This rule has often been broken in Turkey.

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, p. 71 sq., 109 sq.; *Shaiikh* Niẓām, *al-Fatāwī al-Ālamgiriya*, Calcutta 1828 sqq., i. 205 sq., 210 sq., 214 sq.; Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Hullī, *Kitāb Shorā'i al-Islām*, Calcutta 1893, i. 44, 48; C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam in Nöldeke-Festschrift*, Giessen 1906, p. 331 sqq.; do., *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus in Isl.*, iii. 374 sqq.; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus in Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913, No. 2; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 92.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHUTTAL, a district on the upper course of Āmū-Daryā between the rivers Pandj and Wakhs, called Djaryāb and Wakhsāb in the middle ages; on the situation cf. also i., p. 339 sq. The pronunciation Khuttal is given by Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, ii. 402); for the frequently used plural form we have evidence for the pronunciation Khuttalān in the lampoon preserved by Ṭabarī (ii. 1492, 1494 and 1602) on the reverses suffered by the governor Asad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 120 = 738). On the other hand in later Persian poetry the pronunciation Khatlān or Khotlān is required; the same pronunciation is given by the Persian lexicons (e.g. in Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

Hulbuk, the capital of the rulers of Khuttal, must be sought to the south of the modern Kulāb, according to the data given in the geographers; the largest town of Khuttal, Munk (so in the geographers; in Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 38: Mūnk), must have corresponded approximately to the modern Baldjwān, although we already find the latter mentioned in the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (i. 83). Yā'qūbī (*B. G. A.*, i., vii. 292) says the "largest town of Khuttal" is Wāshdjird, the modern Faizābād which really lies outside of Khuttal (west of the Wakhs). Khuttal was a district specially noted for its horses (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 325 infra and vi., text, p. 180).

The pre-Islāmic titles of the rulers of Khuttal, Khuttalān Shāh and Shīr Khuttalān (*B. G. A.*, text, p. 40), seem to have been no longer used in the Muslim period. The last battles of the Arab conquerors mentioned in Ṭabarī (iii. 74) are of the year 133 (750/751); the king (*malik*) of Khuttal had to leave his country and go first to Farghāna then to China. The Chinese accounts of the title granted to the king of Khuttal in 752 (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 168 and 216) are thus explained. A genealogy of the "later rulers of Khuttal" has been compiled by Marquart (*Ērānsahr*, p. 302); in his opinion the kingdom of Khuttal later became divided into

several small states; but in the time of the Sāmānids a ruler Aḥmad b. Dja'far is mentioned as amir of Khuttalān (Gardizi in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 9, account of the events of 336—337 = 947/949). Muḥaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 337, 2) also mentions among the rulers from whom the Sāmānids received no taxes (*kharāj*) but only presents (*hadāya*), the amir of Khuttal.

After the fall of the Sāmānids, Khuttal belonged to the empire of the Ghaznawids (see ii., p. 154) and being on the frontiers was exposed to frequent raids from the land of the Ilek-Khāns (cf. ii., p. 465). Under Sulṭān Mas'ūd (1030—1041) claims to the suzerainty over Khuttal were made, notably by 'Alī Tegin [q. v.] (Baihakī, ed. Morley, esp. p. 348); a separate ruler of Khuttal is not mentioned at this period. On the other hand in Ibn al-Athīr (x. 22) in the account of Sulṭān Alp Arslān's campaign of 456 (1064) an amir of Khuttal who had shut himself up in his fortress (its name is not given) is mentioned; it was only after a long siege, in which the amir himself was killed, that the fortress was stormed. In another passage (xi. 155) Ibn al-Athīr tells of a campaign by the lord (*shāh*) of Khuttal, Ibn Shudjā' Farukhsāh in Rādjab 553 (Aug. 1158) against Tirmidh; this ruler is said, like the Sāmānids before him, to have claimed descent from the Sassanian Bahrām Gōr (cf. i., p. 586a). There is no further mention of a native dynasty in Khuttal after this. It probably belonged to the kingdom of the Ghōrids (ii., p. 161—164); we are definitely told this of the district of Wakhs on the lower course of the river of the same name (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri*, transl. Raverty, p. 426). Among the many smaller principalities into which the Ghōrid kingdom broke up, the kingdom of Wakhs is mentioned (ibid., p. 436 and 490; Nesawī, ed. Houdas, p. 39; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 400).

In the second half of the viii. (xiv.) century Khuttal was one of the many small Turkish-Mongol kingdoms into which Čaghatai's empire had broken up (cf. i., p. 812). In 1372 by command of Timūr the king of Khuttal, Kai-Khusraw was put to death for treacherous negotiations with Khwārizm (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 243). Khuttal later was one of the dependencies of Ḥiṣār (cf. ii., p. 316); when in 903 (1497/1498) the Beg Khusraw Shāh had seized dominion over Ḥiṣār, he granted Khuttal to his brother Walī Beg (*Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, fol. 57); Walī Beg was killed in 910 (1504/1505) by Shaibānī, the founder of the Özbeg kingdom (ibid., fol. 125b). Under the rule of the Özbegs the name Khuttal for the region was ousted by Kulāb. The district of Khuttal is mentioned as late as the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (begun in Rabi' II 1044 = Sept.—Oct. 1634, cf. *Zapiski*, etc., xv. 233) (Ind. Office MS. 560—575, fol. 228a and 238a); the name Kulāb is already used in the history of Khān 'Ubaid Allāh (1702—1711); the work was begun in his lifetime (F. Teufel in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxviii. 243; cf. esp. text, p. 29).

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 70 sqq.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 438 sq.; J. Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, p. 232 sqq., 299; Note by N. Elias on the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 21.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KHUZĀ'A b. 'Amr, name of a South-Arabian tribe, a branch of the large tribe of Azd. The genealogists with few exceptions are unanimous in tracing their pedigree through 'Amr, surnamed Luḥaiy, b. Rabī'a b. Ḥāritha b. Muzaikiya and they agree further that they, together with the other branches of the Azd, left South Arabia at a remote time and wandered with them to the North. When they reached the territory of Mekka, most of their kinsmen continued their journey, the Ghassān to Syria, Azd Shanū'a to 'Omān, but Luḥaiy remained with his clan near Mekka and thus separated (*inkhasa'a*) from the remainder of the tribe. The city of Mekka and the sacred territory was at that time in the hands of the tribe of Djurhum and we may fix the time approximately in the fifth century of the Christian era, though Arab antiquaries, by assigning exceptionally long lives to some of the chiefs, date their arrival near Mekka several centuries further back. According to the same antiquaries the Djurhum had allowed the sanctity of the sacred territory to lose much of its splendour and in addition by extortions from pilgrims had caused the pilgrimage to have fallen greatly into disuse. The leader of the Azd, Tha'laba b. 'Amr, had asked from the Djurhum permission to stay in the sacred territory till his foragers had found suitable pasture-grounds elsewhere. This permission the Djurhum would not grant and as Tha'laba said that he would stay, whether they allowed it or not it came to fierce fighting which lasted several days and ended in the utter defeat of the Djurhum. Only Muḍāq b. 'Amr al-Djurhumī who had held aloof from the fighting was allowed to leave the city peacefully, and founded a new settlement with his family and followers at Kanan and Haly, where his descendants still resided in the third century of the Hidjra. Having become complete masters of Mekka and the sacred territory, they permitted the descendants of Ismā'il, who were few in numbers and had taken no share in the quarrel, to remain peacefully among them. The very next year of the conquest brought epidemic fevers to the new population and according to some historians it was not till this time that the other clans of Azd migrated further afield. With a view to establishing a legal claim to the custodianship of the sanctuary, no doubt, Rabī'a b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr married Fuhaira the daughter of 'Amir b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāq, who had been the last ruler of Mekka, and thus he became the richest man in the city. From this latter account it becomes almost evident that the two tribes lived for some time together in Mekka and that the rise of the Khuzā'a was less violent than is generally concluded from the first account. There can hardly be any doubt that here the same process occurred as it happened continually, that the tribes outside a town by gradual pressure upon the more peaceful and prosperous town-dwellers became in time the masters of the situation, only to suffer the same fate a few generations later. Rabī'a is credited with having re-introduced the rites of the pilgrimage, especially by caring for the welfare of the numerous pilgrims who visited the sanctuary, but he is also credited with having been the first to have placed the idols round the Ka'ba and especially with having brought the idol Hubal from Hit in Mesopotamia, which with other idols still existed at the time

of Muḥammad. Rabī'a and his descendants remained custodians for a very long time (Arab historians mention 300 and 500 years — which figures must be highly exaggerated). The last ruler was Hulail b. Ḥubshiya b. Salīl b. Ka'b b. 'Amr who gave his daughter Ḥubbaiy in marriage to Kuṣaiy, the head of the small clan of Kuraish, a branch of the tribe of Kināna. Hulail when he grew old made it a practice to give to his daughter or his son-in-law the keys of the Ka'ba to perform such duties as were the privilege of the custodian of the sanctuary. When Hulail died he left his office to his daughter and his son-in-law, but when the latter wanted to claim this right, he was strongly opposed by the whole of Khuzā'a, who forcibly took the keys of the sanctuary from Ḥubbaiy. Kuṣaiy who had many friends among the Kināna who were settled in the vicinity of the sacred territory as also among the Qudā'a, came to an arrangement with his friends that at the next pilgrimage-period and upon the termination of the rites of the pilgrimage it should come to open quarrel with the Khuzā'a, and in the end it resulted in fierce fighting in which many were slain. To settle the dispute both parties agreed to submit to the judgment of Ya'mar b. 'Awf al-Kilābi. Both parties were invited to meet at the portals of the Ka'ba and when Ya'mar had ascertained the number of slain of Khuzā'a to be greater than that of the partisans of Kuṣaiy he gave judgment in favour of the latter. He was in consequence given the custodianship of the sanctuary and with it the rule of the city of Mekka, while the Khuzā'a were permitted to reside with the Kuraish in the precincts of the sacred territory. Thus the end of the rule of the Khuzā'a was also the commencement of the rule of the tribe of Kuraish [q. v.]. Another less heroic account, however, tells us that Kuṣaiy bought the custodianship from Abū Ḥubshān, the last ruler of the tribe of Khuzā'a, for a goats skin of wine; this is the account also given by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Maḥālīb*. With the advent of Islām we encounter the names of a number of persons belonging to the tribe of Khuzā'a, and as the conquest of Egypt and the West was principally accomplished by warriors recruited from Western Arabia it is not surprising that we find descendants of the tribe of Khuzā'a prominent in the newly conquered lands, especially in Spain.

That there was a great deal of confusion in the genealogies of this tribe is evident from their being at times not classed among the South-Arabian tribes at all, so e. g. the Qādī 'Iyād gives the genealogy: Khuzā'a b. Luḥaiy b. Kama'a b. al-Yās b. Muḍar, which Suhaili in his commentary of the *Sira* tries to explain by saying that Ḥāritha b. Tha'laba married the widow of his father Kama'a, who was also the mother of Luḥaiy, in which way the genealogy is correct both in deriving their origin from North and South-Arabian tribes. As regards the divisions of Khuzā'a there is a great amount of divergence, some genealogists mention the clans of Ka'b, Mulaih, Sa'd and Salīl, while other know only 'Adiy, 'Awf and Sa'd.

The great number of names of men who claimed descent from this tribe must make us believe that they were more numerous than we should conclude from the comparatively few names mentioned as companions of the Prophet, and it may be that by the time of the rise of Islām they

had gradually been pushed by the more energetic Kuraish into the surrounding country out of the precincts of the city of Mekka itself.

Bibliography: Azraqī, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i. 55—64; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 276—281; Nuwairī, ii. 317; Kalkashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Baghdād, p. 205—206; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, passim; Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'sha*; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 59 sqq. and many works dealing with the early history of Islām. (F. KRENKOW)

KHŪZISTĀN, the land of the Khūz (Hussi), *Korossios* of Ptolemy, a province of Persia corresponding to the ancient Susiana, now officially called 'Arabistān, "the country of the Arabs", because its desert plains have been over-run by the nomad tribes of the Ka'b (Bedouin pronunciation Ča'b) and of the Banū Lām. The present boundaries of the province are, to the North, the mountains of the Zagros chain; to the West, the Kerkha [q. v.]; to the South, the river Djerrāhi or Tāb and a line drawn across the desert from the confluence of the Kārūn [q. v.] and of the Kerkha with the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab [q. v.]; to the East Kurdistan. The principal towns are Shushtar (Tustar of the Arabs), the seat of the governor, Dizful, Hawiza (Sūk al-Ahwāz, "the market-place of the Cosseans"), Rām-Hormuz, Muḥammara, Behbehān; the mountains are inhabited by Lūr tribes, namely Feilī, Bakhtiyārī, Kūngelū and Māmasenī.

Under the Sāsānids this province was included in those of the South (Nīm-rūz); the Christians who inhabited it formed an ecclesiastical province called Bēth Hūzayē; the capital was Bēth Lāpāt, later called Gundishāpūr. Conquered by the Arabs in the year 19 (640), it was defended by the Satrap Hurmuzān, who after the capture of Sūk al-Ahwāz (Ḥamza Isfahānī: Hudjistān-wādjār), and his defeat at Rām Hormuz by 'Otba, was besieged in Shushtar for 6 months and gave himself unconditionally to the Caliph 'Omar. It was occupied by Mu'izz al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Buwaih before the capture of Baghdād in 334 (945) and during the reign of the Mongol Ilkhān Abaqa it was given as a fief to the Atābeg of Luristān, Yūsuf Shāh I, as a reward for having saved him from a sudden attack of the Dailamis. It was for some time occupied by the Ottomans after the battle, which was lost by the armies of Shāh 'Abbās I in front of Baghdād in the year 995 (1587).

For Arab geographers Khūzistān has for its boundaries, to the West, the canton of Wāsiṭ and Dūr al-Rāsibī; to the South, the shore of the sea from 'Abbādān to Mehrūbān; to the East, Fārs and 'Irāk-'Adjamī (the boundary is marked by the Tāb); to the North, the course of the Kerkha and the mountains of the Lūr. Important towns were: Sūk al-Ahwāz (capital), Sūs, Gundishāpūr, Tustar, 'Askar Mokram, Rām Hormuz, Dawraq (later Tīb, Korkūb, Djobbī, Hīṣn Mahdī). Climate warm, air unhealthy, particularly for strangers; rivers numerous, soil fertile (dates, wheat, barley, rice, sugar-cane). Population ugly and of bad character; inhabitants quarrelsome and greedy, copper-coloured, slight figure, beard scanty, hair bushy. Probably they were the residue of the negroids who formerly were the population of the country. They still spoke at the time of the Arab conquest a peculiar language (khūzī) which was neither Indo-European nor Semitic — perhaps

it was the remains of the language of the Anzanites or Elamites; the remains of it are said to be preserved in the patois of the Dizful. After the wars with the Romans the people of Mesopotamia were transplanted there in the reign of Shāpūr I; the magnificent band of Tustar was built by the prisoners of war taken after the disastrous expedition of the Emperor Valerian. Industry developed in the country under the influence of the workmen carried off from Byzantine territory. At the present time the country is ruined; a few inhabitants maintain themselves in a few large villages; the plains provide pasture for bodies of nomads.

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KIAYA. [See KETKHUḌĀ.]

KĪBLA, the direction of Mecca (to be exact of the Ka'ba or the place between the water-spout [*mizāb*] and the western corner), which has to be observed during the *ṣalāt*.

I. From very early times the direction at prayer and divine service was not a matter of choice among the Semitic peoples. There is already an allusion to this in I Kings, viii. 44 and it is recorded of Daniel (Dan., vi. 11) that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (which has remained the Jewish *kibla* to this day). As is evident from the names of the quarters of the heavens, the whole life of the Semitic peoples was turned eastwards. The Esenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syriac Christians also turned eastwards at prayer (*Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. Cureton, p. 24, 60; *Acta Martyrum occid.*, ed. Assemani, ii. 125). It may therefore very well be assumed in agreement with the tradition that Muḥammad appointed a *kibla* at the same time as he instituted the *ṣalāt*. It is certain that in the period immediately following the Hidjra the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. Tradition places the alteration in the *kibla* to 16 or 17 months after the Hidjra, in Radjab or Sha'bān of the year 2, probably rightly, for in this period we have the important change in Muḥammad's attitude to the Jews. Disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among the Jews of Yathrib, he began to turn more and more to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Ibrāhīm the basis of all monotheistic religions. The Ka'ba was brought into prominence as a religious centre and the Ḥadīdj began to be talked of as a Muslim rite. At the same time a beginning was made with the eviction of the Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The alteration in the *kibla* is a not unimportant fact in this series of events and this train of thought. The Qur'ān verses, ii. 136 sqq., refer to this: "The fools among the people will say: 'What has induced them to abandon their former *kibla*? Say: to Allāh belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleaseth

unto the right path. Thus have we made you an intermediate community, so that ye may be witnesses for mankind while the Prophet is a witness for you. We only appointed your previous kībla to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels. Verily this is a grievous sin from which he is free who is guided by Allāh, but Allāh will not allow your faith to be of no avail for He is gracious and kindly to man. We see how thy face turns to all the quarters of the heavens so we will cause thee to turn to a kībla pleasing to thee. Turn then thy face toward the holy *masjid*; turn your face to it wherever you are. Whatever signs thou wert to give to the people of a scripture, they will not follow thy kībla" etc.

The importance placed by Muḥammad himself upon the change is clear from these words. It is not necessary to assume with the tradition that it was brought about by scornful remarks of the Jews regarding Muḥammad's dependence on the prescriptions of their religion (so Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1280). In other traditions, the new kībla is represented as that of Ibrāhīm (Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, i. 378, ii. 13). Here we have a glimmering of the real truth of the matter, namely the connection with Muḥammad's new politico-religious attitude. According to one tradition (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 32; *Tafsīr*, Sūra 2, B. 14) the revelation of the above quoted verses from the Qur'ān was communicated to the believers in the morning ṣalāt in Ḳubā'; according to another story Muḥammad had with a portion of the community performed two rak'as of the Zuhr-Ṣalāt in a mosque of the Banū Salima, when he turned round to the direction of Mecca (Baiḍāwī, on Sūra II, 139). The mosque received the name of *Masjid al-Kiblatayn*, "the mosque of the two kīblas".

If it may then be considered established that Muḥammad and his community turned towards Jerusalem at the ṣalāt during the early years of the Hidjra, the question still remains what was his kībla before the Hidjra. In Tradition two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonising the other two. According to one, Muḥammad in Mecca observed the kībla to the Ka'ba (Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, ii. 4; Baiḍāwī, on Sūra II, 138); according to the other story the kībla had always been Jerusalem (Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, ii. 3, 8, ed. de Goeje, i. 1280; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 2); according to the third (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 228) Muḥammad in Mecca was careful to have the Ka'ba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the ṣalāt. The first view is influenced by the theory of the "religion of Ibrāhīm" for al-Tibrizī also makes 'Abd al-Muttalib already know that Ibrāhīm appointed the Ka'ba as kībla (*Ḥamāsa*, i. 125). If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Muḥammad's dependence on Jewish practice. This view is therefore, in my opinion, the most probable. It is further mentioned as a distinguishing peculiarity of Barā' b. Ma'rūr that even in the period before the Hidjra he would not turn his back on the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām p. 294); this tradition would lose its point if the old kībla had been in the direction of the Ka'ba. Besides these traditional views, others have been put forward in recent years. According to Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala

and Stockholm 1926, p. 4 (cf. Buhl, *Mohammed's Life*, p. 212) the original kībla was to the east. Andrae bases his view not on the material of Tradition but on the general agreement between early Muslim and Christian religious usages. Schwally said that the Jerusalem kībla was introduced into Mecca, it is true, but not as a specifically Jewish institution, perhaps a Jewish-Christian one (*Geschichte des Qurans*, i. 175, note k).

The direction of the kībla was, or is, not assumed at the ṣalāt only and with the points of the toes (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 28; *Aḥḥād*, bāb 131; Nasā'ī, *Sahw*, bāb 25; *Ṭaḥḥīḥ*, bāb 96), but also at the *du'a* (Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 24), at the *iḥlāl* or *iḥrām* (Bukhārī, *Ḥajj*, bāb 29) and after the stone-throwing at the central Djamra (Bukhārī, *Ḥajj*, bāb 140—142); the head of an animal to be slaughtered is turned to the kībla and the dead are buried with the face towards Mecca (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Paisley and London 1899; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv./i. 243: v. 409).

In the Ḥadīth it is forbidden to turn towards Mecca when relieving nature (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 61; Nasā'ī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18—20). On the question whether it is allowable in doing this to turn one's back to Mecca and thus in some parts of Arabia be facing Jerusalem no unanimity prevails (cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 14; *Khums*, bāb 4; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 29; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 59, 61 *sq.*; Abū Da'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 4); one should not expectorate in the direction of Mecca (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 33).

The observance of a kībla is given in old traditions along with the performance of the ṣalāt and ritual slaughter as a criterion of the Muslim: The Prophet of God said: "The command has been given me to fight the people till they say: There is no god but Allāh; when they say these words, perform our ṣalāt and slaughter in our way, their blood and their property shall be inviolate for us", etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 28; cf. *Aḥḥād*, bāb 12). One of the terms for the orthodox community is *Ahl al-Kībla wa 'l-Djāmā'a*. In many Muslim lands the word has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus kībla (pronounced *ibla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, in the Maghrib, east.

In the mosques the direction of the ṣalāt is indicated by the *Mihrāb* [q. v.]; in classical Ḥadīth, this word does not occur and kībla is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a ṣalāt outside a mosque, a *suṭra* [q. v.] marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the kībla (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 228). — It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately orientated (according to the *djīha*). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines or the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of the Dutch East Indies where the faithful at the ṣalāt take their direction not from the *mihrāb* but from such indicators (information kindly supplied me orally by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje).

The laws relating to the kībla are here given very briefly only and according to the Shāfi' school as laid down in al-Shirāzī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, p. 20). The adoption of a kībla is

a necessary condition for the validity of a *ṣalāt*. Only in great danger and in a voluntary *ṣalāt* on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the *ihram*, *rukūʿ* and *sudjūd*. One should turn exactly in the direction of the *qibla*, and one who is near it can do so with certainty, and one who is remote as nearly as he can judge. According to others, in the latter case only the general direction (*djihad*) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the *mihirāb* within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of reliable people: only a man who is in a deserted region is allowed to ascertain the direction for himself by means of certain indications. For details of the laws see the *Bibliography*.

Bibliography: The *Kurʾān* commentators on *Sūra ii*. 136 *sqq.*; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, p. 108—110, 133—135; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii., register; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, Leiden 1925, p. 67, note 5; al-Nawawī, *Minhādī al-Ṭalibīn*, ed. van den Berg, i. 69—73; *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgiriya*, Calcutta 1828, i. 86—89; al-Muḥakkik Abu 'l-Kāsim, *Sharāʿi al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 28—30 (transl. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, i. 56 *sqq.*); al-Khalil, *Mukhtaṣar*, Paris 1900, p. 16 *sq.* (A. J. WENSINCK).

II. In terms of astronomical geography the direction of Mecca in any particular spot Ω is identical with the tangent, at the point Ω on the circle ΩM (fig. 1). It will form with the meridian

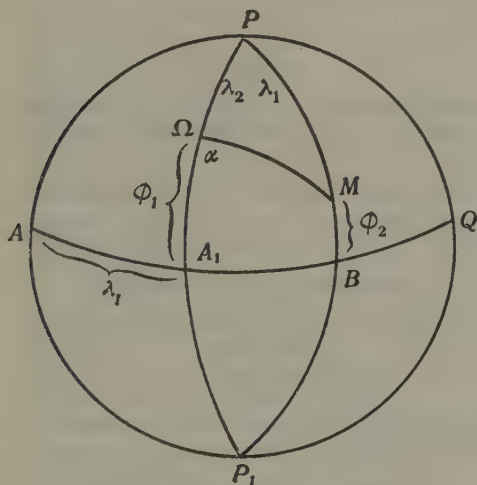


Fig. 1.

in Ω , i. e. the circle $P\Omega A_1 P_1$, the angle α (P and P_1 are the poles). This angle, called *inḥirāf* in Arab astronomy, gives the deviation of the direction of the gaze from the north-south line. If AQ is the equator and ϕ_1 and ϕ_2 , λ_1 and λ_2 the latitudes and longitudes of two places Ω and M , the calculation of the angle α is a problem for spherical trigonometry. This angle α has of course a separate value for every place Ω according to its geographical coordinates.

The direction of Mecca was usually marked on the dial of a horizontal sundial (*baṣīṭa*, *rukhāma*). For all places with a latitude north of and greater than that of Mecca, it runs south, southeast or

southwest which holds for by far the greater part of the Muslim world. Once during the day as a rule the shadow of the pointer falls upon the *qibla* or on its prolongation beyond the foot of the style, which is called *mikyās*, *shakhṣ* or *sharṭ*. The *muwakkkit* (caller of the hour) made this moment known from time to time by calling aloud, and in the same moment every other shadow pointed to Mecca. The shadow itself was called *zill* before the *zawāl* and *faṭ* in the afternoon. For large towns (e. g. Cairo) Muslim astronomers calculated the daily altitude of the sun for the moment at which it came into the direction of the *qibla* on its daily course.

Every *Zidj* of any size (book of tables, from the Persian *zāh*, Arabic *zīk* [chord because the tables of sines or chords were the same]) deals with the calculation of the *qibla*. Arabic literature is not very rich in special tractates dealing with the ascertainment of the *qibla*. If the difference between latitude and longitude of the place in question was not great, a method of approximation, known even to the early Arab astronomers was used which gave results, sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. We find this method already used by al-Battānī (929), Ibn Yūnus (1009) etc. The process is as follows: the difference between the longitude of Mecca and that of the place in question is counted off westwards from the Indian circle (i. e. on a horizon circle) starting from the south point and eastwards from the north point (i. e. the two equal arcs SA and NB on fig. 2) and the two points thus reached A and B are

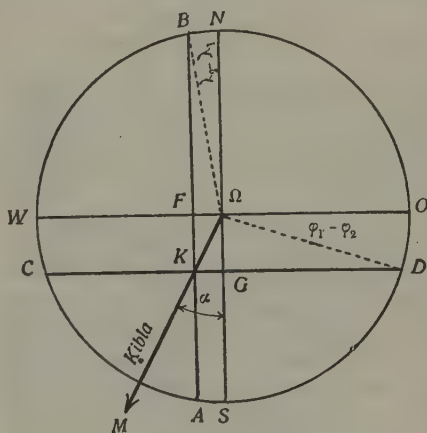


Fig. 2.

joined by a straight line AB . Similarly the difference of the two latitudes is measured southwards from the west point and from the east and the two points thus found are joined by a straight line CD which cuts AB in K . A straight line from the centre of the circle Ω of the circle gives the direction of the *qibla*.

There are in Arabic literature numerical formulae for the finding of the angle α (*inḥirāf*) by this method of approximation. For Cairo Ibn Yūnus gives:

$$\phi_1 = 30^\circ; \quad \phi_2 = 21^\circ; \quad \phi_1 - \phi_2 = 9^\circ;$$

$$\lambda_1 = 55^\circ; \quad \lambda_2 = 67^\circ; \quad \lambda_2 - \lambda_1 = 12^\circ;$$

$$KG = \sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1); \quad \Omega G = \sin(\phi_1 - \phi_2);$$

$$\sin \alpha = \frac{\sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}{\sqrt{\sin^2(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) + \sin^2(\phi_1 - \phi_2)}}$$

$$\sin \alpha = \frac{12}{15}; \alpha = 53^\circ,$$

while he finds by the exact rules of spherical trigonometry α to be $53^\circ 0' 17''$. — The Persian astronomer 'Alī Shāh Olai al-Munadjjim deals in this way with the case of Hamadān. He puts:

$$\phi_1 = 35^\circ 10'; \phi_2 = 21^\circ 40'; \phi_1 - \phi_2 = 13^\circ 30';$$

$$\lambda_1 = 83^\circ; \lambda_2 = 77^\circ 10'$$

(reckoning the longitudes from the "Fortunate Isles"); $\lambda_1 - \lambda_2 = 5^\circ 50'$. From the construction of the figure we get $\alpha = 23^\circ$, while worked out exactly by spherical trigonometry $\alpha = 22^\circ 15'$. We see then that this approximating method of calculating the direction of the kībla is very useful for small differences of latitude and longitude but of course breaks down when this is not the case. Fig. 2 gives the construction for Hamadān.

In contrast to this approximate method Ibn Yūnus in ch. xxviii. of his *al-Zīj al-Kabīr al-Hākīmī* ("The Great Hākīmī Tables", Oxford, Hunt. 331) gives quite an exact method of finding the kībla and by three different methods, of which the first is very remarkable inasmuch as the transcription of the text of Ibn Yūnus gives us in modern language the cosine and sine equation of spherical trigonometry. The author shows that:

$$\cos \Omega M = \cos X = \cos \phi_1 \cdot \cos \phi_2 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)$$

$$\pm \sin \phi_1 \cdot \sin \phi_2$$

and

$$\sin \alpha = \frac{\sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) \cdot \cos \phi_2}{\sin X} \text{ (fig. 1)}$$

If the two latitudes ϕ_1 and ϕ_2 refer to different hemispheres, the product $\sin \phi_1 \cdot \sin \phi_2$ is negative hence the double sign in the cosine equation. The other solutions go back to the division of any spherical triangle $\Omega M P$ into two right-angled triangles.

An exact and mathematically interesting calculation of the *inḥirāf* of the kībla is given by Abu 'l-Wafā' (d. 998) in his *Almaǧisī* (MS. 2494 Paris) for the city of Baghdād. He finds $\alpha = 13^\circ 49' 9'' 19''$. Abu 'l-Wafā's method of ascertaining the kībla (by the rule of the shadow) is very similar to that which had previously been made known by the Persian mathematician and astronomer al-Faḍl b. Ḥatīm al-Nairīzī (d. 922/923), except that he found for the *inḥirāf* of the kībla at Baghdād $\alpha = 29^\circ 7'$ which is remarkably far out.

A neat study of a purely constructive but exact method of ascertaining the kībla was given by the important Muslim mathematician Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Haitham (d. 1039). It is as follows: the circle $ABGD$ (fig. 3) with centre H is described on a horizontal wooden plane with any radius. Two diameters are drawn at right angles AG and BD . From A cut an arc AC equal to the latitude of Mecca $= \phi_2$ on the circumference of the circle, which represents the horizon of the place for which it is desired to ascertain the kībla. Similarly the arc GR at the other end of the diameter is made equal to the latitude of the place $\Omega = \phi_1$. Finally the arc $AN = \lambda_2 - \lambda_1$ indicates the difference in longitude of the two places in question. The perpendicular CT is then dropped on AH from C and with the radius HT an arc

is described from the centre H , which cuts HN in E ; EF is then drawn at right angles to AH . On the radius HR section HK is cut $= CT$ and a perpendicular to HR erected at K and KM made $= FH$. From M the perpendicular MQ is dropped on BH and FS is cut off FH so that $FS = MQ$. The angle $ESF = \alpha$ = the *inḥirāf* of the kībla.

The proof of the correctness of this construction is given in our author by transferring the area of the triangle pole — Mecca — place (Ω) in the plane of the horizon of the place Ω for which the kībla is being ascertained. The correctness of Haitham's construction can however be easily

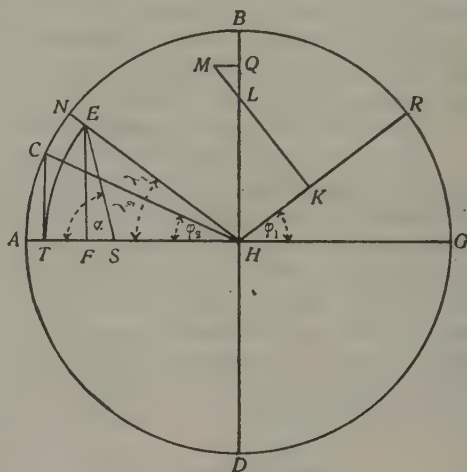


Fig. 3.

proved as follows. If the radius HA of the circle be taken as $= 1$, the following are the successive equations yielded:

$$HT = \cos \phi_2; FH = \cos \phi_2 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) = KM,$$

$$CT = \sin \phi_2 = HK; HL = \frac{HK}{\sin \phi_1} = \frac{\sin \phi_2}{\sin \phi_1},$$

$$KL = HK \cdot \cotg \phi_1 = \sin \phi_2 \cdot \cotg \phi_1,$$

$$ML = KM - KL = \cos \phi_2 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \sin \phi_2 \cdot \cotg \phi_1,$$

$$EF = \cos \phi_2 \cdot \sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1).$$

It further follows from the two right-angled triangles HKL and LMQ that:

$$\frac{MQ}{ML} = \frac{HK}{HL}; MQ = ML \cdot \frac{HK}{HL}$$

$$MQ = [\cos \phi_2 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \sin \phi_2 \cdot \cotg \phi_1] \cdot \sin \phi_1$$

$$= \cos \phi_2 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) \cdot \sin \phi_1 - \sin \phi_2 \cdot \cos \phi_1.$$

Finally

$$\cotg \alpha = \frac{FS}{EF} = \frac{MQ}{EF} =$$

$$= \frac{\cos \phi_2 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) \cdot \sin \phi_1 - \sin \phi_2 \cdot \cos \phi_1}{\cos \phi_2 \cdot \sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}$$

or

$$\cotg \alpha = \frac{\sin \phi_1 \cdot \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \cos \phi_1 \cdot \tang \phi_2}{\sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)},$$

but the latter formula is simply the well known cotangent equation of spherical trigonometry, applied to the spherical triangle ΩPM in fig. 1. This formula at once gives the angle α . A full discussion of all possible cases of the situation of the place Ω with reference to Mecca cannot be entered into here; the author gives no numerical examples.

The ascertainment of the azimuth of the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$, as given by al-Birūnī (d. 1048) in *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (Berlin, MS. Orient. 275, Maḳāla 5, chap. 6, f. 123r) is of a similar geometrical nature to the solution already given to the problem by Ibn Haitham, mentioned above, although of course much shorter. The late Arab astronomers, so far as we can judge, had made no progress beyond those of the middle ages in their $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$ calculation. We know the process followed by Maḥmūd b. Muḥ. b. 'Umar al-Djaghminī (d. c. 1345) in his *Mulakhkhaṣ*; it is the approximative method already known to us. The Samarḳand astronomer Ulugh Beg used spherical trigonometry for ascertaining the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$.

To the xvth century belong two pamphlets dealing specially with the direction of Mecca, namely one by Miram Čelebi (d. 1524/1525) entitled: *Risāla fī Taḥkīk Samt al-Ḳibla* (Constantinople, Library of the Aya Sofya, 2628) and the other by Khalil Ghars al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Naḳīb al-Halabī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1563/1564): *Fī 'Sṭikhrādj al-Ḳibla* (Cairo). These two works begin with various horizon operations (*A'māl afakiya*) such as ascertaining the four cardinal points, the azimuth etc., after which comes the trigonometrical calculation of the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$. In the first of the above mentioned treatises the already often mentioned approximative method is again explained (for the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$ of Constantinople).

In modern times the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$ has become a subject of orthographical studies. Thus J. I. Craig repeatedly mentions a "Mecca retro-azimuthal projection", the object of which is to make a map in which the true direction of the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$ can at once be read for any point on it. On such a map meridians are taken to be parallel equidistant straight lines. If one combines with this quality of retro-azimuthality accuracy in defining the distance from the centre in such a map in addition to the azimuth of the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$, the shortest distance of every place from Mecca could be read. C. Schoy has published a sketch of the map, in which of course the straightness of the meridional lines is dropped.

A table of plans with the corresponding *inḥirāf* of the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$ is given in the Gotha MS. Arab. 1483, which is a fragment of the astronomical tables of Ibn al-Shāṭir (d. 1375/1376).

Bibliography: On the $\mathbf{\bar{Q}}ibla$ in al-Battānī cf. C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatēnii opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i., chap. lvi., p. 137; J. B. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du moyen-âge*, Paris 1819, p. 57—60; C. Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923, p. 40—42; chap. 28 of the *Zīj al-Kabīr al-Ḥākimī* of Ibn Yūnus is translated and annotated in C. Schoy, *Gnomonik*, etc., p. 36—40; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Buzdjānī's process, *ibid.*, p. 84—86; al-Nairizī's work: "On the Direction of the $\mathbf{\bar{Q}}ibla$ ", is translated and annotated by C. Schoy in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Ak. d. Wissensch.*, math. phys. Kl., 1922, p. 55—68; and the "Essay by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Haitham (Alhazen)

on ascertaining the direction of the $\mathbf{\bar{Q}}ibla$ ", by do. in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1921, p. 242—254. The *Mulakhkhaṣ* of al-Djaghminī has been published in a German translation by Rudloff and Hochheim in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1893 (cf. p. 37). Details of the process for finding the $\mathbf{\bar{q}}ibla$ by Ulugh Beg are given in L. Am. Sédillot, *Prolegomènes des Tables astronomiques d'Ouloug-Beg*, Paris 1853, p. 120 sqq., and on that of 'Alī Shāh etc., in do., *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire comparée des sciences mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, Paris 1845—1849, i. 297. On cartographical representation of the $\mathbf{\bar{Q}}ibla$ cf. J. I. Craig, *The Theory of Map-Projections with special reference to the projection used in the Egyptian Survey Department*, Cairo 1911, and C. Schoy, *Die Mekka- oder Qiblakarte (Kartographische und Schulgeogr. Ztschr., Vienna 1917, p. 184).* (C. SCHÖY)

AL-KIBRĪT, sulphur. It is numbered by al-Ḳazwīnī among the oily bodies along with quicksilver, the various kinds of tar, naphtha and ambergris. Other writers include it among the ethers, the evanescent bodies, with the two kinds of *zurnikh* (sulphide of arsenic, orpiment, and realgar), sal-ammoniac and quicksilver.

Among the Arabs, as before them in Pseudo-Aristotle, three kinds of sulphur are distinguished, the red of fine quality, the pure yellow, and the white; the latter would be the so-called "bath-sulphur" which smells of sulphuretted hydrogen. Red, probably quite mythical, sulphur is said to be found in the west in the vicinity of the sea and to be very rare. A man possessing unique qualities is therefore called "red sulphur". Flowers of sulphur were obtained from ferrous sulphide by roasting. The important uses of sulphur are for explosives in fireworks and for the colouring of metals. One series of metals becomes black with sulphur, e. g. lead and silver; sulphur silver is used in niello inlaying; the quicksilver also becomes black at first but on being heated red (cinnabar). Sulphur had many uses in medicine (cf. Ibn al-Baitār, al-Ḳazwīnī etc.).

In its natural state sulphur is found in three forms; all these were known to the Arabs.

1. In gypsum, chalk beds etc. lumps of sulphur occur; in this form it was exported from al-Ghūr in the land of the Jordan (al-Mukaddasi, p. 184); it was also found in this form in Persia, Balūčistān and Sicily.

2. It is found in volcanoes, extinct as well as active, e. g. on Etna, Demāwend etc.

3. It is obtained from sulphur springs; for example there are hot sulphur springs at Dawraq al-Furs in Khuzistān, at which yellow sulphur is found (Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 242. Information on the occurrence of sulphur in the east is given in C. Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, part i., 1904, p. 80 and 87; B. Dammer and O. Tietze, *Die nutzbaren Mineralien*, part i., 1913, p. 93; O. Stutzer, *Die wichtigsten Lagerstätten der "Nicht-Erze"*, i. 1911, p. 251).

Among the alchemists sulphur has numerous epithets (cf. J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, lvii., *Alchemistische Decknamen in S.B.P.M.S.*, Erl., lvi., 1924, p. 17—36). It is described as the yellow, red, or white bride, or wax. Its colouring properties procured it the name of the "colouring spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ṣābiḡ*); the asphyxiating smell

of burning sulphur gave it the name of *al-hannāk* (the asphyxiator); it was also called the "letter of the escaped" (*ḥaid al-ābik*) i.e. of quicksilver which combines with sulphur to form solid cinnabar. Some other epithets are given in *Shams al-Din al-Dimishki* (op. cit.); e.g. "cockscorn" (*ʿarāf al-dika*); "sea-bird" (*ḥair al-bahr*), "pomegranate-seed" (*ḥabb al-rummān*), "liquid yāḳūt" (*al-yāḳūt al-dhāib*) etc. See M. Berthelot, *La chimie au Moyen-âge*, ii.; al-Tughraʾī in *Kitāb al-Djawhar al-nadīr fī Ṣināʿat al-Iksir* (Berlin, Ahlwardt's *Katalog*, No. 18361).

According to the natural philosophers sulphur is composed of atoms of water, air and earth. Mixed and exposed to great heat they become coherent and form an oil which on cooling down becomes solid.

According to the teaching of the alchemists, sulphur along with quicksilver plays the main part in the formation of the most varied substances, especially metals. Here however sulphur and quicksilver are only general terms which have nothing to do with ordinary sulphur or quicksilver.

Bibliography: al-Kazwīnī, *Kitāb ʿAdjāib al-Maḥlūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 243; J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie* etc., *Fahresbericht 1895/96 der Oberrealschule Heidelberg*, p. 42; Ibn al-Baitār, *Djāmiʿ al-Mufradāt* under al-Kibrīt deals very fully with the subject; *Shams al-Din al-Dimishki*, *Tuḥfat al-Dahr fī ʿAdjāib al-Barr wa ʿl-Bahr*, p. 58 and Mehren's transl., 62 sqq.; J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, p. 101, Heidelberg 1912; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge I: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie*, S.B.P.M.S., Erl., 1902, xxxiv., p. 55—58; do., *Beiträge XXIV: zur Geschichte der Chemie*, ebenda, 1911, xliii., p. 91; E. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, 1919, Berlin; and other works on Alchemy, given under AL-KIMIYĀ. (E. WIEDEMANN)

KIBT, the Copts, the name given by the Arabs to the Christians of Egypt. According to Arab writers, the word is derived from the name of a king of ancient Egypt, *Kibt*, who is said to have been a descendant of Noah. It was thought in Europe that this word derived its origin from the town of *Coptos* or that it was a corruption of *Jacobites*. One Coptic manuscript alleges that the Greeks called the Egyptians *Koptoi* because they had their children circumcised. It is now generally agreed that the word *Kibt* is a corruption of *Aiguptios* [Kalkashandi, i. 222; iii. 413; transl. Wüstenfeld, p. 119; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 69, 82; Vansleb, (*Nouvelle Relation*), p. 6; Quatremère, *Recherches sur la lang. et la litt. de l'Égypte*, p. 30—32; *Égypte*, (collection) *Un(ivers) pitt(oresque)*, iii. 104; Macaire, (*Hist. de l'Égl. d'Alexandrie*), p. 5—6; B. I. E., 1894, p. 20; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, i. 370; Lane, *Manners* 4, ii. 274; Stern, *Copt. Gramm.*, p. 1; Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 2; *ibid.*, ii. 5].

The Copts and the Arab Conquest. When the Arabs conquered Egypt in 640, for nearly twelve centuries the country had been under foreign domination. Egypt had ultimately sunk to the level of a colony administered by the prefects of the Byzantine Empire. The hatred of the Egyptians for their masters, nourished by bondage, must have increased to such a degree during the Byzantine period that it restored to the natives the feeling of their lost nationality.

Under the caliphate of ʿUmar and, somewhat against his desire according to Muslim tradition, the Arab army conquered Egypt [Makrizi, ed. Wiet, iii. 143—156; v. 14—39; (Caetani), *Chron. (ograpbia)*, p. 219—220, 227—228, 240; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 273 sqq.; *Dict. (d')arch. (chrét.)*, iv. 2474—2476; *ibid.*, ii. 6]. It seems little likely that the Arab general ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs wished to confront the Caliph with the *fait accompli* [Caetani, *Annali*, iv. 85—86; *ibid.*, i. 339; ii. 5; for the opposite view: J. Maspero, *Organ. (de l'Ég. byzantine)*, p. 9; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 309—310]. Indeed the conquest of Egypt took place at a moment when the Persians, crushed two years previously at Kādisiyya, were unable to create any diversion and when the Byzantines, cut off from Egypt by the Arab occupation of Palestine and of Syria, were unable to come to its assistance.

The Greek army in Egypt was defeated, because the rôle of police which it had played, had not prepared it for war and because, moreover, it was composed mainly of Copts. Besides, in the sixth century a certain number of high officials were of native origin. The native population, long exposed to humiliating treatment by the Byzantines, did not render them assistance in this new conflict, and the Greeks could not even count upon their neutrality [J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 5, 16, 42—43, 49—50, 83—84, 95; Amelineau, *Actes (d. Martyrs)*, p. 3; Rouillard, *Admin(istration) civile (de l'Égypte byzantine)*, p. 15, 164, 193; J. Maspero, *Hist. (des) Patr(iarches d'Alexandrie)*, p. 39]. The manifestations of Egyptian nationalism, which date from the fourth century, took an unexpected development after the council of Chalcedony. In the absence of a well-defined Jacobite dogma, there are good grounds for thinking that the Egyptians were Monophysites, because their bishops had founded the doctrine and Severus of Ashmūnain says that the Chalcedonian thesis had not been able to penetrate into a certain convent "because all the monks there were Egyptians" [*P(atrologia) O(rientalis)*, i. 498; cf. J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 16—17, 24—25, 49—51, 53; *Annali*, iv. 65—86]. In fact the Egyptians almost welcomed the Arabs as liberators. "It was no little advantage for us", writes Michael the Syrian (transl. Chabot, iii. 413; cf. also p. 222), "to be delivered from the cruelty of the Romans, from their malice, from their anger, from their cruel zeal against us and to find ourselves at peace" (cf. *Annali*, iv. 85; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 250; Basset, *Mélanges (africains et orientaux)*, p. 2). The same writer (ii. 432—433), who, although late, is habitually well informed, definitely asserts that the patriarch Benjamin gave up Egypt to the Arabs in return for a promise given that the latter would give back to the Jacobites their churches. The bishop of Nikiou, always very accurate in the facts which he recounts, records strange defections amongst the native leaders, and declares that certain garrisons refused to fight against the Muslims and even rendered them assistance [Johannes of Nikiou, transl. Zotenberg, p. 357, 559—561, 563, 570, 573, 585; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (ed. Torrey), p. 58—59, 73; Eutychius (ed. Cheikh), ii. 24; Abū Ṣāliḥ, f 80; P. O., xi. 563; Makrizi, ed. Būlak, ii. 492; Macaire, p. 231—234; J. Maspero, *Organ*, 126, 131—132; Rouillard, *admin. civile*, 220 sqq., *Rev. historique*, cxix. 303—304]. Indirect evidence is also furnished by the numerous "ḥadīth" of the Prophet in which

he recommends the Muslims to treat the Copts well (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 99). The historical romance *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, also shows that the troops who resisted were mainly Greeks, that the enemy contingents comprised Arab Christian elements and that the natives were often disloyal (transl. Goltier, p. 38, 85, 89, 95, 105—106, 128—129, 154, 161).

The vanity of the Copts enabled them to find an excuse for their conduct. They already regarded Alexander, Diocletian and Theodore as their compatriots, they boasted of having received numerous prophets, they had put forward the hypothesis that Jesus must have been born in Egypt, they held that their church had been founded by Saint Mark, an assertion which remains to be proved, that their country had furnished the first martyr, before St. Stephen (J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 26, 108; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *fos* 20—21, 47; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 2, 126; Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 13—14, 30, 38, 163 *sqq.*; *J. A.*, 1887, i. 24—26; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1098—1101). Muḥammad is believed to have ordered the Arabs to be kind to the Copts because Hagar, the slave of Abraham, and Māriya, the concubine of the Prophet, were Copts (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 2—4; Suhaili, i. 12; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 97 *sqq.*; *Muntakhab Kanz al-'Unmāl*, iv. 270, 316; v. 310). Finally the conqueror of Egypt was predestined for his mission, because, in the course of a former journey, he had been present in Alexandria at the games in the circus and the ball, which, thrown at hazard, was to point out the future sovereign of the country, fell upon him (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iii. 125—128; *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. 241—242; this without denying the existence of such divinatory proceedings; Michael the Syrian, iii. 57; *R. M. M.*, lvi. 85; Huart, *Perse antique*, p. 60).

Another factor, the help of neighbouring Arab tribes of Egypt, also played a part, but it is impossible to estimate its value. A number of Arab tribes led a nomadic life on the coast from the Red Sea, from Sinai up to the Thebaid, and it has been noted that Strabo describes Koptos as a town under the Arabs (J. Maspero *Organ.*, p. 13, 66; Lesquier, *L'armée romaine, M. I. F. A. O.*, xli. 426—427; *ibid.*, ii. 7).

The Islamisation, its Progress and Causes. The Arabs imposed upon Egypt a treaty, of which Ṭabarī claims to give the accurate text [Ṭabarī, i. 2588; cf. Ḳalkaṣhandī, xiii. 324; *Bib. (Bibliothèque des Arab(isants))*, ii. 168—170; Lane-Poole, *Egypt (in the middle Ages)*, p. 7; Clermont-Ganneau, *R. A. O.*, v. 186—194; Butler, *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*], which must be compared with the similar treaties concluded in other countries [Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, transl. Fagnan, p. 108 *sqq.*, 195, 214 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, i. 858; Ḳalkaṣhandī, xiii. 357—359; Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, p. 36—41; *Annali*, ii. 349—352, 792; iii. 22—28, 221—222, 381—382, 562; iv. 40, 43, 354; v. 459—460; vii. 178, 257; *J. A.*, 1852, i. 101—102; 1894, ii. 222—223; Goldziher, *Dogme et loi de l'Islam*, p. 29—30; *Mustatraf*, Cairo 1285, i. 134—135; Mach, xii. 609—618, 674—682; *B. I. F. O. A.*, iv. 211; Muir, *Caliphate* (1915) p. 134 *sqq.*]. The Christians of Egypt were treated like the other non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) of the growing Arab Empire. They had to pay a personal tax (*ḡizya*), fixed in Egypt at two dinārs for each adult male, in recognition of which they enjoyed

the protection of the Muslims (*dhimma*). This statement is found throughout the Arab literature, but the papyri show it is inaccurate, in as much as the tax was proportionate to one's fortune (*Rev. historique*, cxix. 280). In a word, this régime was at first the prototype of the modern protectorate; the Muslim government assured the Christians of protection for themselves and for their property; those who did not receive a share in the distribution of the *diwān* were not obliged to give military service.

The treaty in Ṭabarī omits two important articles in the other treaties: the rules laid down in regard to dress and the question of religious buildings. The situation of the Christians in Egypt will be here examined in detail in chronological order, but for the sake of clearness it is better to examine these two questions separately.

The alleged edicts of 'Umar forbade the Christians to adopt in their garments and in their turbans the same colour as that of the Muslims; they had to wear a distinctive piece of material (*ghiyār*) as well as the belt called *sunṇār* (*J. A.*, 1852, i. 111, 115; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, ii. 103—104). It seems, however, that such a regulation was really much later and owes its origin to Hārūn al-Raṣhid (*J. A.*, 1894, i. 175; below ii. 169; cf. however, Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27). But the most celebrated edict, and one that is recorded by the historians of Egypt, emanated from Mutawakkil [Ya'ḳūbī, *Hist.*, ii. 594; Eutychius, ii. 59; Ṭabarī, iii. 1389 *sqq.*; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *p.* 52; Ḳalkaṣhandī, i. 256; xiii. 366; Maḳrīzī, *Bulāk*, ii. 494; Renaudot, (*Hist. patr. alex.*), p. 293—300, 608—609; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 298; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 39; Lammens, *La Syrie*, i. 137]. These measures were revived by al-Ḥakim, who made them more severe; by Badr Djamālī in 479 (= 1086); by the caliph Zāfir in an ephemeral fashion; and lastly by Shīrkūh [Yaḥya (al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikh), p. 187, 195, 202—203; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *s. a.*, p. 398, 411; Ḳalkaṣhandī, xiii. 359—360; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii. 247; Maḳrīzī, ed. *Bulāk*, ii. 286—288, 495—496, 507; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 101, note; Quatremère, *Mém. (sur l'Égypte)*, ii. 447; Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 189; Renaudot, p. 463, 519; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 196]. We only know of one Aiyūbid decree (Renaudot, p. 587), but in 700 (1301), Sulṭān Malik Nāṣir, at the instigation of an African, vigorously enforced the ancient ordinances [Ḳalkaṣhandī, xiii. 377—387; Maḳrīzī, *Bulāk*, ii. 489—499; Quatremère, (*Hist. des sultans*) *Mamlouks*, ii., *b.*, 117 *sqq.*; Ibn Iyās, i. 143; Renaudot, p. 602—603; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 300; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 301; 'Alī Pāsha (Mubarak, *Khifāt*), i. 32; iii. 101; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 378]. The Copts however freed themselves by paying a sum annually which in 709 (1309) aroused the wrath of Ibn Taimiya (*Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 559—560). The decree was not long in force since it was necessary to revive it in 721 (1321), in 755 (1356), in 820 (1417) and in 854 (1450) [Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, vii. 186; Ibn Iyās, i. 201; Sakhāwī, (*Tibṛ masbūk*), p. 306; Dozy, *Dict. des noms de vêtements*, p. 28; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 246—247, 260; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2479]. From these successive renewals it can be concluded that these regulations quickly fell into disuse (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, lxxxviii. 95). The Ottoman governors revived them once more ('Alī Pāsha, i. 57; Djabarti, French

transl., iii. 275; iv. 208—209); Muḥammad 'Alī is said to have abolished them in 1807, and it was in vain that subordinate officials attempted to re-establish them in 1816 and in 1817 (*B.I.E.*, 1900, p. 133—139; *Djabartī*, ix. 247—248, 266). The Coptic clergy have kept to the present day the custom of wearing black turbans.

The question of religious buildings received more attention from the Muslim rulers. The conditions laid down by 'Umar are Draconian: The Christians are forbidden to build any new church or any convent and it is further forbidden to rebuild edifices which had fallen into ruins (*J. A.*, 1852, i. 110; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, v. 117, in 3; *ibid.*, ii. 761). In practice, in return for a money payment the Christians were allowed to repair their churches and their convents and even erect new buildings. On their settlement in the country the Muslims converted some churches into mosques; this was the regular practice under the Umayyads in the whole Muslim Empire (Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 1065, 1175; van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 51—52; Thiersch, *Pharos*, p. 212). The Christians of Egypt had earlier installed certain churches in temples of the Pharaohs (*Dict. arch.*, iv. 2455 sq.). Even when they built a completely new mosque, the Muslims took the materials from the churches, especially the columns (*P. O.*, x. 512—515; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 6; Derenbourg, *Oumara*, ii. 151, n. 4); this was in the eyes of the Muslims the right of the conqueror. It seems, however, that the legal theory of "new churches" scarcely dates back to the second (viiith) century, for during the first century the Christians could build and restore as they desired (Eutychius, ii. 41; *P. O.*, iii. 268; v. 24, 42, 119; vii. 399—400; xi. 606; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos 23, 29, 53; Maḳrīzī, *Bulāḳ*, ii. 492; Renaudot, p. 178, 179, 184; Marcel, *Égypte*, 28; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, 26; *B.I.F.A.O.*, i. 143; *Chronographia*, p. 520, 589, 618, 758, 775, 825—826, 939; *ibid.*, ii. 8). This liberal official attitude was not in accordance with the sentiment of the mass of the people and a permit to rebuild in 117 (735) caused a riot (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, v. 91). Numerous Christian buildings were demolished in the course of the struggle against the last Umayyad (Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos. 60, 78), but these were acts of war. Under popular pressure towards the year 170 (786) the governor 'Alī b. Sulaimān ordered the churches founded since the Muslim conquest to be destroyed, a measure rescinded by his successor after a consultation of jurists (Kindī, p. 131—132; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fo 23; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, v. 117—118; *Bulāḳ* ed., ii. 493, 511; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 32); and building on the finest scale went on again, in spite of the protestations of the people (Eutychius, ii. 58; *P. O.*, x. 418—419, 460; Kindī, p. 554—555; Ibn Sa'īd, ed. Tallqvist, p. 32—33). With the Fātimids a great era of prosperity opened for the Coptic churches and the convents, — except under al-Ḥākim, which will be discussed later. Besides, the decision really rested with the Christians who filled the government offices (*P. O.*, iii. 387—388; xi. 561; Yaḥyā, p. 186, 229, 231—234; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos 17, 24—25, 27, 30—37, 39, 41—42, 44, 48—50, 61—62, 66—67, 69, 78, 81—82; Ibn Muyassar, p. 79; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. 78—79; Maḳrīzī, *Bulāḳ* ed., ii. 283; Renaudot, p. 370; Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 131; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 119, 170). More strict in regard to the Copts, the Aiyūbids began

by despoiling the churches of a part of their revenue, and while authorizing certain restorations, they did not hesitate to do away with buildings which annoyed them. Besides, the wars with the Crusaders brought about the ruin of many churches. It is from the Aiyūbid period that the ruin of the convents dates (*P. O.*, xi. 617; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos. 7, 27—28, 33, 38—39, 45, 59, 81—82, 88, 90; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 518, 559—560; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 28; Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 222; *ibid.*, ii. 44). But the real catastrophe dates from the reign of Malik Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn; after being withheld in 700 (1301) the mob rushed to attack the Christian buildings throughout the whole of Egypt in 721 (1321); sixty churches were demolished and according to Muslim writers many convents were henceforth deserted (*P. O.*, xiv. 459; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 208—209, note; *Bulāḳ* ed., ii. 511—517; Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, ii. b, 179 sqq.; Sakhāwī, p. 73; 'Alī Pāshā, i. 35; iii. 98—101; vi. 74 sqq.; Quatremère *Mém.*, ii. 225—249; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 301, 310—312; *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xxii. 393; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2476—2482; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 300—302; *ibid.*, ii. 8). Churches were again demolished in 755 (1354) and a large part of their revenues was confiscated. In the course of the ninth (fifteenth) century the regulations of the Caliph 'Umar are said to have been at different times solemnly revived (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 296; *Bulāḳ* ed., ii. 499—500; Sakhāwī, p. 36—40, 124—125, 145; Ibn Jyās, i. 206—207; ii. 35; *Bull. Soc. Géogr. d'Égypte*, xiii. 79; 'Alī Pāshā, i. 38; *B.I.E.*, 1907, p. 167). Under Ottoman rule the authorities permitted the restoration and even the foundation of churches, although amongst Muslim legal circles less liberal doctrines were still upheld until the beginning of the nineteenth century ('Alī Pāshā, vi. 84—85; *Djabartī*, iv. 20; v. 218; viii. 246).

After elucidating these two points, we can now review in chronological order the main events in the history of the Copts under Islām. The chief concern of the Caliph was to make no change in the administration of Egypt. He appointed a governor general sometimes the position was held by two officials, the one undertaking the political administration, the other financial; the political governor had under him two subordinates, a prefect of police and a *ḳāḍī*. The military occupation was reduced to a certain number of posts (*ribāṭ* or *māḥūz*) scattered along the Mediterranean coast and on the desert frontiers of the Delta. Under 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (65—86 = 685—705) there were 30,000 men. The country remained divided into pagarchies called *kūra*, transcription of *Χώρα*; at its head was the *ṣāḥib al-kūra*, translation of *πάγρχος*; the subordinate officials also bear Greek names; these are the *djastāl* (*αντιστάλιος*) the *māzūt*, the origin of which is not known for certain, the *gh(a)rāfis* (*γραφερός*). — Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Gloss.*, 48, 58; Kindī, p. 418—419; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 114, 323; *Bulāḳ* ed., ii. 259; Michael, iii. 475; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux (pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte)*, p. 170—171; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2836; *Isl.*, ii. 254—255, 361 sqq.; xv. 95—96; Bell, *Aphrod. Papyri*, xvii. sqq., xxxv. sqq., 15, 65, 78, 447; *W. Z. K. M.*, xx. 114; *Z. A.*, xx. 76; *Klio*, ix. 206—209; *B. I. F.*, xi. 155—161. — The absolute impossibility which the Arabs found of governing by means of methods of their own is sufficiently established by the papyri. The

Arab occupation lived by the institutions which it found in Egypt and allowed itself to be administered by Copts who were supervised and docile. According to the papyri and the authors, all the provincial officials were Copts during the first hundred years of the occupation until the end of the Umayyad period (*P. O.*, v. 5, 9–10, 12, 18, 48, 57, 64; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 249, n. 3; Michael, ii. 475; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 15; *Annali*, v. 319–455; *Chronographia*, p. 253, 296, 758, 911, 1091, 1112, 1164; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 167; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 21, 27, 37, 42; *P. E. R. Mitt.*, i. 6–7; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. xxxiii.; *Z. A.*, xx. 72–75, 77; *Isl.*, ii. 245–246, 257–258, 271, 361, 364–365, 381; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 10–12, 172, 229; Monneret de Villard, *Scultura ad Ahnäs*, p. 23; *ibid.*, ii. 8, 12–15). The fiscal organisation was also modelled on the Byzantine, without regard for the rules otherwise laid down by the Muslim doctrine. The Christians, old men, women and children excepted, had to pay from 40 dirhams to 4 dinārs, to provide for the upkeep of the army, corn, oil, honey, cloth and to procure a lodging for a period of three days for every Muslim. The Copt officials continued to collect the Annona corn which was sent to Medina (Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 322–323; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 178; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 112; Becker, *Beiträge z. Gesch. Ägypt.*, ii. 84–85; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 42 sqq.; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. xxv. sqq.; 5; *Isl.*, ii. 251–252, 271, 277–278, 282, 382, 384; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 85; *Chronographia*, p. 241; *J. A.*, 1886, i. 440; Bourdon, *Anc. canaux, anc. sites et ports de Suez*, p. 6 sqq.; *M. I. Égypte*, vi. 20).

At the very first the Copts were happier than under the Byzantine régime; the exiled bishops with the patriarch at their head once more took possession of their sees. They lived in such peace that they played no part in the grave events in which the Muslim troops of Egypt participated — the assassination of 'Uthmān, the duel between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya, the rivalry of Ibn Zubair. The Arabs did not persecute anyone on account of his religious ideas (*P. O.*, i. 495–497; v. 12; Renaudot, p. 160; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 340–361; *Annali*, v. 4).

It would, however, be wrong to extend this observation to the Umayyads and especially to contrast the toleration of the Umayyads, "who did not seek to make proselytes", with the spirit of persecution which is said to characterize the 'Abbasids (*Dict. Arch.*, iii. 2829, 2841). No doubt the Jacobites had cause to rejoice at being given back the churches formerly confiscated by the Melkites; besides, although it did not compensate for the converts to Islām, the adhesion to the Monophysites must be noticed of a few Melkites, with the object of escaping the double *djizya*, which was imposed upon them by Kurra b. Sharik's principal adviser, naturally a Jacobite (*P. O.*, i. 341; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 39; *Isl.*, ii. 364; *Chronographia*, p. 1091). It is, however, stated in accurate texts that the Umayyad governors were not always kind to the Copts (*P. O.*, v. 13–16, 54–57, 60–61, 68, 75–76, 86, 92, 94–95; xvi. 233–234; Abū Ṣālih, fol. 83–84; *Chronographia*, p. 1024, 1091). It is necessary to add that it was a question of taxation which became more and more severe and not of religious persecution

in the narrow sense of the word. Besides, the Copts, with very rare exceptions which will be noted, were never put in the position of having to apostacise to save their lives, and we do not find throughout the whole history of Muslim Egypt a single measure that can be compared with the persecution of Diocletian. It shows contempt for historical statements to oppose Byzantine toleration to Muslim fanaticism (*M. F. O. B.*, i. 109; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 362–363). Finally it may be mentioned for this first period that Christian annals were compiled in the monasteries, and that the monks took good care to describe as persecutions measures which deprived them of the advantage of remaining a privileged class (Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 33).

Under the Umayyads as well as under the 'Abbasids the Christians enjoyed liberty of worship. The governors only took care to have their Coptic lessons and prayers translated for them in order to be sure that they contained no insults to Islām. The bishops were allowed to meet in councils; the government watched over these councils, especially in the case of the election of a patriarch. It enquired also into the relations which the clergy were allowed to enter into with a foreign power. The Christian writers praise the liberalism of the Caliph Hishām; but at this time the fiscal system was well established and applied without favour (*P. O.*, v. 24, 28–29, 34–37, 51, 56, 68, 73–75, 194; x. 371; Renaudot, p. 190; *Chronographia*, p. 825, 864, 952, 1337, 1340, 1472; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 283–284).

We shall now give a chronological exposition of the measures which were prescribed. In the year 70 (689) the religious emblems on the outside of the churches were destroyed. Since the monks at first had been exempt from the *djizya* many Copts assumed the robe in order to escape the tax. But these monks, according to the testimony of Byzantine authors, possessed considerable wealth. From before the year 86 (705) the monks were subjected to a tribute and forced to pay one dinār a year (*P. O.*, v. 51, where the absurd *أخصى*

must be corrected and its translation "mutilated"). This edict promulgated by 'Umar II whose tolerant spirit is specially mentioned by Christian authors, was renewed by Usāma b. Zaid, under drastic conditions. In 87 (706) Arabic became obligatory for all administrative offices. Some years later Kurra b. Sharik, whom the Muslims revile as much as the Christians, impoverished the churches to such an extent that the priests had to use chalices of glass and wooden dishes. It was the same governor who appears to have seen to it that the lower ranks of officials were Muslims, but the measure was not made general until the year 100 (718). The Caliphs Walid and Yazid II renewed in the year 95 (714) and 104 (722) the order to suppress religious emblems. In 109 (727) immediately after the first revolts of which we are going to speak, the government settled in the eastern region of the Delta 5,000 Arabs of the tribe of Kaïs. Finally in the year 112 (730) in order to obtain a better return from the taxes and following the example of what had been done in other parts of the Muslim Empire a general census of the population was taken (Tabari, tr. Zotenberg, iii. 229; Abū Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, p. 64–65; Kindī, p. 69, 76–77; *P. O.*, v. 24, 62, 64, 67, 70–73, 101–102; xvii. 679; Michael, ii.

450; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 335—336; Bülak, ii. 492—493; Renaudot, p. 190, 193, 198; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 32—35, 37; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, ii. 38, 84; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 193—194; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 297—298; Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 171—172; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 342, 347—349; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 99—100, 104, 121, 126—127; *Isl.*, ii. 363—364, 370—371; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. xxxv. sqq.; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 45, 76; *Chronographia*, p. 527, 826, 1088, 1164, 1265, 1284, 1286, 1310; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 278—279; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 55—56, 60; *R. S. O.*, viii. 189; *C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, ii. 8; *ibid.*, § iii.).

The Copts endeavoured by every means to escape from this tax. When it was useless to take refuge in the monasteries they decided to quit the villages where they were registered and to settle in other districts where, being not so well known, they had a chance of escaping the tax. This movement of "fugitives" (φυγάδες = *ḡāliya*) was almost general and every effort was made by the government to thwart it. No one was allowed to go out of his native district without being furnished with a passport, a measure which has wrongly been represented as vexatious; the delinquents were to be branded with a red hot iron (*P. O.*, v. 64, 69—70; [Pseudo-] Denys, tr. Chabot, p. 123—124; Renaudot, p. 199, 201; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 37; Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 6, 9, 115, 171; *B. I. E.*, 1880, p. 10—11, 100; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; *Isl.*, ii. 257—258, 269—270, 273—276, 279, 367—369, 378—380; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 40; Bell, *Aphrod. Pap.*, p. xv., xl.—i., xlvii. 57; *Z. A.*, xx. 96—97; xxii. 139 sqq.; *Chronographia*, p. 1025, 1211; *B. I. E.*, 1908, p. 107; *M.F.O.B.*, xi. 159—160).

Finally the Copts decided upon open rebellion for fiscal reasons. Blood flowed in Egypt, principally on the Delta, for more than a century. The first insurrection took place in 107 (725). Rebellions followed in 121 (739), 132 (750), 135 (752), 150 (767), 156 (773). Lower Egypt was then convulsed by risings which have nothing especially Coptic about them which — it must be said in passing — show already the numerical weakness of the Christian element. They lasted from 194 to 211 (809—826) and were a repercussion of the struggle for the Caliphate between Amīn and Ma'mūn; the chief part was played at Alexandria by the Spanish Arabs exiled from Cordova (Kindi, p. 73—74, 81, 94, 96, 102, 116, 119; *P. O.*, v. 76, 188—189; x. 427—428; Michael, ii. 500—501; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 333—334; iii. 181—185, 201—207; Bülak, ii. 492—493; Ibn Rāhib (ed. Cheikhō), p. 126; Renaudot, p. 226 sqq., 251 sqq.; *Bib. des Arabisants*, ii. 191—192; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 153—156, 197—198, 201—212; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 29—31, 35—36; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 109, 115, 120; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 31, 42, 47, 59, 76, 99, 103, 110, 137, 209; *Chronographia*, p. 1107, 1351, 1524; Caetani, *Cron. generale*, i. 65, 88; *ibid.*, i. 32).

The Coptic risings begun under Umayyad domination cannot then be put down to any particular brutality of the 'Abbāsids; the governors of the new dynasty were led to regard the natives as rebels. The 'Abbāsids increased the burden of

taxation, but not especially on the Copts, since it was on this account that the Arabs revolted in the Delta in 78 (794), 186 (802), 191 (807) and in 214—215 (829—830). At this latter date, the Christians of the central part of Lower Egypt called Bashmūrītes, entered into the struggle. The physician Ibn Riḍwān at a later date remarked upon their ferocity and their stupidity. Their conduct scandalised the Christians themselves, and the Coptic clergy strove in vain to calm their unruliness. The Caliph Ma'mūn, at the time in Syria, was induced to come to Egypt; very liberal, he charged an ecclesiastic of his suite, the patriarch Denys of Tell-Mahrē, with the task of obtaining by kindness the submission of the rebels. The Bashmūrītes would not yield; they were crushed by Afshīn and a large number were massacred. A number of survivors, including women and children, were transported to the region of Baghdād where some of them covered themselves with glory fighting against the Zuṭṭ (Kindi, p. 190—192; Eutychius, ii. 120—121; *P. O.*, x. 486—502; Ibn Rāhib, p. 129; Michael, iii. 76—84; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 203, 334, 337—340; iii. 3, n. 7, 141, 186; Bülak, ii. 494; Renaudot, p. 272 sqq., 279 sqq.; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 156—161, 170—174; *Bib. des Arabisants*, i. 256—257, 263; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 38; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 120—121; *Mitt(heilungen) P(apyri) E(rzherzog) R(ainer)*, i. 96; *R. O. C.*, xiv. 279; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 32, 43—45). This was the last rebellion of the Copts: "From that time they were in subjection throughout all the Egyptian territory, and their power was definitely crushed. None of them had the power to revolt or even resist the Government; the Muslims were the majority in the villages" (Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 334—335; Bülak, ii. 1; ed. ii., p. 494; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 198).

Denys of Tell-Mahrē has left a very severe judgment on the Coptic clergy. He is indignant at their ignorance and rages against the simony which flourished everywhere (Michael, iii. 80; *Bibl. d. Arabisants*, i. 257—258). The Coptic bishops retorted that the simoniacal practices were necessary for the recovery of the wealth of the church, hard hit by taxation. It is a fact that one of the first 'Abbāsīd governors condemned certain bishops to work at the Arsenal because they refused to give up their sacred vessels (*P. O.*, x. 374). This policy of an excessively severe system of taxation succeeded in emptying the monasteries. It is striking to note that the monastic inscriptions cease in the tenth century (*Dict. Arch.*, iii. 2830, 2841). However in purely religious matters the government remained tolerant. The Christians were allowed to enter the mosque to bring a law-suit before the Qāḍī. In 169 (785) a Copt who had insulted the Prophet was only put to death on the reasoned opinion of the imām Mālik who was consulted at Madīna (Kindi, p. 382, 390—391).

Before the coming of the Fāṭimids there were two attempts to gain independence, which are worthy of note here; those of the Ṭulūnids and of the Ikhshīdids. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn imprisoned the patriarch Michael III because he did not pay a fine. Here again there was no religious persecution properly so called. For this dynasty as well as that of the Ikhshīdids seems to have taken into account Christian public opinion, from which they gained support against Baghdād. It is

well known that Khumārawaih [q.v.] enamoured with art took pleasure in visiting the convents; it is reasonable to believe that the Copts knew how to profit by this. Under the Ikhshidids the influence of Christian officials appears. The government did not make peace for nothing during the popular troubles which burst forth at Fuṣṭāṭ in 349—350 (960—961) on the news of the victories of Nicephorus Phocas. On the contrary a rescript from the Caliph dated 313 (925) had already prepared a pacification throughout the whole Muslim Empire, by deciding that the *djizya* would not be imposed upon the bishops, monks and necessitous laymen. The Ikhshidids honoured by their presence the public celebrations of Christian festivals. A contemporary Muslim traveller, Maṣ'ūdī does not appear to be shocked by this (Appendix to Eutychius, ii. 292; Abū Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, p. 188; *P. O.*, xvi. 242; xviii. 717, 779—780, 782—783, 799; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *fos* 49—50; *Maṣālik al-abṣār*, i. 363; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 231; Būlaḳ ed., ii. 152—153, 494; Renaudot, p. 324; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 83; Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, p. 125; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 66, 85—86; Becker, *Beiträge*, i. 62).

This attitude of the Ikhshidid government is confirmed by the edict imposed by the first of the Fāṭimid caliphs, Mu'izz, who forbade these public rejoicings. This ostracism endured for only a short time and from the accession of his successor 'Azīz, Christian ceremonies recommenced with more pomp than in the past. Thus it was during the time of the Fāṭimids with an eclipse under Ḥākim. The favour which the Christians enjoyed is attested by one of their first acts, the transfer to Cairo of the office of patriarch. 'Azīz had a Christian wife whose two brothers he himself appointed patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Alexandria respectively. Being liberal, he encouraged controversies between Christians and Muslims and he refused to prosecute renegade Muslims. The resentment in Muslim circles must have been terrible. It explains and in part excuses the exasperation of Ḥākim who pursued the Christians with his hatred with the direct object of abating their growing influence (see the definite statement of Maḳrīzī, Būlaḳ, ii. 31, 495). But it must be remembered that Ḥākim was a ferocious persecutor. He threw to wild beasts the patriarch Zachariah, to whom, according to Christian chronicles, they did no harm; this act of brutality was perhaps committed at the instigation of a monk. He prohibited the celebration of Christian festivals, forbade the Christians to possess slaves, to have Muslims in their service; he seized the property of the Church and he caused a considerable number of crosses to be burnt. Then he passed on to the destruction of the churches with such rage that he is said, — but this is without doubt exaggerated by Muslim writers —, to have destroyed between the years 403 and 405 (1014—1016), 30,000 churches in Egypt and in Syria. He had decided upon the exile of all the Christians, but the decree was rescinded before it could be put into action. A measure of general dismissal of the Christian functionaries resulted in a complete check. In spite of everything the judgments of the *Synaxaire* on this Caliph are not malevolent (*P. O.*, iii. 289). Zāhir inaugurated his reign by a measure of justice authorising the Christians to return to their religion, who bewildered by the madness of Ḥākim had become

converts to Islām (for a condemnation to death see however Yaḥyā, p. 238). Under the Caliph Mustanṣir, the vizier Yāzūrī made the Christians submit to numerous vexations; he ordered the closing of the churches and the incarceration of the patriarch Christodoulos, under the pretext that the latter had instigated the King of Nubia not to pay the agreed tribute to Egypt. These incidents which were terminated by a heavy fine inflicted upon the patriarch were perhaps not quite unconnected with the fall and the putting to death of Yāzūrī. Under the Caliph 'Amir who liked to be entertained by the monks of the convent of Naḥya in the suburbs of Cairo, the tendency is to liberalism. Credits were provided in the budget for Christian ceremonies. Towards the end of his reign a monk Abū Naḍjāḥ played the part of a kind of prime minister to him; this monk who assumed the arrogance of a grand seigneur had the effrontery to go even into the mosque and insult the Muslims; this action cost him his life. Ḥāfiẓ, who like his predecessor, loved a sojourn in the monasteries, had as his vizier an Armenian Christian, Bahrām, who received the title of *saif al-Islām*, the "sword of Islām". However the Muslim councillors of the Caliph carried out all his commands. Bahrām, all powerful, made a large number of Armenians come to Egypt and contributed to the restoration of many churches. The Muslim revolt burst forth and overthrew the minister, his successor Riḍwān favoured a violent reaction against the Christians, driving them from the administration, bringing about confiscations, ordering even summary executions. But the country was to be troubled by the rivalries of ministers who fought for power with armed force and the Christians suffered from this state of affairs neither more nor less than the Muslims. It is in this sense that we must interpret a very touching Coptic document, the inscription of the jar found at Dair al-Aḏām, dated 872/1156 (*Ann. du Serv. des Antiquités*, i. 117—119; *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 75; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1707—1710; iii. 2866; Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, No. 8104). The incident which it commemorates should not be regarded as a persecution of the Christians, any more than we would charge the government with the plundering of the convents of Scete and the massacring of the monks by the Berbers, under the early 'Abbasids and in the time of the Fāṭimid Mustanṣir (Ibn Rāhib, p. 128; Renaudot, p. 443; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 400). Churches and convents were destroyed wherever there was fighting and naturally Christian buildings were not spared in the burning of Fuṣṭāṭ by command of Shāwar [q.v.], who had a church restored at Kūṣ. The Ghuzz troops who accompanied Shirkūh quarrelled with the Fāṭimid, negro, Turk or Armenian troops and then the Copts; just as the soldiers of Shirkūh [q.v.] violated the tomb of Shenondi at the White Convent. The *History of the Patriarchs* records the execution of a monk who refused to apostatise. This can hardly be an isolated case at this time (Yaḥyā, p. 195—197, 203—205, 235—236, 239; Ibn al-Kalānisi, p. 66—68; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *fos* 25, 43, 47, 61—66, 81—82; Ibn Rāhib, p. 135—136; Ibn Muyassar, p. 71—72, 78—79, 82, 84; *P. O.*, iii. 288, 386—387; Kaḳkashandī, viii. 260; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 226, 228—229, 231—234, 240; Būlaḳ ed., i. 357; ii. 286—288, 495—496, 507; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, ed. Popper, ii. 63, 101; Renaudot,

p. 367 sq., 381, 389—395, 399, 430, 505—507; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 247 sqq.; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 342—345, 347—348; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 108—109; Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 160, 189; *J. A.*, 1888, ii. 487—490; 1889, i. 63; 1921, ii. 105—106; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 299; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, i. 125—128, 232; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 119, 126—128, 143—144, 168—170; Becker, *Beiträge*, i. 62; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 196; xiv. 380 sq.; *Dict. arch.*, ii. 209; Derenbourg, *Oumara*, ii., fr., 266, n. 1, 306—307, 331, n. 2; Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Schâg*, i. 28; *C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, ii. commentary on N° 587; *ibid.*, i. 551, ii. 572).

The Aiyūbid regime marks a contrast with that of the Fātimids. This must have applied to religious toleration as to other political problems. The new Sultāns did not take part in Christian festivals; but it would be wrong to believe that there were persecutions. Two facts, indeed, go to prove that the Copts were not oppressed. On the one hand the churches continued to be restored, and on the other, the viith (xiiith) century was the golden age of Arab Christian literature in Egypt. The Copts had kept their posts in the government service, although in 577 (1181) Saladin had forbidden them to follow the professions of secretary and physician; however the court continued to employ Christian physicians and the officials kept their positions. The double invasion of Egypt by the Franks in 615 (1218) and in 647 (1250) certainly did not increase Muslim toleration. Life was however far from being unbearable for the Christians in Egypt since the Syrian Jacobites took refuge there from the commencement of the Crusades. Besides, we may appeal the evidence of a Christian writer to show that the government kept its sangfroid and, above all, that it made, just like the Crusaders, but *mutatis mutandis*, a distinction between the Melkites and the Jacobites (*Hist. d. Patriarches*, in Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 555—558). One of the last Aiyūbids, Malik Kāmil [q.v.] was noted for his tolerance and his relations with Frederick II are well known. It is also known that he received at his court St. Francis of Assisi and, according to a Franciscan tradition, the Sultān became a convert and retired to die at Konya. This legend has at least the merit of showing that this sovereign left no unpleasant memories in Christian circles (Ibn Abi Ūsaib'a, ii. 82 sqq.; Maḳḳārī, Cairo 1302, i. 21; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 102, 148, 309, 318, 409, 478; Renaudot, 479, 549—550; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 160—161; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 359; *J. A.*, 1888, ii. 477, 481; 1889, i. 61, 72; 1902, i. 439; 1904, i. 31, n. 5; *Machr.*, xii. 487, 490; *B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 115; *C. I. A.*, *Féruasalem*, ii. 115, n. 1; *Congr. intern. de géogr.*, Cairo 1925, v. 141 sqq.; Chéneau, *Les saints d'Égypte*, ii. 65, 388 sqq.; *Bull. Comité Art arabe*, xxi. 102; Almagia, *L'opera degli Italiani per la conoscenza dell' Egitto*, i. 107—108).

The government of the Mamlūks gave the *coup de grâce* to Christianity in Egypt, which ceased to mean anything but a number of individuals. This period which extends from 648 to 923 (1250—1517) saw the completion of the ruin of the churches and the convents, the reduction of the number of Christians to the present day proportion and the disappearance of the Coptic language. The intelligent minority of the Copts not only continued to hold offices of state, but they managed the estates of the Mamlūk officers.

They were indispensable in the management of business and some Muslim writers had the courage to recognise this, while deploring their arrogance. In order to satisfy public opinion, the government from time to time decreed their dismissal, and a month after the decree, the Copts whom they found indispensable, resumed their offices. These periodic dismissals took place in 678 (1279), 682 (1283), 700 (1301), 721 (1321), 755 (1354), 822 (1419), 825 (1422), 852 (1447) (*P. O.*, xvii. 777; Ibn Fadl Allāh, *Ta'rif*, p. 63; Kaḷkaḷshandī, viii. 36; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii. 88, 93, 110—111; Būlaḳ ed., ii. 42, 75, 85, 90, 237, 391, 497—498, 507; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, i., a, 231; ii., a, 8; b, 133, 179, 213; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, ed. Popper, vi. 398—400, 450, 456, 464, 468, 559, 665, 718, 724, 819—820, 823; vii. 160, 269, 272, p. 277, 587; Sakhāwī, 215; Ibn Iyās, i. 93, 201, 268; ii. 48—49, 67, 80, 171, 197, 255; 'Alī Pāshā, i. 27; vi. 40; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 173; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 223—225, 242, 247, 261—262, 288; *B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 126—127, 175, n. 4; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 196; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, cxvii.; Wiet, *Les secrétaires de la Chancellerie*, reprint from *Mél. R. Basset*, 22; *C. I. A.*, Jerusalem, i. 334—335; ii. 132; *ibid.*, i. 683, 846).

The government during normal times maintained courteous relations with the Coptic Patriarch, on whom the Mamlūk chancellery bestowed pompous titles. He forbade him to enter into secret engagements with the Negūs of Abyssinia. There were incidents in regard to this in 826 (1423) and in 852 (1448) (*P. O.*, xiv. 449—451; Kaḷkaḷshandī, xi. 85, 100, 395—405; Sakhāwī, p. 210; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, ed. Popper, vi. 572).

At the same time popular manifestations forced the government to take more serious measures than a simple dismissal of officials. Besides, the most severe measures were continually passed with the object of exacting a ransom; for the Christians were more especially molested at times of financial crisis for the government. One single incident stands out as worthy of attention. In 700 (1301), a date often already cited, the Mamlūk government caused the greater part of the churches to be shut throughout the whole of Egypt. It excepted the town of Alexandria, perhaps in order not to provoke foreign interference, for the Melkites also suffered by this order and two ambassadors sent by the Byzantine Emperor and the King of Aragon, obtained the re-opening of some of the churches (*P. O.*, i. 567; xii. 356, 477; xiv. 449; Maḳrīzī, Būlaḳ ed., ii. 8, 31—32, 130, 292, 399; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, ii., b. 180; Renaudot, p. 604—605; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 223—224, 257; Ibn Iyās, ii. 35; Marcel, *Égypte*, 163; *J. A.*, 1887, ii. 210; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 378).

The Muslim writers relate the story of the sacrifice of a virgin thrown into the Nile to obtain an abundant harvest, a custom which the Muslims had abolished (Sakhāwī, p. 12—13; Lane, *Manners*,⁴ ii. 229—230; *Bull. soc. Khédiv. de Géogr.*, vii. 158—159; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 216—217; *Chronographia*, p. 242). It is hardly likely that the Christians had retained a human sacrifice, for which, besides, there is no evidence in classical texts (Maspero, *Hist. des peuples de l'Orient*, i. 24, n. 2; Frazer, *Adonis, Athlis, Osiris*, ii. 38—40; no analogy with sacrifices following military expeditions: Amélineau,

Actes, p. 80, n. 4). Special mention is made among the Christians of Egypt of a liturgical rite to secure the rise of the Nile (*Dict. Arch.*, iv. 2561—2562). In the Mamlūk period the Christians had still retained the custom of throwing into the Nile a little casket containing the finger of a martyr. This ceremony which gave rise to abuses, forbidden from 702 to 738 (1303—1337) was definitely suppressed in 755 (1354) and the Church of Shubrā-Damanhūr, where the festival took place in a suburb north of Cairo was destroyed (Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, transl. 178; *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. 361; Makrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 292—296; Bulāḡ ed., ii. 500; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, ii., b, 213—214; Renaudot, p. 606; Sakhāwī, p. 12; Ibn Iyās, i. 206—207; *B. I. Egypte*, 1907, p. 167—168; *B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 176).

The Jacobite patriarchate in 1442 signified its adherence to the Council of Florence two centuries after a fruitless attempt at reunion with Rome attempted by the Patriarch Cyril III. The Coptic Church was united to Rome for a century and a half by very loose bonds and it appears as if the most of the people did not trouble about it, in spite of the correspondence exchanged between the Papacy and the Patriarch of Alexandria, and in spite of the Council of Memphis in 1582. In any case it was to regain the support of the Ottoman Pāshās that the Coptic Church dropped all relations with Rome (Renaudot, p. 611—612; Macarius, p. 298, 300, 303 *sqq.*, 323—326, 336; *B. I. E.*, 1904, p. 197—211; *Machr.*, x. 534—540; *Bessarione*, xxxiv. 133—161).

Under the Ottoman Pāshās, the financial administration remained largely in the hands of the Copts. Christian popular festivals, especially in the country, were held with the approval and even with the participation of the Muslim elements. This period saw the *avaries* flourish, about which the archives of the convent of St. Saviour of Jerusalem give so many particulars (Castellani, *Catalogo dei firmani*, Jerusalem, 1922). The Copts had to endure these fines inflicted on the slightest provocation, and this resulted in the closing of the churches until the fines were completely paid. The first governors exacted the payment of the special imposts due from tributaries. In the first half of the xiith (xviiith) century the assessment or the *qizya* was even increased. Then we come to a period of anarchy, where "nothing happened worthy of being recorded except irritating and arbitrary acts of the Emirs" (Djābarti, v. 208, 218). These troubles had economic reactions which affected the whole of Egypt, but it does not appear that the Copts suffered from them more particularly (Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 93, 110, 189—190; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 9—10, 12—13, 19; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 234; Djābarti, ii. 10, 114—116; iii. 132, 157; iv. 144, 208—209, 217—221; v. 13, 23, 217—218; Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, i. 302; 'Alī Pāshā, vi. 84—85; Ch. Roux, *Les origines de l'expédition d'Égypte*, p. 41—43; *B. I. E.*, viii. 166—167).

Ryme says that on the arrival of the French, the Copts were "poor, brutalized and engaged only in the most ignoble callings"; they were "tax-collectors, spies, managers of the business affairs of the Mamlūks" (*Égypte, Un. pitt.*, ii. 27 *sq.*). Bonaparte did everything to prevent the Muslims from thinking that he favoured the Christians, who had nearly been massacred at the landing of the French. To "secure himself the friendship of

the people" Bonaparte forbade Christians to wear white turbans or to break the fast of Ramaḡān in public. After the revolt in Cairo the Muslims tried to put the blame on the Christians, who had not always been prudent. After various tergiversations the French administration created a system of taxation which "almost enabled them to do without the Copts". The latter assisted in pointing out the inconveniences of it. Besides, Copts had already been enrolled in the French army (*Égypte, Un. pitt.*, ii. 148, 152, 189, 193, 199; Djābarti, vi. 15, 26, 36, 40, 56, 58, 93, 95, 97, 119, 151, 175—178, 208, 210—211, 214, 216—217, 253, 255—256, 259, 267, 297, 306; vii. 30, 48, 220—221; *B. I. E.*, viii. 8).

The departure of the French made Muslim reprisals inevitable but an official circular ordered that the Christians were not to be molested in whom "it was excusable to have joined the French". The Copts were again employed as tax-collectors, but it must be noted that the government was still able to extort money from them, and that in 1230 (1815) the poll-tax was again levied (Djābarti, vii. 38, 42, 46—48, 52, 56, 77, 177, 300, 306, 308, 318, 320, 393, 397, 405; viii. 149, 201, 283; ix. 17, 87—89, 91, 111, 113—114, 166—167, 180, 184, 297; Macaire, p. 367—372).

This exposition shows the rapidity of the islāmisation of the Copts. The energetic suppression of the first revolts weakened the power of resistance of the Christians, who from the third (ninth) century no longer had a majority in Egypt. According to the text of the treaty made after the Arab Conquest, there were six or even eight million Christians subjected to taxation; as women, old men and children were exempt from it the lowest figure would give 24 millions as the total number of inhabitants in Egypt, which is excessive. The re-assessment of the year 112 (730) is said to have given five million Copts liable to taxation, a number which we also consider greater than the reality. In practice the poll-tax collected under Mu'āwiya (41—60 = 661—680) five million dīnārs, a figure which was reduced under Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193 = 786—809) to four millions, and fell a little later to three millions. Besides, at the end of the first (viith) century the governors wished to put an end to the conversions which were impoverishing the Treasury, and if the Caliph 'Umar II had not been opposed to it, the new converts would have had to continue to pay the *qizya*. Anxious to adhere to Islām the Copts sometimes even tried to attach themselves to Arab tribes; a legal scandal on this point made some stir (Kindī, p. 397—399, 412—415). In this connection we may go back to the preceding paragraphs and reflect that each government measure of any importance brought about conversions en masse. We may recall the tragic visit of Marwān II, when 24,000 conversions were made, the great persecution of Hākim, the dismissals of officials under the Mamlūks; in 721 (1321) in a single day in the town of Qalyūb 450 conversions to Islām were registered. Nothing can better show the diminution in the number of Copts in the Mamlūk period than to give that in the number of episcopal sees. The Council of Alexandria in 320 brought together almost 100 national bishops; at the end of the seventh century there were still over sixty. In the xivth century there were only 40 sees (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 70, 87; Euty-

chius, ii. 24; *P. O.*, v. 34, 52, 75; xvi. 233; Ya'qūbī, *Kit. al-buldān*, 339; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos 12, 22, 26, 92; Michael, ii. 489; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 312, 321, 326; ii. 28—29, 94—95; Būlāk, ii. 287, 495—496; Renaudot, p. 457 sq., 509; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 184—185; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 258, 444; Amélineau, *Géographie*, p. 571—577; Lane, *Manners*, i. 302; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 192; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 106, 111, 116; Becker, *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 18; *M. l. Égypte*, vi. 21—22, 77, 114; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 28; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. 167—168; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2430, 2436; *Chronographia*, p. 910, 1226, 1243, 1418; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 40, n. 5, 245; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, xvii. 505—507; Moh. Abdū, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, fr. transl., p. 125; *ibid.*, ii. 8).

The estimates of the numbers of Copts made by travellers are not to be considered very accurate (Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 15; *Egypte, Un. pitt.*, ii. 26—27; iii. 133; Isambert, *Itin. de l'Orient Égypte*, p. 34; Clot Bey, *Aperçu sur l'Égypte*, i. 167, 243—244; Lane, *Manners*, i. 27—28; ii. 273). Here are the figures from the last three official censuses:

	1897	1907	1917
Total population	8,971,761	11,189,978	12,743,402
Copts	609,511	706,322	1,026,262

The majority of the Copts are in Upper Egypt:

Total population	4,058,296	4,630,760	5,186,872
Copts	484,770	554,282	634,552

The following are the provinces containing the largest number of Copts:

Asyūt	170,662	194,955	216,414
Girgā	112,562	127,641	141,330
Minīyā	94,088	114,748	134,753
Ḳenā	53,777	58,653	68,933

In a notice on the Copts, it is necessary to indicate briefly the foreign elements which have mingled with the native population since the Arab conquest. The first conquerors settled in the country and by the beginning of the second (viith) century the Arabs of Kais were established in the eastern part of the Delta and the beginning of the next century is marked by the arrival at Alexandria of the Spanish exiles from Cordova. Upper Egypt, especially in the extreme south, kept almost intact the population which had previously inhabited it. Under the Tulūnids there were in the army 24,000 negroes and 40,000 Turks; the latter were still there under the Ikhshīdids and under the Fāṭimids, who also recruited Berbers, Greeks, Slavs, Persians, Turks and Armenians. Saladin abolished the negroes and the Armenians whom he replaced by the Ghuzz and the Kurds. The rule of the Aiyūbids and that of the Mamlūks carried on, on a large scale, continued purchases of Turkish and Circassian slaves. Egypt was thus peopled by foreign mercenaries, who, in other regions, would have prevented the native stock from remaining pure. But these foreigners were often exterminated in the course of the revolutions and above all foreigners and particularly the Mamlūks proved unfertile in the land of Egypt. When they married foreigners they had no children by them, or the children died before reaching

manhood. From their marriages with native women were born delicate children, and the race was rarely perpetuated as far as the third generation. Without insisting too much upon its importance we note in regard to this fact an Arab saying which attributes a special fecundity to Coptic women. To sum up, agreeing with Massignon and all the Orientalists, we estimate that 92% of the Egyptian population is of Coptic origin. On this particular point we know nothing so erroneous as the chapter devoted to Egypt (p. 526—528) in *Races et l'Histoire* by Eug. Pittard, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, tr., p. 193; Ibn Muyassar, p. 1—2, 34, 79; *B. I. F. A. O.*, ii. 34—36; Kalkashandī, i. 202 sqq.; iv. 67—72; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, i. 9—10; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 13, n. 12, 214, n. 13; ii. 43—46; iii. 251; iv. 33, 83; Būlāk ed., ii. 4, 12, 14; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 84 sq., 190—219; Wüstenfeld, *El-Makrizi's Ab-handlung üb. die in Ägypten eingewand. ar. Stämme*; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 106—140; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, i. a, 40—41; ii. b, 187 sqq.; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, ed. Popper, vii. 81—82; Volney, *Voy. en Égypte*, i. 73 sqq.; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 234; *Egypte, Un. pitt.*, ii. 27—28; iii. 47, 103—115; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 24—25; Clot Bey, *Aperçu sur l'Égypte*, i. 158 sqq.; Lane, *Manners*, i. 31—32; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 192—193; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 28—29; *C. I. A.*, *Egypte*, i. 722—723; d'Harcourt, *l'Égypte et les Égyptiens*, 85 sqq.; *R. M. M.*, lvii. 12, 26, 75—77; *ibid.*, i. 1, 842; ii. 7, 44).

Summing up the stages of the islāmisation of the Copts in a few lines, we may say that the Christians were no longer in the majority by the third (ixth) century, two hundred years after the Arab conquest and it can be estimated that by the viiith (xivth) the Christians were barely, as in our times, a tenth of the total population of Egypt. It remains to account for the causes of this strangely rapid conversion of a race which had been able to recover on many occasions, whom the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian had not subdued and whom the Byzantines were never able to settle. On the part of the Muslims, however, persecutions, in the sense understood in Roman times, were extremely rare. It is undeniable that there were martyrdoms which cannot be explained away; but the vast majority of the executions ordered by the Government show a particular characteristic on which it is necessary to insist. The Muslims have never wavered on two points; the death penalty was ordered in the case of a public insult to the Muslim religion and in that of conversion from Islām to Christianity. This observation must, for Egypt, be applied to the majority of European monks martyred in Egypt; the latter were, besides, in the eyes of the government, more or less suspected of espionage. That the church should honour them as martyrs is to be expected, but it would be wrong to call this persecution. Indeed the records of Egyptian martyrs, which contain innumerable lists for the Roman period, are exceedingly poor for the Muslim period and Christian epigraphy furnishes no further light (*P. O.*, i. 633—636; iii. 436; xvi. 203—205; xvii. 578—580, 754; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos 84—86; Maḳrīzī, Būlāk ed., ii. 493; Renaudot, p. 426—427, 564—565; Maillet, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, ed. 1735, p. 93 sqq.; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 251—258; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 353 sqq.; *J. A.*, 1887, i. 113 sqq.; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27—28; *B. I. F. A. O.*,

i. 114, 136—137; iv. 204; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; Chéneau, *Les saints d'Égypte*, ii. 394—400; *Anal. Bolland.* xl. 101, 107, 111, above, ii. 873, 876; an article by Père Delehay, which I have not been able to consult in *Constructive Quarterly*, Dec. 1921).

The Christians of Egypt did not then become Muslims, in order to escape persecution, although this has been asserted (Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 1); nor did they go over, as had been recently but wrongly written, "to the attraction exercised by a new religion upon men wearied by the narrow formalism of their churches" (B. Michael and Moust. Abd al-Razik in transl. of *Shaiḥ M. Abdū, Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, p. lxxxiii.). It is more just to believe that Christianity "made no change in the spirit of the race, that it did not penetrate into the intimate life of individuals and that their souls never were sincerely and thoroughly Christian" (Lefebvre, *Rec. Inscr. Grecques Chrétiennes*, p. xxiv.; cf. Gayet, *Coins d'Égypte*, p. x. 128). This cannot be denied, but the true cause for conversion lay in the fiscal measures imposed upon the Christians by the Muslim law: "What the Arabs wanted was money, money, more money and yet more money" (Becker in *Isl.*, ii. 364; cf. *R. M. M.*, lvii. 77). We have seen the Copts at first enter convents, flee from their villages, foment revolts, not in an access of faith nor in order to defend their oppressed consciences, but in order to escape demands of the fiscal system. The history of the churches of Egypt under the Muslim domination is a sordid story of money; besides, at all times the Simoniac heresy was the favourite sin of the Coptic Church (Michael, iii. 80; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, i. 257—258; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 31; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 409, 558; Renaudot, p. 160, 325, 373, 379, 384, 396, 432, 510, 572, 578—581, 588, 590—591, 593; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 444—445; *R. O. C.*, xiv. 381; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 272—273).

From ancient times until the present day the Egyptians have been celebrated for their love of money, and their hatred of paying taxes. A passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, a letter of Hadrian, has often been quoted. But in regard to this miserable question of money, sufficient attention has not been drawn to one of the rules of the patriarch Peter, the Martyr; these rules imposed penalties upon apostates who were desirous to re-enter the Church; but one of them, to say the least strange, "excluded from all censure Christians who had paid not to be prosecuted and had thus at least shown their "contempt for money" (Aimé-Giron, *Légendes coptes*, p. 1 sqq.; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1102, 1105; iv. 2425, 2433; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 15, 95; Clot Bey, *Aperçu sur l'Égypte*, ii. 287; Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 6, 138, 165 sqq.). Thus it is that the Christians became Muslims in order to gain the benefit of an inheritance or to enjoy their property in complete tranquillity (Abū Ṣāliḥ, *fos* 39—40).

It was in the offices of state that the Copts were particularly able to enrich themselves or satisfy their passion for governmental intrigue. The Muslim historians assure us that the Copts devoured the revenues of the state and complained of the severity of their superiors in regard to accounts. It was almost with the object of not losing their lucrative posts, during the periods when the Muslims were chafing against their presence in the offices of state, that the Copts were more willing to become converts when they

had not been able by bribing their masters to obtain the withdrawal of the edict, which dismissed them from office (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii. 247; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 335; ii. 24; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, ii. b, 179, 221; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 184, 192; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 140, 178; *C.I.A.*, *Égypte*, ii. commentary on N^o. 589; *M.I.*, *Égypte*, vi. 144).

The Coptic tax-collectors "who seemed to avenge on the poor Arabs the fact that the Coptic nation alone was liable to poll-tax" used a secret system of keeping accounts in order to make themselves indispensable. It was in vain for example that Napoleon tried to do without them. Muḥammad 'Alī definitely suppressed this secret method of accounting at the same time as he imposed a check upon their embezzlements (*Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 19; Volney, *Voy. en Égypte*, 1825, i. 64, 176; *Égypte, Un. pitt.*, iii. 7, 160; Djabartī, viii. 240, 242—243, 248, 275—278; ix. 88—89, 121; *B.I.E.*, 1889, p. 285 sqq.; Macaire, p. 360 sqq.).

This general attitude of the Copts has not been without influence upon the verdicts of Muslim writers; for example one should read the opinions quite devoid of favouritism of the physician Ibn Riḍwān and the Spanish traveller Umaiya b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The travellers and writers of the west are, in their turn, very severe upon the Copts. It may be recalled here that the word *Kibṭī* was even in Turkish used as an insult and applied to mountebanks (Nuḡairī, i. 293—294; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 193, 206—207, 213, 215; Būlāḳ ed., i. 340; Ḳāḷkāshandī, iv. 43; Quatremère, *Mamelouks*, ii. b, 247; Clot bey, *Aperçu sur l'Égypte*, ii. 132 sqq.; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 273 sqq.; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, i. 334—336; Basset, *Mélanges africains*, p. 286—287; *Actes du Congrès de Géogr. du Caire*, iv. 245—247; d'Harcourt, *L'Égypte et les Égyptiens*; Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 41—43; *R. M. M.*, xx. 125; Isambert, *Itin. de l'Orient, Égypte*, p. 153, 178—184).

One last question arises: Has this wholesale conversion of the Copts to Islām had any economic consequences? It has been said that the Muslims of Egypt were not productive, relying upon the undoubted fact that the industrial centres were largely peopled by Christians. The question is difficult to decide. It is stated that at the Mamlūk period the greater part of the native industries had perished, and special mention is made of the disappearance of centres of the weaving industry which the early historians and geographers mention: Akhmīm, Aṣhmūnain, Asyūt, Bahnasū, Dabīḳ, Damietta, Tinnis, Tūna. It cannot however be believed that a simple change of religion could make the artisans abandon their occupations, and it is necessary rather to blame, after the terrible economic crisis of the reign of the Fāṭimid Mustanṣir, the excessive and extortionate taxation of the Aiyūbids and especially of the Mamlūks. The Copts, moreover, had made themselves famous by a particular industry which has not yet completely disappeared; the ship-building yards were at the beginning of the Arab occupation prosperous to such an extent that on the establishment of an arsenal at Tunis, the governor of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān sent 3,000 Copts there. A recent enquiry has shown how much the technical language of the boat-builders of the Nile still owed much to the ancient national language (Bell, *Aphr. Papyri*, xvi. sq., xxxii. sqq.; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 56; *Z. A.*, xxii. 147 sqq.;

Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 185; Bakrī, transl. p. 84; *B. I. F. A. O.*, xx. 45 sqq., 301 sqq.).

The Arabisation. The Arab occupation gave new life for a period to the Coptic language, a victory without result, since the Coptic language was to be absolutely superseded by Arabic. At first the administrative offices continued to be conducted in Greek, as we shall show in detail later on. But in regard to geographical names we see a somewhat curious nationalist phenomenon. Greek place-names, especially the capitals of pagarchies disappeared completely and were replaced by transcriptions of the former Greek names. The Greek names only remained for places founded by the Greeks (Fustāt, al-Iskandariya). This revenge of the Copts on the Greeks was final since at the present time numerous place-names are still based on the Coptic names (Cham-pollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, i. 267, 38 sqq.). At the same time, the Scripture lessons which were read in Greek in the church services and explained in the Coptic language were henceforth only read in Coptic until Arabic commentaries became necessary. In the same way Christian epigraphy became Coptic, while it had been Greek up to the sixth century (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 15; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2821).

In the year 87 (706) the governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered administrative documents to be drawn up in Arabic (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 122; Kindī, p. 58—59; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii. 57—58; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 32, 290; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 196; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 130—131; *Chronographia*, p. 949, 1024, 1056—1057, 1110; Chassinat, *Pap. médical*, p. 6). We now give some facts deduced from an examination of papyri. The first bilingual papyrus in Greek and Arabic dates from the year 22 (643). There is another of 57 (677), the last is of 101 (719). But the protocols of these papyri remain bilingual down to 102 (720). Alongside of them are papyri written wholly in Greek of which the latest are dated 164 (780). The first papyrus composed wholly in Arabic is dated 90 (709). The Arab government readily accepted communications in Coptic but does not seem to have used it regularly (Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 131, 145; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 28—29; Bell, *Aphr. Papyri*, p. xlvii, 417; *Z. A.*, xx. 68—104; xxii. 137—154; *P. E. R. Mitt.*, i. 6, 50; *Isl.*, ii. 245—283, 359—384; iii. 132—140, 369—373; iv. 87—120, 313—314; *W. Z. K. M.*, xx. 139 sqq.; *Chronographia*, p. 254, 899, 911, 951, 1112, 1181, 1226, 1623; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 276; *Corp. pap. Raineri*, iii. a, 22; b, c.—ci.). The first inscription in Arabic found in Egypt is painted on a house at Antinoë dated 117 (735) (*C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, i. N^o 513; *ibid.*, i. 388). It is probable that some Arab officials learnt the Coptic language — the case of the Ḳāḍī Khair b. Nu'aim (120—128 = 738—746) cannot have been isolated (Kindī, p. 349, note; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 778). The patriarch Michael (728—752) had a petition sent to the governor 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (132—133 = 750—751) written in Coptic and in Arabic (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 32—33); but he himself did not know a word of Arabic, for he required an interpreter to converse with the Caliph Marwān II (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 33; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 6). In 145 (762) at Fustāt the Coptic language was generally understood (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 30;

Kindī, p. 113). During his sojourn in Egypt (217 = 832) the Caliph Ma'mūn was accompanied by an interpreter, whose services were by no means unnecessary (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 340; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 43—44). The Patriarch Joseph (821—850) addressed the bishops who had become themselves his accusers in Coptic and some of the Muslims understood his discourse (*P. O.*, x. 525; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 34). The clergy in the ninth century had learned Arabic well, for a Muslim, who wished to be converted was instructed by a priest who expounded to him in Arabic the Coptic text of the holy scriptures (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 34—35). Let us note in passing a Christian stele in Coptic and Arabic, dated 625 A. M. = 909 (*Ann. du serv. des Antiquités*, xiii. 285—286). The Coptic medical papyrus published by Chassinat (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxii.) frequently employs Arabic terminology, transcribed in Coptic characters and in some places in Arabic script. It was written between the ninth and tenth centuries by an author who used both languages with facility and a note might even lead us to suppose that he was more familiar with Arabic than with Coptic. He frequently gives the preference to Arabic terminology over Greek or Coptic, quotes numerous Arabic physicians, and even uses an Arabic translation of Galen, although he knew Greek (Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 4). On account of certain transcriptions, Chassinat would date about this time the alchemical fragments which Stern put to the xiiith or even as late as the xivth century (*ibid.*, p. 5). But according to Muḳaddasī (about 325 = 985) the Christians of Egypt still spoke Coptic (Muḳaddasī, p. 203), which is confirmed by popular Coptic poetry of this period (*An. Bolland*, xl. 244, n. 3). The celebrated passage in Severus or Ashmūnain is well known. "I have begged the assistance of Christians who have translated for me the facts which they had read in Coptic and in Greek into Arabic, which is now spread to such an extent throughout Egypt that the greater part of the inhabitants do not know Greek and Coptic". This statement is absolutely accurate on the first point, as we possess in Coptic the biographies of patriarchs that Severus has faithfully translated (*P. O.*, i. 115; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 35; Ladeuze, *Cénobitisme pachômien*, p. 69; *M. R. O.*, i. 110; Chassinat, *Pap. médical*, p. 6). Thus in the fourth (tenth) century the Coptic clergy wrote in Arabic when they wished to be understood; this is especially the case in regard to Severus and Eutychius (Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 131; *ibid.*, ii. 7). It is from the same period that an Arabic text written in Coptic characters dates (*B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 1 sqq.; Chassinat, *Pap. médical*, p. 5, 23). Besides, the Coptic language began to be corrupted; this is the case with a document relating the persecutions of al-Hakim (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 247 sqq.). It seems however, too much to assert that in the xivth century, or perhaps earlier, Coptic was no longer written (*Dict. Arch.*, iii. 2821). The geographer Bakrī (d. 1094) even asserts that around Tripoli in Barbary certain groups still spoke Coptic (Bakrī in Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 293). Athanasius of Ḳūs prepared in Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language, but noted that from his time two dialects the Buhaïric and the Saidic were still used (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 20—21). Mawḥūb b. Maṇṣūr, the continuer

of Severus of Ashmūnain, still used biographies written in Coptic (*ibid.*, p. 37; Renaudot, p. 418). Abū Ṣāliḥ, who records a Coptic inscription dated 1043 says that in the sixth (xiith) century educated men among the clergy still knew Coptic (Abū Ṣāliḥ, *fos* 41, 45); this was so in regard to the patriarchs Cyril II (1076—1090) and Gabriel II (1132—1145) who wrote as elegantly in Coptic as in Arabic (Renaudot, p. 407, 501; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 292; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, ii. 84). The latter translated into Arabic the liturgical books (Michael, iii. 235; Renaudot, p. 467). The investiture of the patriarch Macarius (1101—1127) was celebrated in Greek, in Coptic and in Arabic (*P. O.*, i. 231; Renaudot, p. 488). The heretic Mark b. Kānbar (d. 1166) to spread his doctrine expounded the Holy Scriptures in Arabic from the Coptic text (Abū Ṣāliḥ, *fos* 9 *sqq.*, 14; Makrizi, *Bulāk*, ii. 496; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 36; Graf, *Ein Reformversuch innerhalb der Kopt. Kirche im zwölften Jahrh.*).

At the end of the xiith century a converted Jew became fluent in the Coptic language (Renaudot, p. 525; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 36—37). Abū Ṣāliḥ mentions that in his time at Ešnā Christians marched in front of wedding processions even Muslim ones, and chanted formulae in Saidic Coptic (f. 102; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 43). We have already mentioned the Coptic inscription of Dair al-Aẓām, dated 1156; we may here note that of the tombs opposite al-Aswān dated 1173 which refers to the expedition of Tūrān Shāh into Nubia (*Dict. Arch.*, ii. 2879).

These two texts support in a remarkable way a passage in Abū Ṣāliḥ who says that in 554 (1159) Coptic was still being studied (Abū Ṣāliḥ, f. 45). The story of the martyrdom of John of Phanidjōit which dates from the beginning of the xiiith century clearly marks a decline, for we find many Arabic words in it (Quatremère, *Rech.*, 401; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 356; *J. A.*, 1887, i. 120—121; *B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 113 *sqq.*; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 6; *An. Bolland.*, xl. 245). The translation of the sacred books was continued and while the services were always celebrated in Coptic, the lessons were explained in Arabic (Villegier, *Observances liturgiques*, repr. from *Le Muséon*, xxxvi. 49—50, 65, 111—112). Perhaps the clergy no longer understood Coptic; the patriarch Michael V (1165—1166) was not able to read either Coptic or Arabic (Renaudot, p. 514; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 37—38). The latest Coptic inscriptions are of this date, those of the White Convent in the xiiith century; those of the painter Mercury, one of which is dated 1301 at the Red Convent, the other 1318 at the Convent of St. Simeon; and lastly the bilingual inscription (Coptic and Arabic) on a rock between Aswān and Kūm-Ombo, dated 1337 (*Dict. arch.*, iii. 2870—2871, 2878—2879; *J. of Theol. Studies*, v. 554—555; *M. F. O.*, v. 6, 133*; *B. I. F. A. O.*, vi. 3—4; Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Schâg*, i. 28 *sqq.*). While an ecclesiastical diploma was in 1256 prepared entirely in Arabic, an ordination diploma of 1363 was still written in Arabic and in Coptic (*Ann. du Serv. des Antiquités*, xi. 177—185; *Proc. of Bibl. Arch.*, xx. 270—276). The latest in date of Coptic manuscripts is of 1393 (Stern, *Copt. Gramm.*, p. 2). The decline is quite complete and it is clearly wrong to say that towards the end of the reign of the Mamlūk Sultāns, an order was made to close the Coptic schools and that the teaching of the Coptic language

was forbidden (*Égypte, Un. pitt.*, iii. 159). At no time indeed does such a measure seem to have been taken. We may note here that Abyssinia has "received in a very singular fashion the imprint of Arabicisation by means of the Arabic literature of the Christian Copts in Egypt" (*R. M. M.*, lvii. 95).

The celebrated passages of Makrizi are well known which declare that in the majority of monasteries of the district of Asyūf, Greek and Coptic were both known and that Coptic was still spoken. Some people naturally have been led to say that this assertion is an exaggeration. In our opinion one can go further; it is probable that Makrizi quotes on this occasion an early writer, Shābushtī for example (d. 390 = 999); it must not be forgotten that Makrizi is a compiler who often does not give his sources (Makrizi, *Bulāk*, ii. 507; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 42; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2481, 2486; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 282; Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 2; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 192, 194; Ladeuze, *Cénob. pakhômien*, p. 69; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 6). — Chassinat holds that the copy of the *Theotokies*, a Coptic text written in Arabic characters, can scarcely be of an earlier date than the xivth or xvth century. It is also evidence that Coptic had been completely neglected for, in order to learn the pronunciation, it was necessary to have recourse to the Arabic alphabet (*B. I. F. A. O.*, v. 91 *sqq.*; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 23—24).

There remain to be noted certain isolated facts which show that a few Copts, until the middle of the last century, still used the ancient national language (Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 363; Quatremère, *Rech.*, 44, 293; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2822; iv. 2486; *R. M. M.*, lvii. 77; *Égypte, Un. pitt.*, iii. 117; *Zeitsch. f. aeg. Sprache*, xxxix. 87). — As to the care which the Coptic clergy took of their collections of manuscripts reference can be made to the work of Hyvernāt (*Rev. biblique*, x. 442—428).

In brief a rude blow was dealt to the national language from the time that the Arabs firmly established the use of their own language in government offices. The conversions *en masse* which had taken place from the first century induced the new Muslims to learn the language of the Kur'ān. Step by step the Arabs passed from the régime of a military occupation to that of a colonisation, and, doubtless, this was the principal factor in Arabicisation. The necessity of buying and selling to the townspeople forced the Copts to learn the Arabic language, and even to write it. The Coptic language survived for several centuries, losing ground in each generation, ended by quite disappearing from everyday life, being restricted to the church services and was not understood by the people at least from the viith (xiiith) century (*ibid.*, ii. 7). The *Vocabulaire* published by G. Maspero may be the latest document of spoken Coptic (*Romania*, xvii. 481—512; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 36).

It is quite natural that a certain number of Coptic words have survived in the Arabic of Egypt, but it is wrong to think that Coptic grammar has in any way influenced Egyptian Arabic (*Z. D. M. G.*, l. 653—656; Stern, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 5—6; *B. I. F. A. O.*, ii. 212—216; and the authors quoted in *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 33—38).

Christian Literature in Arabic. Literature in the Coptic language consists almost

entirely of religious works, translations of the Old and New Testament, and Lives of the Saints for the most part translated from the Greek. This literature has been roughly handled by J. Maspero, who admits however that Greek had supplanted Coptic amongst the educated circles of the Christian population and that Egypt produced works of value in the Greek language under Byzantine rule. Coptic literature proper did not have the time to develop, and after having lived in translations, perished without producing a single original work (J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 17—18, 24, 27, 33, 51; *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 194—195).

Coptic literature, confined to the liturgy and to the moral education of the people consists of ecclesiastical works, lives of saints and of pious individuals, which were compiled in the monasteries and which we must deal with as some of them are translations or adaptations of them in Arabic. It has the faults and merits of a popular literature. The short stories of the lives of the monks in their convents, with their familiar apparitions, in which demons and even Christ appear frequently and often in a burlesque fashion, have in every way a very infantile character. In this literature always written for edification and for an uneducated class, the marvellous always plays a prominent part — the marvellous of a quite naive kind, and it is surprising to note to what extent miracles, clumsy imitations of those of the prophets, increase in the stories of the Copts (*Dict. arch.*, iii. 2820—2821; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 336; 1886, p. 308—309, 356; Chéneau, *Les saints d'Égypte*, ii. 142; Gayet, *Coins d'Égypte*, p. 4; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 57; Ladeuze, *Cénob. pakhômien*, p. 141—145, 217, n. 1; *Anal. Bolland.*, xl. 148).

In agreement with Casanova we believe "that the Arabic translations of Coptic works were made at the time when the Fātimids who had shown favour to the Copts, reigned in Egypt, and when there was a kind of renaissance of Christian literature, a renaissance which was manifested by the number of works written in Arabic". Of all this hagiographic literature in Arabic, the *Lives* of Shenūdi, Pakhomios, Pisentios, and of Victor, son of Romanos, are the best. These are panegyrics, not chronicles or biographies. It is convenient to place here the Arabic Jacobite Synaxary, published in the fifteenth century by Michael of Mahīdj, of which a contemporary recasting has been recently republished under the title *al-Amīn al-Ṣādīq*. Certain quotations from the liturgical and ecclesiastical texts enable us to pass in review the old writers who enjoyed popularity among the Christians in Egypt. The latter translated into Arabic the canons, sermons and homilies of St. Athanasius, of St. Basil, of Ephraim the Syrian, of St. Epiphanius of Alexandria, the canons of Pope Clement, the sermons of Cyril of Jerusalem, of Gregory of Nyssa, of Gregory of Nazyanze, numerous treatises and homilies by St. John Chrysostom, treatises by St. John of Damascus etc. (*B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 20; Ladeuze, *Cénob. pakhômien*, p. 84 sqq., 116; *Anal. Bolland.*, xl. 91—113, 127—154; Haase, *Altchristl. Kirchengesch.*, p. 115).

Without producing a writer of the class of Firdawsī, the Copts have left us a history of ancient times, but it was the Muslims who wrote it: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, in his *Futūḥ Miṣr*, Masʿūdī in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* and notably in his *Akhbār al-zamān*, later Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, so often quoted

by Maḳrīzī. We know also these legends from the *Égypte de Murtadī fils du Gaphiphe* (Murtaḍā b. ʿAfīf) and the anonymous *Abrégé des Merveilles*. G. Maspero has clearly brought out that the documentation of these works was mainly Coptic (*Journ. des Savants*, 1899, p. 69—86, 154—172, 277; *Klio*, ix. 20).

Nevertheless the Christians in Egypt produced a certain number of historians of note who do not make a bad show by the side of the Muslim annalists. They are very valuable for the history of their own country, and much use of their works has been made in this article. The first in date, Eutychius (263—328 = 877—940), in Arabic Saʿīd b. al-Batrik, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, wrote, besides medical treatises, a history which extends from the creation of the world to events contemporaneous with the author. Masʿūdī praises his work, in which important sources have been utilised. A continuation of his history written by one of his relatives, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī deals chiefly with contemporary events in Egypt and in Syria. An account of the years 328—425 (940—1034) is given there. The first Jacobite is Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of Aṣhmūnain about the year 985. He was a very fertile writer, since, according to Abu ʿl-Barakāt, he composed twenty-six ecclesiastical and apologetic treatises, amongst which a "*History of the Councils*" and a "*Refutation of Eutychius*" are well known. But the most precious work is in our opinion his "*History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*" which was continued by the deacon Maḥḥūb b. Maṣṣūr (about 1087). Although an Armenian, Abū Ṣāliḥ cannot be omitted from this list, since he wrote in Egypt from native sources, especially Muslim ones. His *History of the Monasteries* contains information of every kind, geographical, archaeological, historical and ecclesiastical. With the help of this book compared with Muslim works, it is possible to estimate the favour which the Christians enjoyed at the Fātimid court. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Ibn al-Rāhib (Abū Shākir Buṭrus) produced a general chronology which starts from the creation of the world; he also wrote a *History of the Councils* and a lexicographical work. His contemporary al-Makīn (George b. Abi ʿl-Yāsir) wrote a general history, following the method of nearly all Arab writers. So far the second part, which, after summarising Ṭabarī as a beginning, deals with events following Islām, is the only one known; in the first, the author made use of Eutychius, Agapius of Manbiḍj, and different Greek writers. Al-Makīn, an official at the court of Baibars I, a descendant of officials in the service of the Aiyūbids, died at Damascus in 672 (1274). His work was continued until the year 750 (1349) by Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʿl-Faḍāʿil, who belonged to a family of ecclesiastical writers. His history, *al-Nahḍj al-sadiq*, which owes much to Nuwairī, is as to the part still unpublished, very like the anonymous history published by Zetterstéen, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Mamlūken-sultane*. Lastly we must note Abū Dhakn, who wrote in the eighteenth century, a *History of the Copts* (Graf, *Reformversuch*, p. 2, 17—18, 25; *Machr.*, xii. 488—492, 495; Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 154; Ibn Abi Usaibʿa, ii. 86—87; *P.O.*, xii. 345—354; Haase, *Altchrist. Kirchengesch.*, p. 30—31, 33; Graf, *Christ-ar. Lit.*, p. 40—46; *R. O. C.*, xiv. 383;

Renaudot, p. 346—348, 367—368; Zaidān, *Ta'rikh al-adab al-'arabiya*, ii. 200; *ibid.*, iv. 187).

Besides these historians, the Arabic Christian literature in Egypt possesses philologists of the first rank. They appeared at the time when the Coptic language, no longer in everyday use, ran the risk of being no longer understood by the ecclesiastics. Nourished on Arabic culture, these writers took for their models Arabic grammarians. An analysis of all these works, grammars or "scalae" (in Arabic *sullam*), has been ably made by P. Mallon, whose conclusions are here summarised. The first in date is the Coptic grammar of Athanasius of Kūs who lived in the xth century. The *scalae* must have existed at this time for John of Semennūd, who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century, wrote his own to take the place of the older ones, which through endeavouring to be complete were too voluminous. Confined to the liturgy, it is arranged in a detestable manner, for it classifies the words according to the order in which they occur in the sacred books; it is entitled *sullam kanā'isī*, the *scala ecclesiastica*. John wrote in addition a grammar to which he gave the name of "preface", *muḳaddima*. At the same period lived three brothers, all famous, the sons of al-'Assāl, one, Abu 'l-Faḍā'il, known for his *Collection of Canons*, the second, Abu 'l-Faraḍj, who was also an exegetist, wrote a preface, which greatly resembles in method that of John of Semennūd; the third, Abū Ishāḳ, the author of the *Sullam muḳaffa'*, a *scala* in which the words are arranged according to their rhymes after the manner of the Arab dictionaries. The grammars of Ibn Kātib Kaiṣar, of John of Kalyūb and of Ibn al-Duhairi, who lived probably in the second half of the xiiith century, are still in existence. They were immediately followed by Ibn al-Rāhib, already mentioned as a historian; his *Preface* is very inferior to the preceding ones (*M.F.O.B.*, i. 111—136; ii. 213—216; v. 57—90; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 20—21; Villecourt, *Observations Liturgiques*, repr. from *Le Muséon*, xxxvi. 3—4; Mallon, *Gramm. Copte*, p. 5—7; Macaire, p. 300).

The authors of these dictionaries were not the first, but amongst the whole group of lexicographers, who have just been mentioned, the great personality of Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Kabār, stands out. He was the first of Christian writers in Egypt to be known in Europe, thanks to Kircher, who published his *Sullam Kabār*, or *Scala Magna* and to Vansleb who reproduced his *Lamp of the Darkneses* in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*. These are the two chief works of this ecclesiastic whose literary activity lay in the first half of the fourteenth century. In addition he collaborated in a *General History* of the Mamlūk Emīr Baibars al-Dawādār whose secretary he was. The *Lamp of the Darkneses* is an "encyclopaedia of the ecclesiastical sciences, containing in dogma, religious history, liturgy and discipline, all that a Coptic priest could wish to know". This work contains very valuable lists; those of the seventy disciples, the patriarchs of Alexandria, the saints of the Coptic Year, and, above all, an important bibliography of Arab Christian authors (*Dict. de Théol. Catholique*, viii. 2293—2296).

The greater part of Arabic Christian literature was intended to be read to the people during the service, and its form shows signs of this. They

are somewhat analogous to the sermons of the Middle Ages, written in a macaronic style, addressed to an illiterate audience, to whom Latin was not known. Let us add to this that these works are translations from Greek and Coptic, often word for word, and that the Arabic phraseology is clumsy. But it is a matter for astonishment that the editors of Christian manuscripts have thought that they must keep faults of orthography, which the Muslim copyists as well as the Christian ones had made and have thrown the blame for them upon the author. The result has been deplorable and with only rare exceptions, the editions of the *Patrologia Orientalis* and of the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum Orientalium* are almost unintelligible. Another inconvenience is that the result has been regrettable erroneous estimates of the Christian writers (*Z. D. M. G.*, li. 453—471; *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 140; Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 9; *R. O. C.*, xxii. 383—384).

Bibliography for the literature: *B. I. F. A. O.*, iii. 25—68; iv. 105—221; vi. 179; xii. 47—48; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 81—89, 298—313; xiv. 174—188, 276—281, 337—356; *R. S. O.*, iv. 546 sqq.; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1200; Basset, *Mélanges africains*, p. 306—310; Galtier, *Mémoires et fragments*, p. 34—134; Hilmy, *Bibliogr. of Egypt*, i. 10, 14, 21, 24, 26—27, 35—36, 44—45, 107, 135, 144, 152, 228—229, 251, 329, 337, 364; ii. 1, 17, 24, 39, 86, 165, 228, 283—284, 296; 'Alī Pāshā, vi. 83—85; Clermont-Ganneau, *R. A. O.*, vi. 364—372.

[The author owes several essential references to the kindness of M. M. Noël Aimé-Giron and H. Munier. He expresses especially his thanks to Mr. W. E. Crum who in view of this article undertook long and fruitful researches]. (G. W.)

KIDAM is said (1) of anything which is antecedent to another in time (*taḳaddum*, opp. *ta'akhḫhur*); (2) of the temporal, newly arisen, which no time has preceded; (3) of the absolute, i.e. in its nature without beginning (*ḳidam* in this sense is usually synonymous with *azal*, *azaliya*; but some, e.g. Djili, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, B. 30, endeavour to show that there is a subtle distinction). In the last (3) sense, according to orthodox belief, the name *al-Ḳadīm* can be applied to God alone. The question whether God's thought in relation to the (not yet) created world can be conceived as a simple relation or is a concrete part of his eternal prescience and the world is thus eternal in God was answered differently.

It was the custom in philosophical language to talk of the eternalness of the real world. If the creation of the world was not denied, an eternal creation was taught and God called the first cause and the world eternally caused as a whole. In this reasoning one could appeal to the multiplicity of meaning of the conception "eternity" in Hellenistic tradition especially to the Aristotelian distinction between *πρότερον* and *υστερον* (cf. *Categ.*, 14a, 26 sqq. and *Metaph.*, 1018b, 9 sqq.). Thus in general a distinction was made between a temporal (*zamānī*) and an essential (*dhātī*) priority and posteriority but 3 to 6 varieties were distinguished, viz: — in addition to an order of precedence in time, one in order of place (*rutba*), in rank (*sharaf*), in nature (*ṭab'*), in causality (*sababiya*) and in knowledge (*'ilm*).

Bibliography: Dictionary of the Technical Terms, p. 1211 sqq; cf. the article KHALK. (TJ. DE BOER)

KIFT (KUFT, KAFT, the old *Κοπτος*), name of a place in Upper Egypt, nowadays insignificant (according to Baedeker, *Egypt*, it has 8934 inhabitants only), situated under 26° north. lat., on the east bank of the Nile, but at a certain distance from the river, where the latter comes nearest the coast of the Red Sea. This situation explains the importance of the place in antiquity, when it was an emporium where the wares coming from India, Punt, Arabia Felix were directed to the North. Its commerce with India is still mentioned by Yāqūt who speaks also of the surrounding orchards. The territory was a *wakf* belonging to the Ashraf ('Alids) and the inhabitants were *Shītes*.

Traditions on the origin of Koptos are to be found in Makrīzī's *Mawā'iz*.

Bibliography: Breasted, *Egypt*, general index (geographical) under Coptos; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, Berlin 1878, p. 202; Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, (sem. ser., No. 7), index; Yā'kūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii. 333; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 73; Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du Moyen-âge*, Copenhague 1874, p. 325, 328; Makrīzī, *Mawā'iz* ed. Wiet in *M. I. F. A. O.*, vol. xxx., xxxiii., xlv., indices; Ibn Duqmāḥ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, Cairo 1893, ii., p. 32—33; Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i. 126 sq.; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Kitāb Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 210 sq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 152; 'Alī Basha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, Būlāk 1305, xiv. 104—105.

AL-KIFTĪ, *nisba* of a family of officials of pure Arab origin, several members of which filled high offices under the Aiyūbids. The honorary title *al-Kādī 'l-Awḥad* was borne by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, whose son Yūsuf, afterwards *al-Kādī al-Ashraf*, was born at Kift on Muharram I, 548 (March 29, 1153). He succeeded his father in the administration of his native town, but had to leave it in 572 (1176/1177) on account of the rising of a Fātimid pretender. After filling several offices in Upper Egypt, he was summoned in 583 (1187), after the conquest of Jerusalem, to Saladin's court in the field, to assist his vizier *al-Kādī 'l-Fādīl*. When, on Saladin's death, his brother *al-Malik al-'Ādil* deprived his nephew of his inheritance and occupied Jerusalem in 592 (1196), *al-Kiftī*, along with other officials, left this town in 598 (1202) and went to Ḥarrān, where he entered the service of Saladin's son *Ashraf*. But he soon decided to leave Syria and under the pretext of the pilgrimage went to Mecca, thence to the Yemen, where the Atābeg Sonḡor, the guardian of the minor Aiyūbid *al-Nāṣir*, gave him the vizierate in 602 (1205). But he soon gave up this office and died in retirement at *Dhu Djible* in Yemen in 624 (1227).

His son 'Alī, born in Rabī' I or II of 568 (winter of 1172) at Kift, followed his father and grandfather in the official service, but his inclinations were rather towards scholarship. After studying in his native town and in Cairo, he went with his father to Jerusalem, where he was able for several years to gratify his inclinations. But his father had to leave Jerusalem, and he could not have stayed much longer, certainly not till 608, as Yāqūt, *Irshād*, v. 4855, says. But the son went to Aleppo, where a patron of his, the former governor of Jerusalem and Nābulus, Fāris

al-Dīn Maimūn al-Kaṣrī, had become vizier to Saladin's son *al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī*. The latter took him into his service as secretary and he received thanks for careful administration of the fiefs. After the death of his patron on Ramaḍān 13, 610 (Jan. 26, 1214), the Sulṭān appointed him his *khāzin*. Although he would have preferred to devote himself to study, he had soon to take over the reorganisation of the *Diwān*. After *al-Zāhir*'s death on *Djumādā* II 20, 613 (4th Oct., 1216), he retired into private life, but had again to return to the head of the *Diwān* in Ṣafar 616 (April, 1219) and held this office till the end of *Djumādā* II, 628 (April, 1231). He then already had the title *al-Kādī 'l-Akram al-Wazīr*, as his protégé Yāqūt tells us in his *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, iv. 152, a passage written before 624 (1227). After five years' leisure he again took on the office of vizier in 633 (1236) and held it till his death on 13th Ramaḍān, 646 (Dec. 31, 1248).

Before affairs of state entirely took up his energies, he had displayed considerable literary activity. In the *Irshād*, v. 4834, Yāqūt gives a list of his works written before 620, some, however, not quite completed by then; this list was copied almost word for word by *al-Safadī* [q. v.] in his *al-Wāfi fi 'l-Wafayāt* (ed. Fleischer, in *Abulfedae Historia antislamica*, p. 234), and *al-Kutubi* borrowed it from him with several corruptions in his *Fawā'id* 1196.

His historical works are all lost: they included a history of Maḥmūd b. Sībūktigin and his sons (*wabanihi*, in *al-Kutubi* corrupted to *wabakiyat*, not recognised by Süssheim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Brit. Mus. zu London verwahrten Chronik des seldschugischen Reichs*, p. 31, No. 2) and a history of the Seldjūks from the beginning to the end of the dynasty, which must have been of considerable value. Of his works on literary history, only the posthumous work on poets with the name Muhammad has survived to us (see de Slane, *Cat. des Mss. Ar. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 3335). Of his history of the grammarians we have only the synopsis by *al-Dhahabī* (d. 748 = 1347) in the latter's autograph, see *Cat. Codd. Ar. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*², ed. de Goeje and Th. W. Juynboll, iii. 26, No. xlviii. The most valuable of his works for us, the *Kitāb Iḥbār al-'Ulamā' bi-Akhbār al-Ḥukamā'*, our most important source for the history of the exact sciences and Hellenistic tradition in Islām, has only survived in a synopsis by Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Zawzanī, made in 647 (1249), see *Ibn al-Qiftī's Tārīḥ al-Ḥukamā'*, auf Grund der Vorarbeiten Aug. Müllers, ed. by J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, repr. Cairo 1326.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, *G. M. S.*, vi. 447—494; *al-Safadī*, *op. cit.*, p. 233—234, taken over by *al-Kutubi*, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, p. 1197; *al-Suyūṭī*, *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, p. 358; do., *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, i. 319; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.*, ii. 193—198; Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur* (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morg.*, 1877), p. 129, No. 111; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, p. 331; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 325; A. Müller, *Über das sogenannte Tārīḥ al-ḥukamā' des Ibn al-Qiftī*, *Actes du 8e congrès internat. des orient.*, sect. i., Leyden 1891, p. 15—36; H. Dérenbourg, *L'histoire des philosophes attribuée à Ibn al-Kiftī in Opusculs d'un arabisant*, Paris 1905, p. 37—48.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KILĀB B. RABĪʿA, an Arabic tribe which was one of the principal branches of the large tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaṣaʿa. Their original homes were in the Ḥima Dārīya which corresponds roughly to the country North and South of the present Wahhābi capital al-Riyāḍ. This district was considered one of the best in Central Arabia and we are told that the Kilāb occupied nine tenths of it. At a much later time than the rise of Islām they wandered North into the confines of Syria where they gained possession of the towns of Hit, Ḥalab and others and where their rulers were known as the Āl Mirdās [q. v.]. A large tribe like the Kilāb was divided into many clans and we have notices of ten larger divisions: 1) Djaʿfar b. Kilāb with four divisions: Mālik, al-Aḥwas, Khālīd and ʿUtba. 2) Abū Bakr b. Kilāb with three divisions: ʿAbd, Kaʿb and ʿAbd Allāh. (3) Muʿāwiya al-Dībāb with thirteen divisions of whom five had names used for the lizard: Dabb, Muḍibb, Dībāb, Ḥusail, Ḥisl, ʿAmr, Anas, al-Aʿwar, Zufar, Unais, Mālik, Rabīʿa and Zuhair. Shamir b. Shuraḥbīl who killed al-Ḥusain at Karbalāʾ was a member of the division of al-Aʿwar. 4) ʿĀmir b. Kilāb with four divisions: al-Aṣamm, Kaʿb (one of the principal clans of the whole tribe), Ṭarīf and ʿĀkil. 5) Rabīʿa b. Kilāb with three divisions: Budjair, ʿUbaid and Nufail. 6) Al-Aqbaṭ b. Kilāb the divisions of which are all derived through Wabr and of which seven are mentioned by genealogists. 7) ʿAmr b. Kilāb with two divisions: Nufail and Abū Awf. 8) ʿAbd Allāh b. Kilāb with three divisions: ʿĀmir, ʿAmr and al-Samūt. 9) Ruʿās b. Kilāb with three divisions: Bidjād, Budjaid and ʿUbaid. 10) Kaʿb b. Kilāb with four divisions: ʿĀmir, Wabb, Rabīʿa and Aws. The most prominent clan in the time before Islām were the Banū Djaʿfar, who were powerful enough to have under their protection for a long time the tribe of Ḡhanī and also gave support to the tribe of ʿAbs in their long struggle with the Banū Dhubyān. The most remarkable deed recorded of the tribe of Kilāb was their signal defeat of the confederate tribes of Dhubyān and Asad in the battle of Djabala, where they with other ʿĀmir tribes secured a signal victory which is reckoned as one of the three great battles in the time of paganism of which Arab authors have any record. We find them still in their old settlements in the first centuries after the Hidjra, but they were quite submissive to the governors sent to them from al-Madina or Damascus. In the year 231 Bughā al-Kabir was forced to capture 1500 of their men as they by that time had reverted to their ancient Beduin life of making predatory raids upon the neighbouring country.

Among prominent men who came from this tribe the poet Labīd [q. v.] is probably the best known, but it is astonishing how few of them are recorded as traditionists or scholars.

Bibliography: Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, ed. Cairo, ii. 338—340; Kaḫkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, ed. Cairo, i. 340; Kaḫkashandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, Baghdād 1332, p. 329; Naḫʿid, ed. Bevan, passim, especially pp. 655 sqq., and 662 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen* and *Register*, p. 267; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, passim; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, passim. (F. KRENKOW)

KILĀT-I NĀDIRĪ (strictly *Katāt*), a town in Persia (Khorāsān) on the Russo-Persian frontier to the north of Meshhed and to the north-east of Sarakhs.

It is a natural fortress perched on a spur of the Ḳara-Dāgh mountains. When Arghūn rebelled against the election of Takūdar Aḥmad as Mongol Il-khān, he took refuge after his defeat, in this fortress (680/1281), the entrance on the west side of which is still known as Darbend-i Arghūn (it is also pronounced Arghawān, probably by a popular etymology). It was besieged by Tamerlane who attacked it fourteen times without success. The conqueror withdrew, leaving troops to blockade it, and it surrendered finally after a pestilence. This was the first place which Nādir Shāh, who had begun as a brigand, made his centre of action; later he built a palace there and a treasury for the spoils of Delhi.

Bibliography: Mirzā Mahdi-khān, *Tārīkh-i Djéhūn-koshāi Nādirī*, Bombay 1265, p. 18; Waṣṣāf, quoted in d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 594; P. M. Sykes in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society*, December 1906; do., *History of Persia*¹, ii. 185, 201, 341, 359 (photograph of the treasury of Nādir Shāh). (CL. HUART)

KILĪD AL-BAHR, a fortress and small town at the narrowest part of the Dardanelles.

The reader is referred to the article **KALEʿI SULTĀNIYE** where the fortress on the Asiatic side opposite Kilid al-Bahr is fully dealt with, and here only the minimum necessary is given. The castle of Kilid al-Bahr was planned and armed along with the Asiatic fortification in the years 1462/1463 by Yaʿqub Bey, sandjak-bey of Gallipoli, by order of Mehmed II (*Kritobulos*, ed. C. Müller, book iv., chapt. 14 and book xv., chapt. 3; cf. also: *Chalkokondyles*, ed. I. Bekker, p. 529, 19 and J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 73). Suleimān the Great in 958 (1551) renewed the fortifications which had fallen into decay in the interval and they were fundamentally remodelled and extended with those of Kāleʿi Sultāniye in 1069/1070 (1659/1660). The further history of Kilid al-Bahr is practically the same as that of the Asiatic fortress of Kāleʿi Sultāniye [q. v.] 1500 yards away. The ancient picturesquely situated fortress of Kilid al-Bahr with its old round tower was strengthened in later times by the addition of the modern fort of the same name with an adjoining battery, the small earthworks of Yeñi Medjidīye and the large earthworks or Namāzgāh. Behind the old tower of the fortress lies the insignificant village of the same name on the slope of a hill, which suffered a great deal during the fighting in the Dardanelles in the Great War.

Bibliography: (in addition to references under **KALEʿI SULTĀNIYE**): Ewliyā, *Seyāhetnāme*, v. 302—304 (with the chronograms); Jacob Spon, *Voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1678, i. 209; G. Wheeler, *Journey*, London 1682, 74; G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1801, i. 234; Félix de Beaujour, *Voyage militaire*, Paris 1829, ii. 489; d'Anville in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxviii., 1761, 322; Jean Reinhard, *J.-M. Angiolello (1452—1525)*, Part i., Besançon 1913, p. 58; picture in Jérôme Maurand, *Itinéraire (1544)*, ed. by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1901, on pl. xiv., picture 2 ("Sestos"), and p. 179 sqq.; a description in: *Historia, o sia vero, e distinto Ragguaglio dello Stato presente della Città di Costantinopoli* etc.; iv.: *La descrizione della Dardanelli*, Venice, 1686, 4^o, 36 pp.; J. Löwenklau (Leunclavius), *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, ed. altera, Francof., 1596, p. 122 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KİLİDJ ALAYI (T.), the "ceremony of the sword" also called *taḳlīd al-saif* or *taḳlīd-i ṣhem-ṣhīr*. It was the ceremony of investiture of the Ottoman Sultāns, which took the place of coronation. The ceremony generally took place shortly after the *bai'at*, or homage to the new Sultān. The latter, leaving his palace went by barge with great pomp to the faubourg of Aiyūb. Here he disembarked and went to the türbe of Abū Aiyūb al-Anṣārī [q. v.], accompanied by the Shāikh al-Islām, the Ḳāḍī 'Asker, the Grand Vizier, the Naḳīb al-Ashraf and a limited number of other high dignitaries. In the türbe the Shāikh al-Islām after a short *ṣalāt* of two *rak'a* proceeded to the ceremony of girding on the sword (in Turkish, *kīlīdj kushatmak*). After it, the Sultān returned on horseback through the town, always entering by the Adrianople gate. Tradition had it that the new sovereign should visit the great mosque and the türbes which contained the tombs of his ancestors.

This is how the ceremony is described by d'Ohsson (*Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, i. 305 sqq.; ii. 258) and von Hammer (*Des osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, following Tāshrifātī Zāde Muḥammad, i. 484). This description differs little from those we have of the middle of the xviith century (Ricaud, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 10, 19) and from the way in which the *kīlīdj alay* was performed in the xixth and xxth centuries. In the xixth century the part of the Shāikh al-Islām was taken by other dignitaries such as the Naḳīb al-Ashraf, in 1255/1839 at the accession of 'Abd al-Madīd (cf. Aḥmad Luṭfī, *Ta'rikh*, vi., Constantinople 1302, p. 51) and later the Čelebi Efendī of the Mewlewis at Konya (cf. Čelebi). On the last occasion on which the ceremony took place, in August 1918, after the accession of Muḥammad VI it was the Shāikh of the Sanūsīs who performed the rites (cf. the detailed description by Rūshan Ashraf, *İki Saltanat arasinda*, Constantinople 1334, p. 34 sqq.). Several Sultāns did not have the ceremony performed, such as Muṣṭafā II in 1695 and Murād V in 1876 ('Oṭhmān Nūri, *'Abd al-Ḥamid ve-dewr-i Saltanatı*, Constantinople 1327, i. 91 sqq.).

The origin of the custom of *kīlīdj alay* is obscure. Tradition, as recorded by d'Ohsson, says that Aḳ Shams al-Dīn, the holy man who discovered the tomb of Abū Aiyūb performed the ceremony for the first time in the case of Muḥammad II. But nothing of this is mentioned in the Turkish historiographers (cf. especially Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, i. 401). These rather give one the impression that the essential part used to be the pious visit made by the new Sultān, first to the türbe of Abū Aiyūb and then to the türbe's of all the other Sultāns since Muḥammad II (cf. e.g. Selaniki, *Ta'rikhi*, p. 132 for Murād III in 1575; and Na'ima, i. 195 for Aḥmad I in 1604). The first Sultān for whom the ceremony of the sword is definitely recorded seems to be Muṣṭafā I in 1617 (Na'ima, i. 320; Pečewī, ii. 361). It must be concluded that in any case not so much importance was attached to the ceremony in the early centuries as in later times. The ceremony itself has however an ancient tradition; d'Ohsson (i. 306) makes it go back to customs followed by the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt, who were girt with the sword by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph. Such a ceremony is described for example by al-Ḳalkaṣhandī (*Subḥ*, iii. 265 and 280, according to Gaudefroy-Demom-

bynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamlouks*, p. 24). In Egypt the Sultān was at the same time robed by the Caliph in a black *khiṭ'a* [q. v.]; this ceremony therefore has many points of resemblance to the formalities practised by the Caliphs of Baghdād when they wished to honour and recognise the services of their great vassals, such as the Būyids and Seldjūks. Only in the 'Abbāsīd period we find no mention made of the sword (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii. 286). It is certain therefore that the ceremony of *kīlīdj alay* rests on a very ancient tradition; it is moreover interesting to note how the Shāikh al-Islām [q. v.] here has in a way assumed the office formerly exercised by the Caliphs.

As to the sword itself, it is described by von Hammer (*l. c.*) as "the sword of the Prophet", while Aḥmad Luṭfī (*l. c.*) describes it as the sword of the Caliph 'Umar al-Fārūḳ. These statements can only be based on a pious fiction. It is further to be noted that the expression *taḳlīd al-saif* originally means putting the belt of the sword around the neck, which seems to go back to ancient Arab customs (cf. al-Shartūnī's dictionary, *Aḳrab al-Mawārid*, p. 1029). (J. H. KRAMERS)

KİLİDJ 'ALĪ PASHA. [See OCHIALY.]

KİLİDJ ARSLAN, the name of several Seldjūk rulers in Asia Minor.

1. KİLİDJ ARSLAN I B. SULAIMAN was, according to Matthew of Edessa (ch. 225), not born till after his father had overthrown Sharaf al-Dawla (478 = 1085) but this seems hardly credible as he left an eleven year old son at his death in 1107. It is certain however that he was still very young when his father fell in battle with Tutush (479 = 1086). This explains why he played a subordinate part in the war with the Crusaders, so that Christian chroniclers do not once mention his name but always talk of Solimanus or of the Sultan. Only a short time before he had returned to his father's capital Nicaea, for after Sulaiman's death the administration of Asia Minor, Antakiya, Edessa and Ḥalab was re-arranged by Malikshāh and the young KİLİDJ Arslan was taken by him to 'Irāk. After Malikshāh's death in 485 (1092) KİLİDJ Arslan was granted permission by Barkiyarūḳ to return to Asia Minor and according to Byzantine sources he married a daughter of the powerful emir of Smyrna, called Tzachas, which did not please the Greeks so that they set about — and with success it is said — estranging him from his father-in-law. When the Crusaders advanced on Nicaea, KİLİDJ Arslan had been clever enough not to allow himself to be shut up in the fortress, but took part in the battles later fought between the Turks and Crusaders, although, as already mentioned, not he but rather Turkish emirs, notably Danishmand (Tanismanus) held the command. The relationship between the Seldjūks and the Danishmandiya was already not of a friendly nature although for some time they united against the common foe. They were quarrelling about the possession of the town of Malaṭya, where an Armenian named Gabriel was ruling under the suzerainty of Tutush. KİLİDJ Arslan was actually besieging the town, when the Crusaders advanced and when he had retired for this reason Danishmand ravaged the country round the town. Gabriel therefore appealed for help to Boemund but when the latter hurried up he was taken prisoner by Danishmand and Malaṭya had to surrender to the latter (1101). The attempts of other Crusading armies

to relieve him failed and the only course left for the Christians was to purchase his liberty for a very high ransom. KİLİDJ Arslân, as the Christian chroniclers tell us, claimed a portion of the ransom for himself, which gave rise to a new quarrel with Danışmand and to the great vexation of the Muslims, who knew how much the cause of Islâm suffered thereby. When Danışmand died in 1106, KİLİDJ Arslân seized the opportunity to get possession of Malatya by a treaty. At the same time he also became master of Maiyafârikin, appeared with an imposing army in front of Edessa but when he could do nothing there he went to Harrân where he fell ill. He therefore returned to Malatya and there received an invitation from the people of Mōsul to help them in their struggle with the Seldjuks ruler Muḥammad or more accurately his general Djawali Saka'u, who at the latter's command had taken prisoner the rebellious lord of the town Djakarmish. KİLİDJ Arslân heeded the appeal and appeared in 1107 in Mōsul, established himself on the throne there and had his own name mentioned in the *khutba* instead of Muḥammad's. He returned at once, after leaving his son Malikshâh under the guardianship of an emir in the town, to resume the struggle with Djawali, who had in the meanwhile received help from Raḍwân of Damascus. On a hot summer's day (June 3, 1107) the two armies met on the bank of the Khâbūr, but it was very soon apparent that KİLİDJ Arslân had lost the day. He threw himself in his heavy armour on horseback into the river, but the horse sank beneath this burden and KİLİDJ Arslân was drowned. The body was afterwards recovered, taken to Maiyafârikin and buried there in a specially built *kubba*. His son Mas'ûd's wish to move it to Konya was not carried out.

Bibliography: See the article SELDJUKS.

2. KİLİDJ ARSLÂN II, B. MAS'ÛD, reigned from 1155—1192. In the lifetime of his father he was appointed by him lord of the towns conquered in the southeast of Asia Minor and succeeded him on his death, thrusting aside his two brothers. He also succeeded — but only after several years — in putting an end to the Danışmandid dynasty in the peninsula and securing sole supremacy for the Seldjuks. We cannot go into the details of this struggle here, but only mention that a member of that dynasty, Dhu 'l-Nûn, brought a much more dangerous enemy, the famous Nûr al-Dîn, against him. He was not on good terms with the latter even at the beginning of his reign because they could not agree about the possession of several places in the south-east of Asia Minor. Therefore when Dhu 'l-Nûn, after KİLİDJ Arslân had seized his lands appealed to Nûr al-Dîn, the latter was quite ready to take up his cause. He invaded Asia Minor with an army, occupied Mar'ash, Kaisum, Behisni, Marzabân and even Siwâs (1173) KİLİDJ Arslân then began negotiations for peace, for which Nûr al-Dîn was not disinclined in view of his continual war with the Christians but he insisted on rather harsh conditions and made KİLİDJ Arslân the reproach that he could not consider him a Muslim in view of his friendly relations with the Byzantines. But the peace was concluded, although the garrison sent to Siwâs remained there till Nûr al-Dîn's death in 1174. KİLİDJ Arslân thereupon seized all the towns which the Danışmandids had previously held, with the exception of Malatya, where a member of this dynasty held out till 1177 when KİLİDJ

Arslân was able to capture this much contested town after a four months' siege.

The relations between KİLİDJ Arslân and the Byzantines were by no means always of a friendly nature. The Turkish emirs in the frontier lands used to harass the Christians from time to time when the opportunity occurred, e.g. in 1159, when Manuel hurried back to Constantinople from Cilicia by forced marches, so that KİLİDJ Arslân, who was considered personally responsible went to Constantinople in person and was entertained in regal fashion by the Emperor (probably in 1161). Long negotiations were carried on in which the relations of the Seldjuks to the Danışmandids were also discussed. Nevertheless the conduct of the Turks continued later to give rise to many complaints and when Dhu 'l-Nûn, after his protector Nûr al-Dîn had died was in Constantinople, the Emperor Manuel, who in any case had unwillingly seen the Seldjuks obtain sole supremacy in Asia Minor to the disadvantage of the Greek policy *divide et impera*, resolved to undertake a campaign on a large scale against KİLİDJ Arslân. The latter was cunning enough to avoid a direct encounter with his impetuous and chivalrous opponent, but when the latter was encamped in Murioképhalon (Pass of Çardak) the Turks suddenly fell upon him and inflicted a disastrous defeat on the army (572 = 1176). KİLİDJ Arslân duly trumpeted this victory throughout the Muslim world as evidence of his ardent zeal for the faith, sent a portion of the booty to the Abbâsid caliph and was celebrated as a hero of the faith by poets such as Ibn al-Ta'âwîdhî. An enterprise against Niksâr at the same time in the interest of the Danışmandids was equally unsuccessful and a nephew of the Emperor Andronikos Vatalzes fell in it. Henceforth the Greeks left the Turks in peace.

Some time afterwards KİLİDJ Arslân quarrelled with the all-powerful Şalâh al-Dîn, first about the ownership of the fortress of Ra'bân, which Mas'ûd had conquered but had lost to Nûr al-Dîn. When KİLİDJ Arslân was preparing to occupy the town, Şalâh al-Dîn sent troops thither under the command of Taqî al-Dîn 'Omar b. Shâhînsâh, who drove out the Turks, because KİLİDJ Arslân had no wish to involve himself in a war with Şalâh al-Dîn for the sake of a not very important fortress (575 = 1179/1180). Soon, however, the conduct of the Ortukid of Hîsn Kaifa who had married a daughter of KİLİDJ Arslân named Seldjuḳa Khâtûn, gave rise to further disagreement between the two rulers. KİLİDJ Arslân was incensed against Nûr al-Dîn Muḥammad (the Ortukid) because he neglected his daughter for a songstress, so that Nûr al-Dîn out of fear of the wrath of his father-in-law appealed for help to Şalâh al-Dîn. The latter ordered KİLİDJ Arslân to leave Nûr al-Dîn alone and when KİLİDJ Arslân refused to do so Şalâh al-Dîn himself marched with a force on Ra'bân, but was dissuaded from continuing the war by the representations of the able perwâna of KİLİDJ Arslân, Ikhtiyâr al-Dîn Ḥasan. As to the Seldjuḳ princess, it may here be mentioned that she later came to Baghdâd and died there in 586 (1188) as we know from an epitaph which Niebuhr copied in his journal.

If KİLİDJ Arslân had good fortune in all these matters, grave disasters overtook him and his kingdom at the end of his life; firstly the passage of the Third Crusade, in which even his capital

Ḳonya was occupied in 1190, and secondly the quarrels of his numerous sons. The latter, nearly a dozen in number, if we include a few other relations, had each received from Kilġdj Arslān rule over a certain town and its territory and when their father became old and weak conducted themselves as independent rulers. One of these, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Malikshāh, lord of Siwās, was able to arouse Kilġdj Arslān's suspicions of the Parwāna who had been Kilġdj Arslān's greatest support, and had him murdered (1183). He then forced his father to instal him as heir to the throne, and henceforth acted as if he were sole ruler. The aged Kilġdj Arslān escaped from his tyranny and sought refuge with another of his sons, and finally reached his youngest son Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusrāw at Burglu where he fell ill and died (August 1192) Ghīyāth al-Dīn had the body brought in a litter to Ḳonya, giving out that his father was ill, thinking that in this way he would himself gain possession of the Seldjūk capital, which he did do for a time (cf. the article KAIKHUSRAW). He had his father's body interred there and the tomb with inscription still exists.

Bibliographic: see the Art. SELDJUKS.

The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian is particularly important here, as the author was personally acquainted with Kilġdj Arslān.

3. KILġDJ ARSLĀN III B. RUKN AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN had homage paid him as Sulṭān after the death of his father in 600 (1203) but had to give way only a few months later to his uncle Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusrāw.

4. KILġDJ ARSLĀN IV B. GHIVĀTH AL-DĪN KAIKHUSRAW II is better known by his *laḡab* Rukn al-Dīn. He has already been dealt with in the article KAIKĀ'ŪS II (cf. ii., p. 637) down to the time when his brother, joint Sulṭān with him, sought refuge with the Greek Emperor (659=1261). Henceforth he was sole Sulṭān but the real power lay in the hands of the Parwāna Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān [q. v.]. When he became inconvenient to the latter he was treacherously put to death by order of the Parwāna (664=1266).

KILLIZ, a town in Northern Syria between Ḥalab and 'Aintāb. It was apparently already known to the Assyrians, for a cuneiform inscription (Harper 1037, Brit. Mus. K. 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town *Ki-li-zi*. In the Roman period the town was called *Ciliza sive Urmagiganti* (*Ilin. Ant.*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, p. 84). It must have been quite insignificant in the middle ages; it is mentioned in the rising against the patriarch Dionysius of Tellmahre in 817 A.D. (*Killiz* should be read in Barhebr., *Histor. eccles.*, ed. Abbeoos-Lamy, i. 339, 342, 1 for *Kalaz* or *Shalaz* and in Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, *Chron. syr.*, iii. 23, for *Halif*). Yāḳūt calls Killiz (as he writes it) a village of the nāhiye of 'Azāz; almost all the other Arab geographers do not mention it. The modern town has about 20,000 inhabitants including 15,000 Muslims (Cuinet 1891); the Arabs still call it Killiz and the Turks *Kilis*. According to M. Hartmann, the ancient Killiz was at the modern Tarzime Khān (1 hour's journey W.S.W. of the modern Killiz) where large stones are still found; while tradition still assumes the little garden *Ilezi baghçesi* (20 minutes east of Killiz) to be the old site of the town or of a part of it, as the name Killiz is supposed to survive in Ilezi and there are traces of an old site here.

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AL-KILY, the salts (alkali, soda and potash) obtained from the ashes of different plants, especially those which belong to the salsoceae and allied families; it often means the ash itself and the lye obtained from it. Among plants special mention is made of *al-ḥamḍ* which therefore cannot here be sorrel. The best ash is said to be that of *al-ḥurḍ* which is defined as *al-uṣḥnān*. Uṣḥnān originally means saltwort but now it seems to be identical with *arthrocemum glaucum* or *anabasis articulata* or *seidlitzia rosmarinus*. *Hurḍ* and *uṣḥnān* seem to be often *nomina generis*, even in old Arabic. Seetzen in several passages in his *Reisebeschreibung* (e.g. vol. iii., p. 68) mentions the obtaining of alkali but always from saline plants (the reference is therefore to soda).

Al-kily usually means sodium carbonate, soda, as the saline plants contain sodium salts. But another carbonate is also obtained, potassium carbonate (potash); for example, al-Rāzī in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* mentions a salt of ashes (*milḥ al-ramād*) which is obtained from oak ashes. In alchemical works ashes of poplar trees and figtrees etc. are mentioned. There is also a *kily al-ḥumr* (= *al-ḥumra*), wine-lees-kily or ashes from lees; it is the ash of tartar; we also have tartar = potassium carbonate (see Berggren, *op. cit.*, p. 441).

A sharp distinction between soda and potash was not possible. Different ashes yielded different amounts of both which could only be distinguished at best by the taste and therefore with little certainty. In place of *al-kily* the *Mafātih al-'Ulūm* (ed. van Vloten, p. 259) speaks of *milḥ al-kily*. According to J. J. Hess in Nejd it is called *ḍilu*, i. e. *kilw*.

On the preparation of *kily* the *Tādī* observes that certain plants are burned in a moist condition and the ashes sprinkled with water (i. e. lyed) and that this lye is precipitated to *al-kily* (probably by steaming).

Al-kily, i. e. the lye, is primarily used for washing. According to alchemical works lime can be added to this lye, it then becomes stronger and more suitable for soap-making. The ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans used the ashes obtained in this way for cleaning and washing and had no soap (cf. against the contrary view the very full discussion by Blümner in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedia* 2, s. v. Seife). On the other hand the Arabs made and used soap probably usually the hard soda-soap. The kali-soap made from potash is soft soap. Ibn Duraid (321=933) is the first to use the word, Ibn Abī Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq

several times in his work (composed in 968—977, *Principles of Pharmacology*; K. Kobert, *Historische Studien*, iii., 1893, p. 1—278) mentions soap (*ṣābūn*) and also the hard kind. We learn through al-Mustaʿīn that the soap (*al-raḳḳi*) made in Raḳḳa was a dry soap (read *dīaff*) like bees-wax. It was made into cubes so must have been firm (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 847a). A full description of the manufacture of soap in Tripolis in Syria is given by L. Rawolfen (*Aigentliche Beschreibung der Reisse*, etc., Lauguigen 1582, p. 38/39). Seaweed was burned there, hard potassium soap was obtained; one could stamp it or walk upon it. Whether kali or soft soap was made or not is not certain.

Al-ḳily is also used in the manufacture of glass; it brings sand to the melting point, purifies it and makes it easily take a colour. Glass-makers (*al-naḳḳādjūn*) use it: only sodium carbonate could be used for glass-making as the glasses of potassium are very difficult to melt and part. That many ancient glasses contained potassium is natural. The *al-ḳily* obtained from *al-ḥurd* is used by the dyers and is called *ḳily al-sabbāghīn*, the *ḳily* of the dyers; the name *Shabb al-ʿUṣfur* is connected with this, the alum of saffron and the passage in the *Tādī*; it is a grain with which one treats saffron as with alum. The reason for this statement is that alum is used in many dyes as a colouring matter; this is not however the case with alkali carbonates; they are used in saffron to dissolve the dye-material which is practically insoluble in pure water.

From what has been said above it will be clear that it is not correct to call soda (alkali) after the Arabic word *al-ḳily*. Medical and other uses are discussed in al-Ḳazwīnī, Ibn al-Baiṭār etc. It should further be noted that the accurate botanical identification of the different plant-names is extremely difficult.

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KIMĀK (usually written: Kimāk and wrongly vocalised: Kaimāk), name of a Turkish people on the lower course of the Irtysh. Ibn Khurdādhbih (text in *B. G. A.*, vi. 28 and 31) mentions a road thither (80 or 81 days) from Tarāz (now Awliyā Atā) or Kuwikat, seven farsakh distant, and Gardīzi (in Barthold, *Otlet o poeutiē v Srednjuju Asiju*, p. 82 sq.) fully describes another route from Fārāb (Otrāb) (via Jenikend, the modern ruins called Džankent south of the mouth of the Sfr-Daryā). According to Muḳaddasī or Maḳdisī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 274) a portion of the Kimāk at the end of

the ivth (xth) century were already dwelling in the immediate neighbourhood of the Muslim territory in Turkestan. The historical importance of the Kimāk lies in the fact that there sprang from them the later very numerous people of the Ḳipčak (called Kuman in Europe and Polovtzi by the Russians), originally only a tribe of the Kimāk. From the vth (xith) century (the mention in Idrīsī naturally comes from written sources) the name of the Kimāk disappears and is not again mentioned in the Mongol period. Cf. also J. Marquart in *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 1914, index, s. v. Kimāk; on the pronunciation, p. 89, note 1.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲIMĀR, games of chance. The Ḳurʿān prohibited games of chance, under the name of *maisir*, at the same time as it forbade wine (ii. 216; v. 92); they are, it says, a great sin. The pagan Arabs gambled a great deal, say the commentators and staked in play their families and their property. Zamakhshari interprets *maisir* by *ḳimār*, and applies this name especially to the lottery with arrows. There were ten inscribed arrows; a victim was divided into ten parts; the arrows were drawn by lot and to each of them corresponded a part; or sometimes twenty-eight parts were made, one part was allotted to the first arrow; two to the second, three to the third and so on up to the seventh; the three last arrows got nothing and paid the cost of the game. This lottery was practised chiefly in Mecca. According to a tradition of the Prophet, the prohibition also applied to *Kaʿbatain* (dice): "These accursed dice belong to the *maisir* of Persia"; and according to a tradition of ʿAlī to chess and back-gammon. According to Ibn Sīrīn, it is extended to everything in which there is a stake or a bet (*ḳhaṭar*).

As regards chess, it should be noted that certain forms only of this game, and these the less usual, necessitate the use of dice and can be regarded as games of chance; back-gammon, on the other hand, is always played with two dice (see SHAṬRANĀJ). The Persian dictionary of Vullers also classifies among the *ḳimār* horse-racing, because betting takes place on it. It was in favour in the time of Arab paganism up to the beginning of Islām and under the Omayyads. The historian Masʿūdī quotes about this a curious and ancient piece of poetry (*Murūdj*, viii. 377).

Cards are called amongst Orientals "the leaves of fate", *warāḳ al-ḳimār* or *ḳimār kiaghadi*; their origin or at least their diffusion, is more recent than that of the games which we have mentioned. The Arabs have never taken to them; but the Persians were great lovers of them and painted beautiful packs (for example a Persian pack of cards bought by Prisse in Egypt and bearing sabres, crowns, helmets and other signs, "*Magasin Pittoresque*", 1846, xiv., p. 365). The use of cards was known in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century, and spread throughout Europe during the fourteenth century. It is said without any good reason to have come from the Arabs. The use which is made of cards for fortune-telling is not without an analogy in the proceedings of geomancy, an ancient superstition in vogue in the north of Africa. We must recall in this connection the opinion of Etteila whose work is the authority on cartomancy. This student of magic attributes to the Egyptians the invention of checkered

cards, which he calls the book of Thot; this "book" composed of 78 sheets of gold bearing hieroglyphics was the only thing which escaped from the fire of the library of Alexandria in the time of 'Omar; it passed afterwards from the Arabs to the other nations, who received it at the same time as the books on philosophy. Cards are certainly connected with the Chinese games played with tablets bearing figures or symbolical or moral characters which are grouped by families; such games were known in China from the twelfth century.

The Persians have always had gaming-houses which they call *kīmār khāna* (*kīmār* is also found with the simple *k*). The new ruler of Persia, Rīzā Khān, had them closed on his accession (Nov. 1925). "This world — says the poet Sauzenī wishing to express the sentiment of the uncertainty of fate — is the gambling-house of the gods".

Bibliography: Th. Hyde, *Historia Ner-diludii*, p. 103; Spiegel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 138, 149; Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, Bonn 1864, under *kīmār* and *mang*; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, Calcutta 1856, i. 147; *Le Grand Etteila*, new ed. by Julia Orsini, n.d., introduction. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

AL-KĪMIYĀ', alchemy.

Introductory. The name. In modern chemistry, by a qualitative analysis of the substances occurring in nature the elements composing them are ascertained and by a quantitative analysis their proportions are obtained. From these elements the substances themselves and countless others can be built up by a synthesis; this is done as a result of theoretical considerations which are based on observations. They enable the elements to be combined and their formation to be ascertained in keeping with the facts and even the structure of atoms to be investigated. These purely scientific investigations then lead to inquiries on the obtaining by technical means of practically important substances and the manufacture of corresponding new substances.

In *kīmīyā'*, alchemy, one starts off on the other hand from theories propounded *a priori* and isolated facts often wrongly interpreted and endeavours to manufacture precious metals and jewels, either by mixing in a suitable way bodies that occur in nature or by applying an elixir to them. If the study of *kīmīyā'* was at first less fruitful for the development of knowledge than that of astrology, this was because the latter was able to use the achievements of a very advanced branch of knowledge and was able to advance by means of its investigations, while this was not the case with *kīmīyā'*. It was only from its study and practice that methods of work developed and a more thorough knowledge of the substances occurring in nature and those obtained from them, was obtained; and this knowledge was later put to scientific use. It formed the starting point for the science of chemistry, especially when analytic methods of separation became more generally known.

Kīmīyā' is in Arabic not primarily an abstraction but means a substance, the means by which the transmutation of metals is affected; it is therefore synonymous with *ikṣir*. The word is usually derived from *kam-it* or *kem-it*, the black (A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1920, p. 14); according to H. Diels (*Antike Technik*, Leipzig

1920, 2nd ed., p. 123), it comes from *ḫūma* molten metal. In the *Mafāṭih al-'Ulūm* (p. 256) it is derived from *kamā*, to conceal, while escaped to al-Ṣafādī, it comes from the Hebrew and is composed of *kīm* and *yah*; according to him the word means that this science comes from God.

Kīmīyā' thus comes also to mean a method by which one endeavours to obtain something, e.g. in *kīmīyā' al-sa'āda*, *k. al-ghanā'*, *k. al-ḫulūb*, i.e. means by which fortune or advantage is attained or hearts are moved (Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v. 285); in this sense it is found in the titles of works by Arab mystics.

Alchemy itself is called *ṣan'at al-kīmīyā'*, *ṣan'at al-ikṣir*, *'ilm al-ṣinā'a*, *al-ḥikma* or briefly *kīmīyā'* or *al-ṣan'a*. Other names are the science of the stone (*ḥadjjar*), of the key (*miṣṭāḥ*). It is also known as the science of the balance or of the scales (*mīzān* or *mawāzīn*); a much used work of Djābir b. Ḥayyān, one of the first in this field, is called *Kitāb al-Mawāzīn*, while one of the last prominent alchemists, al-Djildakī (d. about 1350), also wrote a work on *'Ilm al-Mīzān* (Berlin, *Verz.*, No. 4185). *Kīmīyā'* does not get this name, as might be supposed, because scales are used in it but because in its problems the relations and considerations of the right measures and proportions of the lower world, of the elementary qualities to one another and of the lower to the upper world are discussed. Only when a correct equilibrium is attained can the desired results (see Berlin, *Verz.*, No. 4185) be obtained. Just as the body is only sound when its qualities, its humours, are in the right proportions to one another, so it is with the precious metals. The alchemist is called *kīwāmī* (*kīmawī*, *kīmī*, cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*), *kīmīyā'ī* (Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 188, 20), *ṣan'awī* (*Fihrist*, p. 351), *ikṣirī* (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*, text, p. 35, 14).

Alchemists and their writings. Just as in the middle ages alchemical knowledge was sought in Enoch, Homer, in the Greek myths, etc., so, according to Muslim writers, God taught Adam this science and he taught his son Seth. Abraham, Idris (here = Enoch), David, Solomon and Korah, who however had got his knowledge from Moses possessed it. Muḥammad and the Caliph 'Alī were said to have been acquainted with alchemy (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, lxiii.).

The Arab alchemists relied very often on works which were ascribed to Greek authors and as usual these included many pseudepigraphic works. We may mention Hermes Trismegistos, Ostanēs, Zosimus, Krates, Democritus, Cleopatra, Maria, Apollonius of Tyana, Aristotle, also Pythagoras, Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy etc. A list is given by M. Steinschneider in the *Z. D. M. G.*, i. 356 (1896). — Some of the Arabic texts ascribed to such authors have been published by Berthelot (*op. cit.*). The knowledge of these writings was probably in part disseminated through the Syrians; indeed it is recorded that the teacher of Khalīd b. Yazīd to be mentioned below was a monk named Marianus and translations were prepared for him by Iṣṭifān al-Qadīm.

In Arabic literature a large number of Muslim alchemists and their works are cited. The list is however not nearly so long as that of the astronomers and astrologers, who played a very different and scientific part and therefore were generally noticed.

The *Fihrist* probably gives most names (p. 351); according to Stapleton, al-Kāthī gives another; al-Akfānī quotes a few works with an appreciation of them; M. Berthelot (iii. 41 sq.) has given a number of names and books from *al-Wāfi fī Tadbīr al-Kāfi* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maṣmūdī; al-Djildakī mentions those who seem the most important to him in the introduction to his *al-Miṣbāḥ fī 'Ilm al-Miftāḥ*, "Lights of the Science of the Key" (Leiden, Cod. 935); finally there are numerous references in the section *Kashf al-Zunūn* on alchemy in Ḥājjdjī Khalifa. The writings quoted at the end of it (in Flügel's ed., v. 284) are in any case those most read in his time. It is remarkable to find among them one by Ibn Sinā (*Mir'at al-Adjā'ib*, "Mirror of Wonders").

We now give a list of the best known Muslim alchemists with one or more of their principal works:

Khalid b. Yazīd, an Umayyad prince (d. 85 = 704); to him is erroneously ascribed *Firdaws al-Hikma* = "Paradise of Wisdom" (Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 67) [see below].

Djābir b. Haiyān [q. v.] who is not identical with the Geber who wrote in Latin — Berthelot distinguishes them as Djābir and Geber — is the author of numerous works; a number of them have been published by Berthelot, *op. cit.*, iii.; but according to some he was a mythical personage. J. Ruska however has shown that he was by no means mythical [see below] cf. Brockelmann, i. 240 sq.).

Ibn al-Waḥshiya [q. v.] (c. 870) wrote, in addition to *al-Falāḥa al-Nabaṭiya*, which contains some interesting information along with a good deal of nonsense, and is probably really from the pen of Abū Ṭālib al-Zaiyāt, alchemical works, which were used for example by Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī in his *Cosmography* (Brockelmann, i. 242).

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī (Rhases), the celebrated physician (c. 288 = 900), wrote, besides alchemical works the *Kitāb al-Asrār* (Brockelmann, i. 233 sq.); this is now being edited by J. Ruska.

Ibn Umail al-Tamīmī (eighth or tenth cent.) wrote the *Miftāḥ al-Hikma al-uzmā'* (cf. Leiden, *Cat.*, No. 1274; Brockelmann, i. 241 sq.).

Al-Fārābī [q. v.], the famous philosopher (d. 339 = 950), wrote: "On the necessity of the art of arts, i. e. the Elixir" (Brockelmann, i. 210 sq.).

Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Maḍrīṭī (d. 398 = 1007), also distinguished as a mathematician and astronomer, was the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-'Ulamā'* (Brockelmann, i. 243).

Abu 'l-Ḥakīm Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥī al-Khwarizmī al-Kāthī (c. 425 = 1034) wrote: "The Essential of the Art and the Help for the Workers", *'Ain al-San'a wa-'Awm al-Sunnā'* (s. H. E. Stapleton and R. Azo, *op. cit.*).

Mu'aiyid al-Dīn al-Ṭuḡhrā'i (d. about 515 = 1122), the famous vizier and poet often mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (s. *Bibliography*), wrote for example the *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-'l-Mafātiḥ*, then *Mafātiḥ al-Rahma* and *Anwār al-Hikma*, Paris, No. 2414, probably also al-*Djawhar al-Munir fī San'at al-Iksir*, Berlin, No. 10361. — According to Gildemeister he was the Artephius of the west (Brockelmann, i. 247 sq.).

Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Arfa' Ra's (d. 593 = 1197?) is the author of the *Shudūr al-Dhahab*,

the "gold-spangle", which was often annotated (Brockelmann, i. 496).

Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Irākī al-Simāwī (c. 700 = 1300?). From his pen comes the *al-Muktabab fī Zīrā'at al-Dhahab*, on which al-Djildakī wrote a commentary (Brockelmann, i. 496 sq.).

'Alī b. Aidamir b. 'Alī al-Djildakī's (c. 1342) writings and commentaries were much used later as is evident from the numerous manuscripts that still exist. They all move in mystically speculative channels (Brockelmann, ii. 138).

Abu 'l-Aṣḥab b. Tammām al-'Irākī (d. 762 = 1360/1361) (Brockelmann, i. 524).

Unfortunately we still lack a compilation for the alchemists such as H. Suter has prepared in masterly fashion for the Arab mathematicians and astronomers. For those who were also physicians the works of Wüstenfeld and Leclerc on Arab physicians and Arab medicines give much information. For the earliest history of Arabic alchemy it is of great importance that J. Ruska has shown that the stories of Khalid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya and Djāfar al-Ṣādīq are simply legends, at least so far as they are concerned with their part as alchemists and with the latter as teacher of Djābir b. Haiyān; on the other hand Djābir b. Haiyān, as is becoming more and more evident, was in reality the great founder of Arab alchemy and al-Rāzī his most important successor (Ruska and Holmyard).

The theories of the Alchemists. The formation of minerals, following Aristotelian views (cf. e. g. the very lucid account in the *Āin-i Akbarī*, text i., p. 33—36, transl. i. 38—41 and also the writings of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, *loc. cit.*) was imagined to be somewhat on the following lines. Under the influence of the heat of the sun watery particles rise into the heavens, which are cold and moist, out of the water which is moist and light. When they mingle with the air, which is hot and dry, vapours (*bukhār*) are formed; out of the earth which is hot and dry there arise from the same cause particles which, mixed with the air, form smoke (*dukhān*). *Bukhār* and *dukhān* thus together contain the four elemental qualities (cold, hot, dry and moist). Their mixture over the surface of the earth produces clouds, wind, rain, snow etc. and under it earthquakes, springs and minerals. The *bukhār* is regarded as the body and the *dukhān* as the soul of the substances. According to their quality and quantity different bodies are formed, including jewels; according to many alchemists the astrological constellations play a part in this. If *bukhār* predominates in the mixture, and the warmth of the sun produces a contraction after the complete mixture, quicksilver is formed, if both are present in almost equal quantities, a viscid, fatty, moist substance is formed; if this matures, particles of air emanate from it unless cold brings about a contraction. This mass is inflammable. If there is a small preponderance of *dukhān*, sulphur is formed, red or yellow, white or grey; in other cases we get *zarnīkh* and naphtha. The substances thus formed, quicksilver, which is also called the mother, and sulphur which is also called the father of the seven bodies (metals) are their sole components. Differences in the kind of body are due to differences in the purity of the components, to the mixture being made in a particular way, and to

the components affecting each other in different ways; the heat in the deposits may change, cold may supervene etc. — The components are found in the purest form and in the proper proportions first in gold and then in silver; this is less the case with the other metals, which were therefore described as diseased gold and silver; tin is considered as leprous silver and quicksilver as apoplectic silver.

When the alchemists however speak of sulphur and quicksilver, they frequently do not mean the substances usually known by this name. Thus *Djābir distinguishes* (Berthelot, *op. cit.*, iii. 207) an eastern and a western quicksilver; but what he means by these is not clear from his statement.

The opinions just outlined vary much in individual points of detail but must have been assumed in principle by all Muslim scholars, without essential alteration; for example al-Akfānī briefly defines alchemy as follows (E. Wiedemann, in the *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, Ser. ii., vol. xxvi., 1907, p. 106): — the doctrine of alchemy is a science by which one endeavours to take their qualities from minerals and to give them qualities which they did not have.

The Arab scholars were however divided into two groups, one of which assumed the possibility of a transmutation of metals and the other denied it. The former took up the position that the metals and minerals likewise differ only in their accidental qualities, i. e. that they belong to a *naw'* and that it is possible, although difficult, with the means at man's disposal, to make the corresponding changes. To this school belong al-Fārābī and the alchemists above mentioned. As evidence for the possibility of alchemy numerous phenomena that had been observed were adduced, notably the continually asserted cases of spontaneous generation, according to which animals were produced from the most different inanimate objects (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Die Lehre von der generatio spontanea*, *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift* [N. F.], xv. 381, 1916), and the hatching of hens' eggs in incubators in Egypt, or the manufacture of glass from soda and sand, the dissolving of stone (probably with vinegar, cf. O. Rescher, *Der Islam*, 1919, ix. 120 who quotes a passage from al-Balādhuri), the manufacture of bronze from copper and *tūtīyā* burned with coal, reduced zinc oxyde, the dyeing of glass by adding various materials. From these processes bodies are frequently produced which bear no similarity to the original substances.

The opponents of alchemy regard the metals as being different in their essential qualities — as not belonging to the same *naw'*; it might be possible to imagine the transmutation of a metal in theory but it could not be carried out for fundamental and practical reasons. Ibn Sinā (*Hādījī Khalīfa*, *op. cit.*) reasons as follows: "Even if it were possible to stain silver with the colour of gold etc., in such a way that something was taken from or added to the dyed body, I do not see from this the possibility of transmutation of metals. For probably the things observed do not correspond to the fundamental qualities which settle the nature of the body but are accidental things, only necessary to characterise of the body. But the fundamental qualities are unknown; one can therefore not look for them, produce them or destroy them". Other writers emphasised that the

time available to alchemists for their researches is too short, for very long periods of time have passed in the interior of the earth during which the elements etc. were being cooked sometimes under the influence of certain constellations, until they were transformed into precious metals (cf. al-Djāhīz, who also wrote a work on *al-Kīmiyā*; *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, loc. cit., p. 73).

One of the most notable opponents of alchemy was al-Kindī [q. v.] whom Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī attacked with unseemly vigour (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, i.).

Even in the xvth century and later when Muslim learning had considerably declined and it must be assumed that criticism had become much weaker, alchemy was still vigorously attacked. This is seen from a section in the *Cosmography* of al-Dimashkī (d. 727 = 1327), who devoted some time to the refutation of alchemy (ed. Mehren, text, p. 58, transl., p. 64). The ardent alchemist al-Djildakī considered it necessary to add to his commentary on *al-Muktasab* a chapter entitled: "On the possibility that the accident may disappear, which has entered into the specific kind (*naw'*) so that the body again assumes its specific kind by art, further, on the proof that the art, its practice and the certain proof for it is possible and finally on the refutation of him who ridicules it and says it is useless" (Leiden, *Cat. Or.*, iii. 204). The great historian Ibn Khaldūn (*op. cit.*) also vigorously attacks alchemy and its representatives (see Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft*, i.).

This refusal to have anything to do with alchemy was largely due to the repeated failures of the alchemists, which brought scorn and ridicule on their heads, and vigorous attacks on the pernicious study of alchemy. Ibn Khaldūn observes that it was usually poor people who studied alchemy. Ibn Sinā, who denied the reality of the elixir, possessed great wealth, while al-Fārābī who believed in it was one of the most unfortunate of men and did not always have sufficient food. — 'Abd al-Laṭīf says: "Verily, most men have been ruined by the work of Ibn Sinā and by alchemy". — There are two proverbs: "Three things cannot be attained by three things, youth by rouge, health by medicine, and treasure by *al-kīmiyā*" and "He who studies astrology is not secure from poverty". To conclude, al-Ṣafādī gives very scornful remarks on alchemy and the fruitless endeavours of its followers.

The alchemists however consoled themselves with the reflection that at any rate the knowledge of alchemy had once existed but had later been lost, but it would certainly be found again (see E. Wiedemann, in the *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, Series ii., vol. xxvi., 1907, p. 123; Ibn al-Fakīh, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, v., p. 205; Yākūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 264; al-Kāzwinī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 164).

Among the alchemists we must carefully distinguish the men who were convinced of the possibility of the transmutation of metals, and went about their task in good faith and the swindlers. The serious students were in part philosophers who derived their doctrine of the elixir by pure deduction from Aristotelian views; of these the most notable was al-Fārābī. Others enlivened simple assumptions with mystic, gnostic, neo-Platonic etc. ideas and then wrote works of

which it may be said to be very doubtful whether the authors themselves understood them. As the latter admit, puzzling expressions are deliberately used, but these vary from school to school, simply, we are told, to prevent the masses and the rulers from making gold artificially, which would be very harmful. Each successive writer seems to try to surpass his predecessor in obscurity and the commentaries do not make the originals any clearer. It is often difficult to understand how intelligent beings could have written such things. They claim to have acquired their knowledge, as was indeed common among Muslim scholars, on distant journeys. The study of alchemy has had one undesirable result, in as much as the representatives of the mystic movement in Islām studied alchemy e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) who called gold and silver the "great names" (see al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 51, transl. p. 56). To this school may be said to belong more or less the Pseudo-Khalid b. Yazid, Ibn al-Wahshiya, Ibn Umail al-Tamimi, Ibn Arfaʿ Ra's, al-Djildaki, Abu 'l-Kāsim al-ʿIrāqī and others. Many of these men, however, made experiments, at least, according to al-Šafādī, the Imām al-Ḥaramain (al-Djuwaini) was burned to death by a jet of flame. Another group of alchemists describe experiments in their works, but it is not always certain whether these were actually made or whether they are purely imaginary; the latter is of course always the case when a real elixir is said to have been made and its effects even described. Of this nature are the works of Djābir b. Ḥaiyān, the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī, that of al-Ṭuḡhrāʾī, *al-Djawhar al-Munīr* etc., that of al-Kāthī and the Arabic writings on which are based the works of the western scholar known as Geber. Frequently as in al-Rāzī the arrangement in these books on alchemy is such that the substances and apparatus are first described and then the various experiments are detailed, arranged according to the methods of treatment like sublimation, calcination, dissolution, etc. and not as with us according to the substances investigated; we thus see what great stress was laid on method.

Whether the alchemists ever had any laboratories on a large scale with a staff of assistants is not yet known; their workrooms were probably very like those often described later, as they required special arrangements for many purposes which could only be set up in a special room. At any rate this was the case with alchemists who worked for princes, who frequently employed an alchemist just as they had a court astrologer. The unsuccessful efforts of two may here be mentioned; al-Ma'mūn (198—218 = 813—833) said to an alchemist Yūsuf Luḡwa, who had had no success: — "Alas for you: there is nothing in *al-kimiyā*." The latter replied in excuse that the druggists swindled him whereupon the Caliph declared himself satisfied. Others did not fare so well, as is shown by the story, whether true or not, that Abū Šālih Maṣnūr b. Ishāk, a Sāmānid, beat al-Rāzī so severely that he blinded him. It is more probable that, as al-Baihaqī records, his eyes were affected by the vapours which arose in the preparation of the elixir and that he had himself treated by a physician for a large fee. He thought that this was the true *al-kimiyā* and became himself a physician. Al-Ma'sūdī also talks of grave injuries caused by vapours (see E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*

Zur. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften, ii. 547). They resulted in loss of hearing or sight, and loss of colour in the face (in heating vitriol for example sulphuric acid escapes). Poisonous vapours are also mentioned by other writers (E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, xxv. 127).

Alchemical swindlers. Alongside of these alchemists who are to be taken seriously, appeared a great number of swindlers who took advantage of the credulity of high and low to make money easily. In North Africa, according to Ibn Khaldūn, it was particularly students of law and theology who used to deceive the people of the villages in this way. These swindlers either claimed they could make gold out of a definite material but without ever producing it, or they brought gold into contact with the stuff to be transmuted into the apparatus itself, or they fastened it to the lid of the crucible with wax, or they coloured ordinary metals either with sulphide or by preparing coatings for them, so that they looked like gold. A series of illuminating stories is given by al-Djawbarī (E. Wiedemann, *Journ. f. prakt. Chemie*, loc. cit., p. 82 and E. Wiedemann, *Über das Goldmachen*, etc.). One is a delightful story of how the so clever al-Malik al-ʿAdil Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (541—569 = 1146—1173) was swindled. The great Mughal Sulṭān Akbar [q. v.] fared no better when he allowed himself to be introduced to alchemy by bigotted jugglers, the Yogis, and publicly exhibited gold made by himself (Badāʾunī in Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, i. 201).

These swindlers naturally did a great deal of harm to the prestige of alchemists in general, so much so that according to al-Ḳazwīnī (ii. 98) they were the lowest grade of students.

Methods of solving the problem of alchemy. It was thought that the solution of the alchemical problem might be reached by one of three ways (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, loc. cit., p. 105, from al-Akfānī). Whether and in how far they were ever really systematically prosecuted, research has not so far been able to ascertain. The methods were the following:

1) A start is made from the view above mentioned, that all metals have arisen out of sulphur and quicksilver which were heated in the earth as described. The alchemists proceed similarly, but in place of these two bodies many others are also taken, of which they suppose that they contain the fundamental materials and endeavour to increase the heat on account of the shortness of the time available beyond that prevailing in the earth. 2) They go back to the mutual (of course quite unknown) relation of volume and weight of the components and combine the metals so that a body is formed which in weight and volume is like the desired metal. In this process heed must be paid to the balancing of the qualities. These two methods, so far as their principles are concerned, may be called scientific, although they were hardly so in practice. 3) The third method starts from the view that the ignoble metals are diseased precious ones. A remedy was prepared which was called elixir (*al-iksir*) or *al-farrār*, i.e. the fugitive (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, ii. 346); it was also called from its material the "honoured stone" (*al-ḥadjar al-mukarram*); in place of the stone there

was also a "substitute (*badal*) for the stone", out of which a more deeply hidden elixir is obtained; there was also a substance similar to the stone and its substitute. The elixir etc. also contained healing virtues to a high degree.

The most fabulous stories are told regarding the elixir's power to attain desired transmutation; one *mithkāl* of elixir is said to turn 60,000, 300,000 or 1,200,000 *mithkāl* into gold, — or even as much as is between heaven and earth (cf. Hādjī Khālifā, *op. cit.*, p. 276) (cf. also the statements in O. Rescher, *Der Islam*, ix. 33).

That *kimiya'* was practised down to modern times is shown for example by the statements in Snouck Hurgronje (*Mekka*, ii. 215, and E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*⁵, London 1860, p. 264). There is also a play by Fath 'Alī Akhondzāde "The Alchemist" (cf. G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901; see also Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. Asiatique*, Ser. viii., vol. i. [1886], p. 5).

The substances used. The substances used by the alchemists are given in their writings: varieties of the individual bodies are detailed, for example a whole series of varieties of sulphur is given and of kinds of *markashithā*, etc. In many cases we are at the same time told which are the good and which the bad varieties.

The *Mafātih al-'Ulūm* distinguishes, as is usual in other books: 1) metals: gold, silver, copper, the two kinds of *raşāş* (lead and tin), *kharşini* for *al-ḥadīd al-şinī*, usually hard lead; quicksilver is sometimes given in place of the latter; 2) evaporating substances (*rūḥ*): sulphur, *zirnikh* (realgar and oripigment), *nūshādhir* (usually sal ammoniac but also ammonium carbonate), quicksilver; 3) all other mineral substances (in the *Mafātih al-'Ulūm* called drugs).

Al-Rāzī divides the substances first into animal, mineral (*turābī*) and vegetable drugs. The mineral are divided into the 7 bodies (metals), 13 stones (including precious stones), 5 vitriols, 6 kinds of *būraḥ* (borax, salpêtre etc.), 11 salts. The animal are hairs, brains, eyes etc. Only a few vegetable substances are used by him, namely *uṣṣnān* (alkali plants) and cinquefoil, chaste-tree, (*bandjān kashī*, *vitex agnus castus*), its fruits and an antieroticum. Al-Ṭughrā'ī gives a similar division; only he divides the stones into four groups, the reason for which is not quite clear.

Al-Kāthī divides into metals and 12 stones which latter include sulphur, *zirnikh* and *nūshādhir*.

Al-Dimashqī deals successively with quicksilver, sulphur, metals and then the minerals which include mythical stones and a few drugs.

Al-Qazwīnī classifies the substances he deals with into metals, stones and oily substances.

A very peculiar division with regard to the preparation of the elixir (see Stapleton and Azo, *op. cit.*) is the following: Quicksilver, sal ammoniac etc. are spirits; sulphur, *zirnikh* etc. are souls; gold, silver, iron, *maghūsiya* are bodies. To prepare an elixir one must have 1 part of spirit, two of soul and one of body. An elixir which contains no spirit or no soul or no body is useless. Soul and spirit may however give colour even if body is absent; but this disappears on smelting. If all three are combined it is permanent.

The alchemist gives the separate substances he uses a great number of epithets (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, x. 82)

by which he refers to them in his works which makes it unusually difficult to understand them. The metals are called after planets to which they are subordinate. Mercury thus belongs to *kharşini*. In the MSS. the name is often replaced by the sign of the planet. But the metals have countless other names. For sal ammoniac we frequently find 'uḳāb (eagle).

The works on jewels, drugs etc. are of alchemical but also of purely chemical interest. A number of Arabic sources with as full references as possible are given in the articles quoted in the *Bibliography*.

Apparatus used. We know a good deal about the apparatus used by Arab alchemists. In the first place we have lists of the apparatus used, sometimes with descriptions, e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī, in the *Mafātih al-'Ulūm*, in the work of al-Kāthī, in *al-Djawhar al-Manir* of al-Ṭughrā'ī, which frequently agrees with the *Karshūnī* text published by Berthelot, *op. cit.* Information is also given in various passages, especially about distilling apparatus. The apparatus used is essentially the same as that used by the Greeks; a furnace for example is called, although perhaps without reason, the furnace of Zosimus (Gotha MS., N^o. 1349).

The apparatuses used for heating are of course numerous. Various forms and names were given to the furnaces. The draught was regulated as required; its strength was judged by a leaf thrown into its current. The bellows were used to kindle the fire, but there were also furnaces with a self-acting draught. For special purposes, such as the treatment of glass, the manufacture of precious stones, the furnace was of a suitable form. For melting either an ordinary crucible was used or one crucible above another; in the latter case the upper one was perforated in the bottom. The molten metal in the upper crucible flowed into the lower one and the slack was kept back. Tongs etc. were used to pick things up; an alchemist complains that he very often burned himself in using them but without obtaining any results. Moulds were used for casting. To hold the substances to be heated, boxes, bottles, stills, (aludel *uḥāl*) a longish pumpkin closed with a lid were used. The capital (*anbīk*, *ἀμβύξ*) was put on the still. Thus the alembic [q.v.] is made and if the still is closed at the end it is called "blind", if it is open and has a spout, still and capital together correspond to our retort and are used for distillation (*taḥḥīr*). A *ḡabila*, our receiver, is then placed over the end of the spout. Al-Rāzī and al-Ṭughrā'ī frequently point out that the vessels to be heated must be of uniform thickness and have no flaws, or they might easily burst. The kurbises etc. were heated either on an open fire or in the hot air rising from one or in the steam rising from boiling water or a water bath.

To solder and polish the places where different parts of the apparatus are joined, clay of wisdom (of philosophy *ḥīn al-ḥikma*) was used, which was made of pure fermented clay, usually mixed with finely chopped hair and salt. There are numerous recipes for its manufacture. Different kinds of clay are given the names of the planets (Gotha MS., N^o. 134). The outsides of the vessels to be heated, as was still the custom with us in the sixteenth century, were also covered with clay to distribute the heat evenly and thus diminish the danger of explosion.

To break up substances the mortar (*hāwun*) and pestle (*daqq*) were used and for grinding them a hard, flat slab (*ṣilāya*) and a grindstone (*fīhr*).

Processes used. In their experiments the alchemists used a large number of processes, which again had many variants. The following is a list, of course not quite complete, divided into eight groups; it is taken from al-Kh̄wārizmī (*Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*), Hādījī Khālifa and alchemical writers.

1) *Tadbir*, the treatment of bodies in general. 2) *saḥḥ*, grinding etc.; *tafṣīl*, breaking into pieces, *nisāḍj* and *tamaḍj*, mixing. 3) *ḥall* and *taḥlīl* (dissolving) are probably synonyms. These mean methods by which the body is either dissolved in our sense of the word or simply divided into very fine particles. Varieties are dissolution in corrosives, in dung (i. e. in a moderate heat), in moisture, by pounding with the pestle (*daqq*), by boiling, with the blind *anbiḥ* (i. e. at a high pressure and temperature), with cottonwool and the anvil (the substance is wrapped in a roll of cottonwool and beaten on the anvil), by dripping (*taḥṭīr*). Many alchemists distinguish the following varieties of *ḥall*: the substances are dissolved as usual or they are hung up in a sieve-like bag and the steam rising from water dissolves them (cf. al-Kāthī and al-Ṭuḡhrā'i); *taṣwīl*, suspension, by which the substance is divided into fine particles in water; *taṣkiya*, spraying, *taṣfiya* and *takhliṣ*, cleaning and filtering. 4) *ikāma*, solidifying (over the fire without anything being burned); *tashwīya*, stewing (in oil) etc. or dry; *taḥid* and perhaps also *muḥkad*, to solidify; the following varieties are given: with dryness, with the bottle, the kettle, burying (*dafn* which plays a great part generally; bottles for burying are for example mentioned), with the blind *anbiḥ*; *taḍmīd*, a kind of *taḍṣīd*, changing into bodies. 5) *sabb* melting; *istinzāl*, allowing to flow from the upper to the lower crucible. 6) *taḥṭīr*, allowing to drip, distilling and filtering; *taṣīd*, sublimating; *tardjīm* „stoning”, a kind of sublimating, 7) *taṣmī'a*, cerification, making soft like wax; *taklīs*, calcination; *taṣḍ'a*, to turn into rust; *ilghām*, amalgamating. 8) I do not know the meaning of *taṣāwī*, “balancing”; *takhniḥ*, “strangling”, which is connected with cerification.

Weighing was, of course, a process of special importance and frequently used; for it must have been very soon recognised that substances could not be mixed in any proportions one pleased. They must always occur in the proper proportions (on weighing see the article MIZĀN). Statements on the proper proportions are not very frequent. In the *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm* we are told that to make cinnabar, one should take 1 part quicksilver and 1 part sulphur; the proportion calculated from the atomic weights is 200:32. It should be noted however that for the reaction to take place smoothly a considerable superfluity of sulphur is necessary. Another interesting quantitative statement (Yāḳūt, ii. 139) is to the effect that 1 part of silver is obtained from 100 parts of lead in the making of litharge. Al-Kāthī gives a long list of the smallest quantities of all the different substances that the alchemists use (*op. cit.*, p. 57 sqq.).

Synthetic and analytic methods. There were no general methods to produce definite bodies; a whole series was however obtained artificially, e. g. verdigris from copper and vinegar, white of lead from lead and vinegar, cinnabar from the heating of lead, also litharge, iron rust

from iron, etc.; in these cases it was known that the substances concerned must contain the metal. It was the same when copper was obtained from minerals found in nature such as the varieties of malachite (*Dahnadj*, al-Dimashḳī, text p. 83, transl. p. 97).

There was no analysis in our sense of the term. But there were a large number of rules for the chief of police (*muḥtasib*) by which he could tell the apparently very common adulterations. Thus mineral adulterations of indigo were ascertained by burning. There are writings on this subject by Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dimashḳī, Ibn Rassam and al-Nabarāwī (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xxxii. and xl.). Gold and silver are tested for purity by the touchstone or by purely chemical methods.

Technical processes. Very little has so far been accurately learned regarding chemical technical processes. A few indications may suffice here. In the first place we do not know much about the methods by which the metals were actually obtained. Gold was got by washing; in some places it was dissolved by quicksilver, the latter of course being regained by distillation (see E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, xxiv. 83). Quicksilver was obtained by distillation from cinnabar (either out of iron retorts or by the addition of splinters of iron) (E. Wiedemann, *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, *op. cit.*, p. 111). On the manufacture of steel and especially its damascening, the providing with *firind*, there are a series of works, e. g. one by al-Kindī. According to a modern Oriental writer, Thābit (*al-Mashrik*, 1900, iii. 577 and 700), damascening is said to depend on the presence of titanium in the metal; but these statements are as a rule of an empirical and thumb nature (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xxv.; L. Beck, *Gesch. des Eisens*², vol. i.).

For a series of artificially prepared inorganic substances see above.

The methods of obtaining different scents from plants were very highly developed. These were especially cultivated in Persia and in Damascus and followed the processes of the ancients. In the district of Shirāz, special taxes were levied on the buildings in which rose-water was prepared (E. Wiedemann, in Diergart, *Beiträge*, p. 234). The scents were partly extracted from the flowers or leaves by means of cold or hot oil and fat and then subjected to further processes. A great variety of oils, — olive, sesame, etc. — was used in the process (cf. Ibn al-Baitār under *duhn*). Water was poured on the different substances and they were put in retorts. These retorts were arranged around a shaft in circles, which were placed above one another in tiers. Hot air from a fire or steam from hot water heated the retorts. The steam developed in the retort carried off the sweet scented ethereal oils and was precipitated with them into a receptacle (pictures in al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbāt al-Dahr*, text, p. 194; E. Wiedemann, in Diergart, *op. cit.*).

The important sugar industry, about which we possess fairly full information will be dealt with in the article SUKKAR (cf. E. A. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Leipzig 1910; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Naturwissenschaften*, xli., lii., lv.) and the glass industry under ZADJĀDĪ.

On the manufacture of the usual inks, sympathetic and gold inks, of lacquers and solders, and of cements, a number of works exist which still await editing; so far as I can ascertain, they contain purely practical rules.

A very great part was played by the processes by which drugs, pearls, jewels, etc. were imitated. This was done to a very great extent as we know from al-Khāzini's *Mizān al-Hikma*. Many of the processes given by the different authors are simply pure inventions. Of particular interest are the statements by al-Djawbarī in his *Kashf al-Asrār* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, xxxiii, and *Mitt. z. Gesch. d. Medizin d. Naturwissenschaften*, 1910, ix. 386) and those in the handbooks prepared for the *muhtasib*.

A proper history of *Kīmīyā*² and an account of its place in Muslim culture will only be possible when we are much better acquainted with the works of its representatives than at present, and also have a better idea of the sciences connected with chemistry, pharmacy, knowledge of drugs, etc., mineralogy, etc. As to chemistry a start has to be made almost from the beginning, as has been done by J. Ruska and E. J. Holmyard. It is important that the processes described should be translated into modern technical terms as Darmstädter endeavoured to do for the Latin Geber.

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Catalogues of the Libraries, especially that of the Berlin Library. The Sulṭāniya Library in Cairo is also said to be very rich. There are also the alchemical writings themselves so far as they have survived. The Latin translations of Arabic works on *Kīmīyā*² are not here quoted (on them cf. M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts in Sitzungsber. d. K. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Vienna, Philos.-hist. Kl., cxlix., 1904 and cli., 1905).

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vols.; F. Hoefer, *Histoire de la Chimie*², Paris 1867—1869, 2 vols.; M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, 3 vols., Paris 1893; E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin 1919 (in this work the material has been most carefully collected and utilised with the most accurate references to the literature); H. E. Stapleton and R. F. Azo, *Alchemical Equipment in the Eleventh Century* (contains "The Essence of the Art and Help for the Workers by one al-Kāthī" with transl. and commentary) in *Mem. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, 1905, i. 47; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften u. s. w.*, in *Sitz.-ber. d. phys.-med. Soz. in Erlangen*; the following are specially important in this connection: *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Chemie bei den Arabern* (i.); *Zur Gesch. d. Chemie* (ii.); *Auszüge aus arab. Encyclopaedien* (v., p. 437); *Einiges aus al-Gaubarī* (xxiii.); *Zur Chemie bei den Arabern* (xxiv.); *Über Stahl und Eisen bei den muslimischen Völkern* (xxv.); *Zur Mineralogie im Islam* (xxx.); *Aus der arabischen Handels- und Warenlehre von Abu ʿl-Faḍl Gaʿfar Ibn ʿAlī al-Dimashqī* (xxxii.); *Über Verfälschungen von Drogen usw. nach Ibn Rassam und al-Nabarāwī* (xl.); *Über die bei den Arabern benützten Drogen* (xlix.); *Über Parfüms und Drogen bei den Arabern* (lvi.); *Zur Geschichte der Alchemie* (lxiii.); do., *Zur Alchemie bei den Arabern in Journ. f. prakt. Chemie* [2], lxxvi. 65 and 105, 1907; do., *Über chemische Apparate* in P. Diergart, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Chemie*, p. 234, 1909; do., *Über das Goldmachen und die Verfälschung der Perlen nach al-Djawbarī*, in *Berichte zur Kenntnis des Orients*, v. 77, Munich 1908; do., *Zur Geschichte der Alchemie in Zeitschr. f. angewandte Chemie*, xxxiv. 522 and 528; do., *Über arabische Parfüms in Arch. für Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften und Technik*, 1913, vi. 418; *Arch. für Gesch. der Medizin*, 1914, viii. 83; J. Ruska, *Salammoniacus, Nušādir und Salmiak*, S. B. Akad. Heid., 1913, essay 5; do., *Arabische Alchemisten*, i., Chālid Ibn Yazīd Ibn Muʿawiya, Heidelberg Akten der von Portheim Stiftung, 1924, No. 6, p. 31 sq.; ii. *Djaʿfar al-Sādiq der sechste Imām*, *ibid.*, 1924, No. 10; review by E. O. von Lippmann, *Chemiker Zeitung*, No. 1 and 3; R. Winderlich, *Arabische Alchemisten Zeitschr. f. angew. Chemie*, 1925, xxxviii., p. 348—350; J. Ruska, *al-Rāzī als Bahnbrecher einer neuen Chemie*, *D. L. Z.*, 1923, xlv., p. 115—125; do., *Probleme der Gābirforschung*, in *Isl.*, 1924, xiv., p. 100—104; do., *Über das Schriftenverzeichnis des Gābir ibn Ḥajjān und die Unechtheit einiger ihm zugeschriebener Abhandlungen*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 1923, xv., p. 53—67; do., *Tabula Smaragdina*, in *Heidelb. Akten der von Portheim-Stiftung*, Heidelberg 1926 (Ruska will shortly publish articles on the history of sal-ammoniac and the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī); E. J. Holmyard, *Gābir ibn Ḥayyān*, *Proc. of the Roy. Soc. of Medicine*, 1923, xxvi., p. 40—57; do., *A critical examination of Berthelots Work upon Arabic Chemistry*, *Isis*, vi. 479—499; do., *The present position of the Geber Problem*, *Science Progress*, 1925, p. 415 sqq.; do., *Maslama al-Majritī and the Rutbatu ʿl-Hakīm*, *Isis*, 1924, vi., p. 293—305; do., *Abu ʿl-Kāsim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad*

al-ʿIrāqī, *Kitāb al-ʿIlm al-Mukhtasab*, etc., 1923, 53 p., text and transl. 57 p.; do., *A Romance of Chemistry*, *Journ. of the Society of Chemical Industry*, 1925, xlv.; do., *Chemistry in Islam*, in *Scientia*, Milan, Nov. 1926, pp. 287–296; J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, lxvii., *Arabische alchemistische Decknamen*, S.B.P.M.S., *Erlg.*, 1924/1925, lvi. sq.; E. Darmstädter, *Die Alchemie des Geber*, Berlin 1922 (translation of works by the Latin Geber with notes important for the Arabist). (E. WIEDEMANN)

KĪNĀLİZĀDE, Ar. Ibn al-Ḥinnāʾī (cf. Z. D. M. G., xiv. 544 and Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 199 note) a Turkish family of scholars and poets (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 736), of which the following are the most important members:

I. KĪNĀLİZĀDE, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. AMRULLĀH, Ottoman jurist and author, was born in 916 (1510/1511) in Sparta in the district of Hamideli [q.v.] in Anatolia, the son of the kādī Emrullāh (Meḥmed) who died in 967 (1559) and grandson of ʿAbd al-Kādir Hamidī. He filled judgeships in the following towns: Damascus, Cairo, Brussa, Adrianople, and from Dĵumādā II, 978 (Oct.–Nov. 1570) in Constantinople, was appointed Kādī-asker of Anatolia in Muḥarram 979 (May–June 1571) and died on 6th or 7th Ramaḍān of the same year (Jan. 22/23, 1572) in Adrianople. His brother was the poet Muslimī, who was kādī at Rhodes and elsewhere and is said to have died in 944 (1537). Of ʿAlī's sons mention may be made of Meḥmed Fehmī Efendi, also distinguished as a poet, who died when only 32 on 28th Shawwāl 1004 and Ḥasan Čelebi (see below), the famous biographer of poets.

Mollā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī was a very industrious writer. He wrote glossaries and commentaries on a series of theological works. He became famous by his ethical work *Akhlāk-i ʿAlāʾi* written in 972 (1564) for the Beylerbey of Syria, ʿAlī Paṣha, the original MS. of which is in the library of Rāghib Paṣha in Sтамbul (N^o. 966). This work (cf. Ḥādjīdĵi Khalifa, *Kashf*, i. 203, N^o. 280) was printed (236 + 127 + 52 pp.) in Shawwāl 1248 (Feb. 1833) at Būlāḳ (cf. *J. A.*, 1843, ii. 40, N^o. 68; Zenker, i. 1357, where ʿalamī is an error for ʿalāʾi) and besides translated either in full or in parts; cf. the MS. transl. of the Venetian dragoman Giovanni Medun in the Bonn University Library, N^o. 47 in J. Gildemeister, *Katal.*, p. 114, thereon G. B. Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Venice 1787, i. 95 as well as R. Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg 1850, i sqq., 403 sqq. and do., *Das Capitel von der Freigebigkeit*, Breslau 1848, esp. p. 75, 98, 128. MSS. of the Ethics of Mollā ʿAlī are numerous; cf. Flügel, *Wiener Kat.*, iii. 304 sq.; Pertsch, *Berl. Türk. Hss.*, p. 168 sq., where further details are given.

Another work is his collection of letters (*Münshāt*, cf. Ḥādjīdĵi Khalifa, *Kashf*, vi. 185) in the five sections of which, in a period in which style was decaying, he gives masterly specimens of the different kinds of literary composition. There are MSS. of this work in the British Museum (Rieu, *Türk. MSS.*, p. 94), Vienna, Nat.-Bibl., N^o. 289 (Flügel, *Katal.*, i. 266 sq.); Vienna, Konsular-Akad., N^o. lxxiv. Krafft, *Katal.*, 28 sq.).

Bibliography: The fullest biography is in the MS. *Tadhkira* of his son Ḥasan Čelebi; ʿAtāʾī, *Dhail-i Shaḳāʾik al-nuʿmāniya*, p. 164–168; ʿAlī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*,

iii. 755, N^o. 57); Pečewī, *Taʾriḫh*, i. 458; *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, iii. 501 (with erroneous statements regarding the Kīnālīzāde family); J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, ii. 341, iii. 131; do., *G.O.R.*, iii. 736 (also contains mistakes regarding individual Kīnālīzāde's), iv. 603 (where the brother of Mollā ʿAlī, Mollā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Kerāmī Čelebi, mentioned in Ḥādjīdĵi Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, i. 7 sq. and died in 1000 = 1591, is wrongly given as the author of this or another collection of letters; cf. thereon, W. Pertsch, *Berl. Türk. Hss.*, p. 471 on N^o. 491); Brusali Meḥmed Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʿellifleri*, i. 400 (with exact list of writings); F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, N^o. 532, p. 248 sq.

II. KĪNĀLİZĀDE ḤASAN ČELEBĪ, an Ottoman biographer of poets.

Ḥasan Čelebi was the son of the Mollā ʿAlī mentioned above and was born in Brussa in 953 (began March 4, 1546), where his father was judge. At the age of twenty he became assistant (*muṭāʾim*) to the famous Abū Suʿūd [q.v.], in 975 (1567/1568) professor, in 990 (1582/1583) “guardian” (*ṣāḥn*), i. e. *Müderreis* at the mosque of Meḥmed the Conqueror (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 186), five years later professor at the Suleimāniya mosque, at which his father had once been first *Müderreis* (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 349). In the year 999 (1590/1591) he became kādī of Aleppo, then of Cairo, Adrianople and Cairo again. In 1007 (1598/1599) he went as kādī to his native town of Brussa, then to Gallipoli, became kādī of Eiyūb, and in Şafar 1011 (July 1602) of Eski Zağhra. He died, the holder of an *arḫālīḳ* [q.v.] on Shawwāl 12, 1012 (March 15, 1604) at Rosetta (Rashīd) in Egypt.

Ḥasan Čelebi achieved fame by his comprehensive dictionary of poets in three sections (*faṣl*), *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, a work which according to Ḥādjīdĵi Khalifa's view (*Kashf*, ii. 262, N^o. 2817) surpasses all previous works of the kind in the beauty of its language and the compactness of its matter. The *tadhkira* (finished in 944 = 1586 and dedicated to the great Saʿd al-Dīn [cf. KHONJA EFENDI] gives biographical sketches of nearly six hundred poets with specimens of their work. This most important work, of which many manuscripts exist, has not yet been printed. A definitive edition of this, the best and most comprehensive of all Ottoman anthologies, is urgently desirable.

Bibliography: ʿAlī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 736, 756, N^o. 138); Ḥādjīdĵi Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, i. 240; *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, ii. 127; J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, i. 44; ii. 341; iii. 131; do., *G.O.R.*, iii. 736; ix. 243, N^o. 137; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, passim, esp. iii. 199 sq.; Brusali Meḥmed Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʿellifleri*, ii. 385; al-Muhibbi, *Taʾriḫh Khulāṣat al-Āthār*, Cairo 1284, ii. 29; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, N^o. 547, p. 254.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KINĀNA B. KHUZAIMA B. MUDRIKA B. AL-YĀS B. MUḌAR is the name of a large Arab tribe which had its camping grounds at the beginning of Islām in the territory round Mekka, extending from the Tihāma in the South-west of the city, where they bordered on the lands occupied by the related tribe of Hudḥail, to the North-east of the city where their grounds adjoined those occupied by their nearest relations the tribe of Asad of Khu-zaima. They were very numerous and their chief

importance in the eyes of native genealogists lies in the fact that the *Quraysh*, and consequently the Prophet, derived their origin from this tribe. In view of this fact we have concerning them an abundance of notices of their subdivisions and of men of note who traced their descent from them. While later genealogists name as a rule only six large clans, Ibn al-Kalbī in the *Djamharat al-Nasab* mentions the following fourteen sons of Kināna: 1) al-Naḍr i.e. *Ḳais* who is considered the ancestor of *Quraysh* [q. v.]; 2) Nuḍair; 3) Mālik; 4) Milkān (so this name is vocalised in the good MS. of the *Djamhara*, while *Ḳalqashandī* insists on the pronunciation Malkān); 5) 'Amir; 6) 'Amr; 7) al-Ḥārith; 8) 'Arwān (or 'Azwān); 9) Sa'd; 10) 'Awf; 11) Ḡhanm; 12) Makhrama and 13) Djarwal. All these thirteen tribes are stated to be the offspring of Barra bint Murr, the sister of Tamīm b. Murr, for which reason they are brought into relationship with the large tribe of Tamīm. The fourteenth son of Kināna named 'Abd Manāt was a son of al-Dhāfra' bint Hanī b. Balī of Ḳudā'a for which reason this clan is often reckoned as belonging to Ḳudā'a itself. The later genealogists as a rule only mention al-Naḍr, Mālik, Milkān, 'Amir, 'Amr and 'Abd Manāt of most of which they also enumerate subdivisions. No divisions of Milkān, 'Amr and 'Amir are mentioned except al-Ḳain as a branch of the last named, while al-Naḍr as ancestor of *Quraysh* is dealt with in the article referring to *Quraysh*. Mālik was divided into the clans *Tha'laba* b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik, with the subdivisions of *Firās* b. Ḡhanm b. *Tha'laba*, and *Mukhdadj* b. 'Amir b. *Tha'laba*, and *Fuḳaim* b. 'Adī b. 'Amir. The 'Abd Manāt were perhaps the most numerous and are split up into a number of clans: 1) Ḡhifār; 2) Bakr with the subdivisions of *Du'il* and *Laith*; 3) Bal-Ḥārith; 4) Mudlīj, who were renowned as augurs; 5) *Damra* b. Bakr.

It would be absurd to assume that these names mean actual sons or descendants of Kināna, but for the early period of Islām they are important as indicating the mutual relationship in which the various clans of Kināna considered themselves to be and were possibly entered in the *Dirwān* created by 'Umar. As with all other Arab tribes the exact knowledge of affiliation of single persons very soon became doubtful and only the descendants of men who had played an important part in the rise of Islām could trace their descent with some degree of certainty. The clans of Kināna which in later times, i. e. in the sixth century of the *Hidjra* were settled in Upper Egypt near *Ikhmīm* or in the Western Delta had no knowledge of their origin except that they claimed to be descended from the original stock and had immigrated into Egypt at various periods, the last immigration having been in the vizierate of Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk (549—556 A. H.).

As close neighbours of the sacred territory, the tribe of Kināna played no unimportant part in the history of the city of Mekka in the time before Islām and the clansmen outside gave the final decision when the branch *Quraysh* wrested the rule of the city from the tribe of *Ḳhuzā'a*, for it was their chief Ya'far b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Amir b. al-Laiṭh b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt who was chosen to give his final decision which was in favour of *Quraysh*; and he received on account of his decision the nickname al-Shuddākh "the Crusher"

because he crushed the dispute. Their attitude towards the Prophet as a united tribe is not recorded, but one of their clans the Banū *Firās* was among the chief supporters of 'Alī at *Ṣiffin*. The last time Ṭabarī mentions them in his *Annals* is in the year 230 A. H. when they where in part still encamped near Mekka, but were too weak to resist the depredations of other tribes who had become more powerful. At this time a large section had their camping grounds in the Ḥawrān and near *Ṣarkhad*. Though not important as a tribe, the names of men of note as traditionists etc. are very numerous, too numerous to be mentioned in detail.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Nasab*, Brit. Mus. Add. 23297, fol. iv; Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo, ii. 350 sq.; *Ḳalqashandī*, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, Cairo, i. 350 sq.; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 105—108; Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen N.*; Sam'ānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, G. M. S., vol. xx., s. v.

(F. KRENKOW)

KINDA, also called Kindat al-Muluk (the royal Kinda) was a South-Arabian tribe which, probably not numerous, was settled at the time preceding the rise of Islām in the country to the West of Ḥaḍramawt. The Arabian genealogists know their descent, but as usual with all South-Arabian tribes it is altogether imaginary. The line of descent is traced as follows: Thawr (i. e. Kinda) b. 'Ufair b. 'Adī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Uḍad b. Zaid b. *Yashdjub* b. Zaid b. 'Arib b. Zaid b. *Kahlān* b. *Saba'*. They appear not to be mentioned in ancient South-Arabian inscriptions and are first mentioned in history in the fourth century of the Christian era. Ḥudjr b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar b. Mu'āwiya b. Kinda, called *Ākil al-Murā*, was a step-brother of the *Himyarite* ruler Ḥassān Tubba' and in accordance with the practice of the *Himyarite* kings, his son 'Amr b. Ḥudjr was kept by Ḥassān Tubba' at his court as a page and at the same time hostage. When Ḥassān Tubba' made his expedition into the interior of Arabia and subdued the various tribes settled there, he appointed, upon his return to *Yaman*, his step-brother Ḥudjr ruler of the conquered tribes. Ḥassān Tubba' was killed at the instigation of his brother 'Amr, after an expedition against *Djadīs*, who resided in *Yamāma*. The latter gave a sister of Ḥassān Tubba' in marriage to 'Amr b. Ḥudjr and when his father Ḥudjr had perished he succeeded him as ruler of the Arab tribes in Central Arabia; he was nicknamed al-Maksūr. 'Amr was succeeded by his son al-Ḥārith who for a short time after the death of the Persian king *Kubād*h was made ruler of al-*Hira* but lost this possession upon the accession of *Nūsharwān*. After his death the now practically independent kingdom of Central Arabia was divided among the sons of al-Ḥārith, while his son Ḥudjr retained the rule over the tribe of *Asad*, *Shurāḥbil* became ruler of the tribes of *Bakr*, *Ḥanzala*, 'Amr b. *Tamīm* and the *Rabāb*, while *Salama* ruled over *Taghlib*, al-Namir b. *Kāsit* and *Sa'd* b. *Zaid Manāt* and *Ma'di Karib* had the tribes of *Ḳais* and *Kināna* under his authority. They immediately began to dispute one another's authority which resulted in the first battle of *Kulāb* in which practically all Arab tribes took part. This place *Kulāb* is difficult to identify; it is said to have been between al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, seven days' journey from *Yamāma*.

After a fierce fight *Shurāḥbil* was killed but his adherents permitted his family to return in safety to Yaman. The final result however was that the authority of the various princes was very much reduced and the tribes regained their independence. Meanwhile *Ḥudjr* had not taken part in the quarrel and had ruled in tyrannical fashion over the tribe of Asad and the Byzantine annalists know of raids which *Ḥudjr* (*Ogaros*) and his brother *Ma'di Karib* had made upon the Roman border about the end of the fifth century. *Ḥudjr* was treacherously murdered by the Asad. He had been absent from the tribe, and when they refused any longer to acknowledge his authority and pay the tribute, he marched against them with an army probably drawn from the tribes over which his other relations ruled. His camp was surprised by the Asad and he was killed while his son *Imru ul-Ḳais* managed to escape. This event practically ended the lordship of the Kinda kings over the Arab tribes and the years which followed were occupied by *Imru ul-Ḳais* in attempts to regain at least part of the heritage of his father. After many unsuccessful attempts he finally went to Constantinople to seek help and auxiliaries from the Greek emperor, in which he was disappointed; and according to legend he was actually poisoned by emissaries of the Emperor at *Anḳira*.

But it was not only this family which gained the tribe the name of the Royal Kinda, for we find until late into the Muslim period men of note who held prominent positions at court as nobles of great importance and they were also prominent in resisting the early missionaries of Islām. *Ḳais b. Ma'di Karib* had been a man of eminence at the dawn of Islām and poems by *al-A'shā* testify to his importance. His son *al-Ash'ath* became a convert to Islām but apostasized; he was defeated by the army sent by *Abū Bakr*, made a prisoner and pardoned. His descendants were holding important posts during the rule of the *Umayyads*. Among other prominent men may be mentioned the false prophet *al-Muḳanna'* [q. v.] and the *Ḳāḍi Shurāih* [q. v.]. Other persons were named *al-Kindi* because they were clients (*mawālā*) of the tribe as e.g. the philosopher *Ya'qūb b. Ishāk al-Kindi* [q. v.]. A district in Syria and also a quarter of the city of *Baṣra* was named after this tribe and it is stated that the poet *Abū Nuwās* was born in the Kinda quarter of *Baṣra*.

Among the branches of Kinda are mentioned the clans of *Sakūn b. Ashras* and *al-Sakāsik*, from the former were descended the *Tudjib* who were among the earliest settlers in Egypt and were principally concerned in the revolt against the caliph *Uthmān*, one of their clan being actually named as the murderer of the Caliph. The clan of *Tudjib* later attained great influence in Spain and the *Banū Ṣumādīh* in Almeria, the *Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn* in Malaga and the *Banu 'l-Afṣas* in Badajoz each in their turn exercised in these districts royal authority till they fell before the power of the *Almoravids*.

Bibliography: *al-Kalkashandī*, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, i. 328; *Nuwairī*, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ii. 331; *Ibn Kutaiba*, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, Cairo 1300, p. 212; *Ibn Khaldūn*, *Ibar*, ii. 274—277; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xi. 63—66; *Dirwān* of 'Abid, ed. Lyall, Introduction; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, passim; *Wüstenfeld*, *Register und Tabellen*.

(F. KRENKOW)

AL-KINDĪ, *ABŪ YUSUF YA'QUB B. ISHĀK*, an Arab philosopher, called the *ḡailasūf al-'Arab* on account of his South Arabian descent, was born probably in the middle of the ninth century A. D. in *Kūfa*, where his father was governor, and educated in *Baṣra* and *Baghdād*, then the great centres of education. He served in various capacities at the 'Abbāsīd court, especially under *Ma'mūn* and *Mu'taṣim*, as translator or editor of Greek philosophical works, as tutor to a son of *Mu'taṣim*, as astrologer, etc. Devoted to the *Mu'tazilī* theology of the court, he was affected by the restoration under *Mutawakkil* and his library was confiscated for a time. He was still alive in 870, when he thought he could foretell a duration of about 450 years to the 'Abbāsīd empire then threatened by the *Ḳarmaṭians* and a conjunction of stars.

Al-Kindi had acquired with tolerable understanding a knowledge of the so-called "ancient", i.e. mainly Greek learning, as far as it was accessible to him; and all his life he furthered its dissemination in Islām by an industrious literary activity. In the tenth century we find everywhere, especially in mathematics and natural philosophy, the traces of his activities. Of his works very little has survived in Arabic, but more in Latin translations, including some by *Gerhard of Cremona*. Enough survives with some quotations and biographical and bibliographical references to enable us to estimate his position in science and philosophy.

Eclectic in the sense of the later Hellenism, he regarded the Neo-Pythagorean mathematics as the basis of all sciences and endeavoured in Neo-Platonic fashion to combine the views of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. He was fond of applying mathematics not only in physics, but also in medicine, e.g. in the theory of composite medicines. He explained the effect of these medicines from the geometrical proportions of the mixture of physical qualities, warm, cold, dry or moist. He was therefore still regarded by *Cardan*, a philosopher of the Renaissance, as one of the twelve subtlest minds.

Al-Kindi was celebrated in the Middle Ages as an astrologer; he was numbered among the nine judges of astrology, but he dealt not only with what we would call astrological fantasies but with exact astronomical measurements and calculations.

As regards alchemy, much studied in his time, which was defended against him by the physician *Rāzī*, our philosopher adopted a rather sceptical attitude. Gold and silver, he thought, could only be attained from mines, where nature has brought them into being, and not made by human skill.

Al-Kindi dealt very fully with optics. His principal work, which was much used in the east and west, next to the work of his greater successor, *Ibn al-Haitham*, is based mainly on the *Optics* of *Euclid* in *Theon's* recension. In it he dealt with (1) the passage of light in straight lines, (2) the direct process of vision, (3) the process of vision by a looking-glass and (4) the influence of distances and angle of vision on sight along with optical delusions. According to him light takes no time to travel and vision takes place through a bundle of rays which, sent out from the eye expanding in the form of a cone, embrace the object. While the other four senses receive impressions from things, the sense of sight

grasps its object in an active and instantaneous manner.

We also possess by him, like his principal works only in a Latin translation, a little work on the cause of the blue colour of the sky, in which it is explained that this colour is not really special to the heavens, but arises from the mixture of the darkness of the sky with the light of the atoms of dust, vapour, etc. in the air illuminated by the light of the sun. A work on ebb and flow, also preserved in Latin, is remarkable because the author tested experimentally the principles of the theory, an erroneous one, however.

Primarily a natural philosopher, al-Kindī also discussed the doctrine of the soul and of the intelligence (*voûç*). According to him the world as a whole is the work of an externally active cause, the divine intelligence, whose activity is transmitted in many ways from above to the world. Between God and the world of bodies is the world of soul, which created the world of heavenly spheres. The human soul is an emanation from this world-soul. In so far as the human soul is combined with the body, it is dependent on the influence of heavenly bodies, but in its spiritual origin and being it is free. For only in the world of intelligence (*ʿaql*, *voûç*) is there freedom and immortality. If then we wish to attain the highest, we must turn to the eternal possessions of the intelligence, the fear of God, knowledge and good works.

In al-Kindī's treatise *De Intellectu*, edited by Nagy, we meet for the first time the doctrine of *ʿaql* in a form that is significant of the whole course of Neo-Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy in Islām. Following Alexander of Aphrodisias (*De Anima*, ii.) a fourfold *intellectus* is distinguished: (1) which is always *in actu*; (2) which is *in potentia* in the soul; (3) which is realised in the soul by the first (1) (so far corresponding to the threefold *voûç* of Alex. Aphr.: *ποιητικός*, *ύλικός*, *ἐπικριντικός*) and (4) an *intellectus demonstrativus*. According to a suggestion of P. Duhem's (*Le Système du Monde*, Paris 1916, iv., p. 405) by the latter is meant the *anima sensitiva*, about which Alex. Aphr. speaks in this context, but which he did not call *voûç* nor could have called it so. Al-Kindī seems to me to mean by his fourth *ʿaql* the effective participation of the third, just as Aristotle distinguishes between the possession of acquired virtue and its practice, acquired knowledge and mental activity. The fourth would therefore have to be distinguished from the first *ʿaql* in later Arab terminology as *ʿaql bi 'l-fʿl* from *ʿaql faʿal*.

Bibliography: G. Flügel, *Al Kindī, genannt der Philosoph der Araber* (*Abh. f. d. K. d. M.*, i. 2), Leipzig 1857; O. Loth, *Al Kindī als Astrolog* (*Morgenl. Forsch., Festschr. f. Fleischer*), Leipzig 1875, p. 263 sqq.; A. Nagy, *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Jaʿqūb ben Ishāq al-Kindī*, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. d. M. A.*, 11/5, Münster 1897; T. J. de Boer, *Zu Kindī und seiner Schule*, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, 1900, xiii., p. 153 sqq.; do., *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islām*, Stuttgart 1901, p. 90 sqq. [Engl. transl., p. 97 sqq.]; do., *Kindī wider die Trinität* (*Orient. Stud., Festschr. f. Nöldeke*), Giessen 1906, p. 279 sqq.; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*,

Abh. 2. Gesch. d. math. Wiss., x., Leipzig 1900; *Al-Kindī, Tideus und Pseudo-Euklid, drei optische Werke*, ed. by A. A. Björnbo and S. Vogl, *Abh. z. Gesch. d. m. W.*, xxvi. 3, Leipzig and Berl. 1912; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, reprinted from *Sitzb. Ber. d. Phys.-Med. Soc. Erl.*, 1904, xxxvi., p. 347 sqq. (Alchemy); xlii. 1910, p. 294 sqq. (Astronomy); xlv., 1912, p. 35 sqq. (Ebb and Flow); do., *Über einen astrologischen Traktat von Al-Kindī*, *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturwiss. u. d. Technik*, Leipzig 1912, iii., p. 224 sqq.; do., *Anschaunngen von muslimischen Gelehrten über die blaue Farbe des Himmels* (*Arab. aus den Gebieten der Physik u. s. w.*), *J. Elster u. H. Geitel gewidmet*, Braunschweig 1915, p. 118 sqq. (TJ. DE BOER)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ ʿOMAR MUḤAMMAD B. YUSUF, an Arab historian of Egypt, was born on 10th Dhū l-Hijja 283 (Jan. 17, 897) at some place not exactly known in Egypt and belonged to the Tudjib, a clan of the Kinda, who had come into Egypt with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. He studied Tradition under Ibn Kūdaid (d. 312 = 924) and al-Nasāʾī (d. 302 = 914; q. v.); towards the end of his life he is said to have himself been a teacher of Ḥadīth. But his main interest was in the history and traditions of his native land. He seems to have spent all his life in al-Fusṭāṭ, where he died on 3rd Ramaḍān 350 (Oct. 15, 961).

His two principal works are the history of the governors of Egypt (*Tasmiyat Wulāt Miṣr* or simply *Umarāʾ Miṣr*) and the history of the judges of the country (*al-Ḳudāʾ*). The former deals with the governors (*umarāʾ al-salāh*) and includes the chiefs of police appointed by them (*walī* or *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* or *al-ḥarb*), but excludes other higher officials; these bare lists are only occasionally interrupted by brief notes on the domestic and foreign policy of the country. The author brings the history of Egypt down to the death of al-Ikhshid in 335 (946); an unknown author continued it till the coming of the Fātimids in 362 (972). Sections of the book were first published by K. Tallquist in Ibn Saʿid's *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, Leiden 1899 and by N. A. König in *The History of the Governors of Egypt*, New York 1908. As a supplement to his first work al-Kindī wrote the history of the judges of Egypt down to the appointment of Bakkār in 861 (246). Here in connection with the lives of the judges he not infrequently gives us important legal decisions laid down by them and thus gives us valuable data for the history of Muslim law. Al-Kindī seems to have brought the work down to his own time in a second edition, but this has not survived. Instead of the latter we have two continuations, one by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Burd to the year 366 (977) and an anonymous one for the years 347—424 (959—1033), the beginning of which therefore covers part of the ground of the original versions; both are bare chronological lists. This work has been edited by R. Gottheil, *The History of the Egyptian Qadis*, Paris 1908. Both works have been brilliantly edited by Rhuvon Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt or Kitāb el-Umarāʾ (el-Wulāh) wa-Kitāb el-Qudāh of el-Kindī together with an appendix derived mostly from Rafʿ el-ʿIṣr* by Ibn Hajar, G. M. S., xix., Leiden 1912.

Of other works by al-Kindī we know mainly

from quotations in al-Maḳrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ* and in Ibn Duḳmāk, *Kitāb al-Djund al-Ḡharbī* or *al-Adjīnād al-Ḡharabā* (?), a *K. al-Khandaḳ wa 'l-Tarāwīḥ* (on the fight for the trench made by Ibn al-Zubair's governor Ibn Djaḥdam for the defence of al-Fuṣṭāt), a *K. al-Khiṭaṭ*, a *K. Akhbār Masḍīd Aḥl al-Rāya al-Aḡam* and a *K. al-Mawālī*. A *Sīrat al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam* is only mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī. Yāqūt in the *Irshād al-Arib*, ii. 156 quotes a history by al-Kindī beginning in 280 (894) and Ibn Duḳmāk (iv. 18, 3) gives him as a source for an event of the year 290 (903). Al-Suyūṭī wrongly ascribes to him the short *Kitāb Faḍā'il Miṣr*, which his son 'Omar composed for the Ikshidid Kafūr (355—357 = 966—968). It has been edited by J. Oestrup ('*Umar b. Muḥammad al-Kindī's Beskrivelse af Ægypten, udgivet og oversat*) in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Danemark*, Copenhagen 1896, N^o. 4. But al-Kindī himself did write a larger work with the same title which the son quotes several times, according to Nallino, *Opus Astron. al-Battani*, ii. 325.

Bibliography: in the article; short biographies of al-Kindī are only given in the still unpublished *al-Muḳaffā* of al-Maḳrīzī and the *Ta'rikh al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-KINDĪ, 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ B. IṢḤĀḲ, the fictitious name of the author of a celebrated Arabic apologia for Christianity, the *Risālat ilā 'Abdallāh b. Ismā'il al-Ḥaṣhīmī*. Professing (ed. 1880, p. 47; cf. p. 2) to be a contemporary account of a controversy held about the year 204 (819) before the Caliph al-Ma'mūn on the relative values of Islām and Christianity, it contains theological statements and a terminology probably posterior to the year 300 (912), for example in particular the allusion to the refutation by Ṭabarī (d. 310 = 923) of the thesis of the Ḥanbalī Barbahārī (d. 329 = 940) on the inscription of the name of the Prophet Muḥammad on the base of the throne of God. The adaptation to Christian theology of the ideas of the Islāmic *Kalām* as in the distinction between *ṣifāt dhāt* and *ṣifāt fī'l*, would make one try to identify this "Kindī" with some Jacobite author with pre-Averroan tendencies, for example with the celebrated Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 364 = 974). The text was used and its author quoted, by al-Bīrūnī, under his assumed name of a Nestorian Kindite, "son of Isaac", addressing to a Ḥaṣhīmīte "son of Ismā'il".

This apologia, often aggressive in tone, is a very remarkable document. It contains the first known outline of a critical history of the gradual formation of the present text of the *Qur'ān*. The Arabic original, written in Syriac characters (Karshuni MSS.: Paris, *Catal. Zotenberg*, p. 204, 205; Gotha, *Cat. Möller*, p. 160) was analysed, then translated into Latin about the year 1141 by Peter of Toledo (MSS. Lat., Paris, N^o. 3393, 3649, publ. in Bibliander, *Alcoranus*, 1543, ii. 1—20) and resurrected in the xixth century by Sir William Muir.

Bibliography: Dionysius Carthusianus († 1471), *In Alchoran. Lib. V*, Cologne 1533, 11/i. 70, 255, etc.; W. Muir, *The Apology of al-Kindy*, London 1882, 59 sqq.; P. Casanova, *Mohammad et la Fin du Monde*, Paris 1913, p. 110—122; Khāshif al-Ḡhiṭā (Shī'ī), *al-Din wa 'l-Islām*, 1331, v. ii., in fine; the text was first

printed by Ant. Tien in 1880 (London, pr. Gilbert O. Riwington, Turkish Mission Aid Society, 166 p.). (L. MASSIGNON)

KINKIWAR, KANKIWAR, KANGAVAR, a little district with a town of the same name and about 30 villages between Hamadān and Ḳarmīn. The town has about 2,500 inhabitants; in its vicinity is a famous castle, Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūṣ or Ḳaṣr Duẓdān, the "robber castle"; it is said to take its name from the fact that several animals were stolen from the Muslims at the conquest; Ṭab. i. 2649.

Bibliography: B. G. A., i. 195; ii. 256; iii. 393; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 450—451; Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 188 sq.; Flaudin, *Voyage*, i. 408 sqq. (J. RUSKA)

KINNASRĪN, a town in North Syria at the point where the Nahr Ḳuwaik enters the swampy lake of il-Maṭḱh. In ancient times it was called Χαλκίς, *Chalcis ad Belum* and lay ἐν μεθόροις Ἀράβων (Diodorus, *Bibl.*, xxxiii. 4a); perhaps it is to it that the note in Stephen of Byzantium refers, according to which a town named Chalkis was founded by the Arab Munkās. In the late classical period a part of the Syro-Arabian limes was called τὸ λίμνον Χαλκίδος (Malalas, p. 296, 5). In this region the Arabs very early immigrated into Byzantine territory; at al-Ḥiyār (the later *Ḥiyār bani 'l-Ḳa'ka'*) in the district of Ḳinnasrīn in 554 A.D. the Ḡhassānid al-Ḥārith won a decisive victory over the Lakhmid al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra (Nöldeke, *S. B. Ak. Berlin*, 1887, p. 18; according to Herzfeld, *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1921, xlii. 123, al-Ḥiyār is the modern Ḳaṣr ibn Wardān). The Syriac name Ḳenneshrīn (not to be confused with the monastery of Ḳenneshrē on the Euphrates also written Ḳenneshrīn; cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akt. pers. Märt.*, p. 161 sq.) occurs several times in Syriac texts before the Arab period (Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. 537^b, 707^b; Severus of Antioch, *Epist.*, 37, p. 117 ed., p. 104 transl. Brooks); also in the Talmud (*Babyl. Talm.*, iii. 366, ed. Goldschmidt: Province of Ḳannishraiyā). In the last struggle between the Byzantines and Sassanians, the town was taken in 573 A.D. (Michael the Syrian, ii. 312) and in 608/609 A.D. by the Persians. At that time Arab tribes were already dwelling round Ḳinnasrīn, Ḥalab, Manbij and Bālis (Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 67; Lammens in *M.F.O.B.*, i. 52). In 637 Abū 'Ubaida took the town (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 137, 139, 144 sqq.). It then became the capital of an administrative district (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 164, 189 sq.).

The Caliph Yazīd I in his reforms in the administration of Syria added to the four military provinces already in existence (*adǧnād*) Filastīn, al-Urdunn, Dimashḱ and Ḥims, a fifth the ḍjund of Ḳinnasrīn, which he separated from the ḍjund of Ḥims (Balādhurī, p. 132; following him Yāqūt, *Mu'ḍḡam*, iii. 742. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazīd Ier* in *M.F.O.B.*, vii. [1914—1921], p. 446 sq.). Besides its capital, it included Ḥalab, Anṭakiya and Manbij. After the time of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, in which the 'Awāṣim were again separated from the ḍjund of Ḳinnasrīn (in 170/786), the districts of Ḳinnasrīn, Ḥalab, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ma'arrat Maṣrīn and Sarmin (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 36) belonged to it. Various changes in the frontier seem to have been made later. Thus Ibn Khūr-dādhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. 75; c. 850 A.D.) in addition to the places mentioned and Ḥiyār Bani 'l-Ḳa'ka'

and Martakhwān also includes the towns of Dulūk and Ra'bān in the north, which, according to other authors, belonged to the 'Awāšim, and al-Maḳdisi includes in our district the places of Antākiya, Bālis, Sumaisūt, the two Ma'arra, Manbidj, Baiyās, al-Tinā, Kinnasrīn and al-Suwaidiya (*B. G. A.*, iii. 54; the list given in iii. 154 sq. which is the only one noticed by Le Strange, p. 39 and Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, vii. 147 is very defective). On the other hand al-Khunāsira and Kafartāb are, probably rightly, included in Hīmš (in spite of Le Strange, p. 40) although the former in Iṣṭakhri's time belonged to the province ('amal) of Kinnasrīn (M. Hartmann in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii. 146). Kinnasrīn, which seems in ancient times to have far surpassed Beroia in importance, later became more and more overshadowed by Ḥalab; the Arab geographers are practically unanimous in saying that it had formerly been a strongly fortified and flourishing town but in their day was already quite ruined, depopulated and had sunk to be a mere village. According to Yāqūt the inhabitants had left the town on the approach of the Byzantines (351/962); some fled across the Frāt, the remainder were settled by Saif al-Dawla in Ḥalab. When in 355 (966) Nicephorus Phocas advanced on Ḥalab, the Ḥamdānid retired to Kinnasrīn but, when he could not make a stand there, he destroyed the town. It was again populated under the Emperor Basil II, burned again in 389 (998). Rebuilt by the Banu 'l-Buṣaiṣ of the tribe of Tanūkh, it was laid waste again by the Byzantines (422 = 1030) and once more destroyed by Tādī al-Dawla Tutuṣh, after the Seldjūq Sulaimān b. Kūṭulmish had restored and rebuilt it. Henceforth Kinnasrīn was uninhabited. In the Crusading period it was several times used as a depot for military stores (Röhrich, *Gesch. des Königreiches Jerusalem*, p. 131, 139, 140). It never seems to have fallen into the hands of the Franks, who wrote the name Canestrine (William of Tyre, xiv. 7). In Yāqūt's time there was only a khān for caravans and the Sulṭān's tax-collectors there.

The modern Kinnasrīn, also called Eski Ḥalab by the Turks, still has great ruins of the ancient walls and those of a citadel on an eminence to the north east. A chain of hills in the north of the town is crowned by the sanctuary of Nabī 'Is in which fragments of Kūfic inscriptions of the xith century A. D. have been found.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhri in *B. G. A.*, i. 61; Ibn Hawkal in *B. G. A.*, ii. 118; al-Maḳdisi in *B. G. A.*, iii. 56, 156; al-Idrisi, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 142; Ibn Ḍjubair, ed. Wright, p. 255; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 184; Abu 'l-Fidā, ed. Reinaud-de Slane, p. 267; *Annales Muslemici*, ed. Reiske, i. 226; ii. 60; iii. 312; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, Indices; al-Balādhuri, *loc. cit.* and passim; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v. 472; vi. 84; Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, ed. Kračkovskij and Vasiliev in *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii. 1924, p. 805; ed. Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv. p. 51, 1 = p. 56 of the Russ. transl.; cf. note p. 252 and 260; Khalil al-Zāhiri, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 45, 119; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 486 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii. 790 (cf. also index to vol. iii.—v., p. 46); Kamāl al-Dīn by J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, Bonn 1829, p. 14, 29, 43, 54, 56, 68, 83; Ibn al-Shihna,

al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Ta'rikh Ḥalab, in Kremer, *Denkschr. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 1852, p. 34; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 30 and p. 82 sqq. (from al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-'A'ṣhā fī Kitābat al-'Inshā'*); Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, passim (cf. *Table générale*, p. 61*); Inscriptions of Tall Nabī 'Is: Liittmann, *American Archaeol. Exped. to Syria*, part iv. (Semitic Inscriptions, 1905), p. 190; van Berchem in *Beiträge zur Assyriol.*, vii. 1913, p. 34 sq. (E. HONIGMANN)

KINTĀR (from the Latin centenarius, cf. German Zentner and English hundredweight), an avoirdupois weight in the ancient Arab weight system mentioned as early as Qur'an iii. 12, 68. Out of the wealth of tradition regarding the amount of this weight, we may select as the most usual and the one in keeping with its literal meaning, the equation 1 *kinfār* = 100 *ratl*, which however, is very indefinite. The term *kinfār* is, following its use in the Qur'an, chiefly applied to a considerable sum in gold coins (usually 10,000 dinars = 85 lbs.).

On other weights (*wasḥ* and *kurr*) see KAFİZ.

Bibliography: The authorities mentioned in the article HABBA, especially Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, in *J. A.*, 1884, iv. 261. (E. V. ZAMBAUR)

KIOSK. [See KÖSHK.]

KİPÇAK, a Turkish people; usually also written Kipčak or Kifčak, the forms Khifčakh and Khifshākh are also found. In later popular and learned etymologies (first in Rashid al-Dīn, *Ḍjāmī' al-Tawūrikh*, ed. Berezin = *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obsch.*, vii. 23, later in Abu 'l-Ghāzi, ed. Desmaisons, p. 19) *kipčak* is connected with *kobuk* or *kobī* and explained as a "hollow tree trunk"; at the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk; the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khān (cf. GHUZZ, ii. p. 168) and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. Gardizi (text in W. Barthold, *Oṭet v poezdkie v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 82) mentions the Kipčak along with the Imāk as a division of the Kimāk who lived on the Irṭish, although the earlier anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (f. 19a) say that the Kipčak had separated from the Kimāk and dwelled to the north of the Pečenegs. Ibn Khordādhbih (ed. de Goeje, p. 31, 6) and, following him, Ibn al-Fakih (ed. de Goeje, p. 329, 3) mention the Kipčak along with the Kimāk as a separate people. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (i. 273) describes the Yimāk (sic) on the Irṭish as a subdivision of the Kipčak not of the Kimāk. In another passage of the same work (iii. 22) we are told that the Yimāk are a Turkish tribe (*djil min al-turk*), the same "as we call Kipčak" (*wa-hum al-kifdākiyatu 'indanā*); the Kipčak themselves thought they were a separate branch (*thumma atrāk kifdāki ya'ud-dūna anfasuhun hizban ākhara*). The Kimāk mentioned by Muḳaddasī (p. 274, 3) at Ṣawrān must have been Kipčak. In connection with the advance of the Kipčak from north to south is the appearance (first in the xith century in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Khusrāw; cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 227) of the name *Daṣṭ-i Kipčak* for *Mafārat al-Ghuzz*, cf. above, ii. 168. The Kipčak (Khifčak) are already mentioned by Baihaḳī (ed. Morley, p. 91) as neighbours of Khwārizm. According to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (ii. 253 and iii. 23) the dialect of the Kipčak had the same phonetic peculiarities as the

dialect of the Ghuzz (and at the present day the dialect of the Kazak): *dj* for *y* at the beginning of a word. That the term *Dasht-i Kıpçak* was also extended to South Russia is shown by the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Kāzwinī (*Nuṣhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 21 and 238), that *Dasht-i Kıpçak* is the same as *Dasht-i Khazar*; the same people were of course called Polowtzi by the Russians and "Comani" by western Europeans; the name *Kıpçak* was later transferred to the Mongol empire of the Golden Horde. According to J. Marquart (*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 102) the *Kıpçak* appear in history for the first time in 514 (1120/1121) in Ibn al-Athīr (x. 399) as allies of the Georgians; according to Marquart (*ibid.*, p. 136) the kingdom of the *Kıpçak* was founded by people who emigrated from Manchuria in connection with the rise of the Čurč (Chinese Kin dynasty); cf. thereon P. Pelliot in *J. A.*, ser. II, xv. 125 sqq. The *Kıpçak* in South Russia were exposed not only to the influence of Islām but also to that of Christianity; a prince of the *Kıpçak* (Chinese Kin-č'a) in the time of the Mongol invasion (the same prince is mentioned in Russian annals) was called George (Russ. Yuriy, hence Chinese Yü-li-ghī, in Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii. 297 sq. and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 150). Ibn Baṭṭūta mentions Christian *Kıpçak* at Kerč; the so-called "Codex Comanicus" must be regarded as a memorial of the spread of Christianity among the *Kıpçak*.

The *Kıpçak* are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period; like many other early names of peoples (Karluḡ, Uighur, Naiman etc.) the name *Kıpçak* is found as the name of a family among the Özbek and Kazak. The *Kıpçak* are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf. the article *KHOĠAND*.

Bibliography: Especially J. Marquart, *Ost-europäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903; do., *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914. — On the Codex Comanicus cf. the bibliographical references in Pelliot, *J. A.*, ser. II, xv. 127. (W. BARTHOLD)

KİRĀ'A, the method of recitation, punctuation and vocalisation of the text of the Qur'ān. al-Suyūṭī has classified according to Ibn al-Djazarī the various readings of the Qur'ān into three series:

1. The *Kirā'a* accepted authentically, which possess the *idjīmā' al-ṣāḥāba* and the *tawātūr*, that is the seven canonical readings of the 'Oṭhmanīc text, attributed to Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, Ḥamza, 'Aṣim, Ibn 'Amir, Ibn Kathīr, Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i, which Ibn Muḡjāhid published (d. 324/936), cf. *QOR'ĀN*, § 18. To these are sometimes added Ya'qūb, Khalaf, Abū 'Ubaid, in order to arrive at the figure ten. 2. The *Kirā'a shādhḡha*, which are authentic, but have only *idjīmā'* without *tawātūr*; they are the maṣḡaf of Ibn Maṣ'ūd and Ubaiy; it is forbidden since the condemnation of Ibn Shanabūḡh in 323 (935) to make use of them. 3. The *Kirā'a shādhḡha* which are pure innovations, grammatical corrections proposed by critics such as Khalaf, Abū 'Ubaid and Ibn Saḡdān, exercising the right of *ikhtiyār*, an anti-traditional claim condemned from 322 (934) onwards (*Kirā'a* of Ibn Muḡsim al-'Aṭṭār condemned).

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, passim; Suyūṭī, *Ikān*, Cairo 1278, i. 96; 'Abd al-Maṣḡh al-Kindī, *Risāla*, p. 79—83; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 300/301. 499/500. (L. MASSIGNON)

KİRĀN (A.) is defined by the *Mafāṭih al-'Ulūm*, p. 232 (cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge, Über die Astronomie nach den Mafāṭih al-'Ulūm in Sitzungsber. der physikal. med. Soc. Erl.*, xlvii., 1915, p. 238) as the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter if the word is used without any qualification, but if the *kirān* of two other planets is meant it is defined by giving the names of the two planets concerned. In the *Kitāb Tafhīm li-'awā'il* and more particularly in Chap. ii. of the last book of the *Kānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, treating of the *kirānāt* of the upper planets, al-Birūnī, whom we here learn to be a convinced astrologer, deals very fully with this conjunction; according to him Saturn, being nearest the cone of fixed stars, has the greatest astrological influence, then Jupiter which is next and similar to it. From the course of the two planets (cf. e.g. C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī*, ii. 103, *tabula motuum quinque planetarum in singulis annis romanis*) it is found that if a *kirān* takes place in Aries, the second will be in Sagittarius, the third in Leo and the fourth again in Aries and in cycles of about 20 years; and this occurs after Saturn has passed through eight zodiacal signs, which together form a triplicity. But it is not exactly 8 zodiacal circles but these and $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ = 242\frac{1}{2}^\circ$; the position of the conjunction shifts by this $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ between every two conjunctions on the zodiacal circle. After this has happened 12 times, the $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ has grown to 30° i.e. the size of a sign of the zodiac and the *kirān* enters upon a second triplicity, beginning with Aries, this is the case after $12 \times 20 = 240$ years. The *kirān* which takes place 24 years after the first is called the middle *kirān*. If the *kirān* has gone through all four triplicities which begin with Aries, Taurus, Gemini and Cancer, for which $4 \times 240 = 960$ years are required, then the *kirān* again enters Aries. It is then called the great *kirān*.

In all observations, geocentric observation is assumed; i.e. the planets go round the earth. According to al-Birūnī the word *kirān* is especially used for the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer. Here we can only refer the reader to the very full calculations given by al-Birūnī. From the same stem as al-*kirān* with corresponding meanings come al-*iktirān* and al-*muḡāwana* (see C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, p. 349). Al-Battānī only uses the term al-*idjtimā'* for the conjunction between sun and moon. — On *kirān*, or *ikrān*, as a technical term of *ihrām* see this article (ii. p. 455).

Bibliography: al-Birūnī, *Kitāb Tafhīm* etc. under the astrological expressions; do., *al-Kānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, loc. cit., Berlin MS. (Ahlwardt, *Katalog*, N^o 5667). The Brit. Mus. MS. N^o 1997 has only the beginning of the chapter on al-*Kirān*. (E. WIEDEMANN)

KİRĀT (from the Greek *κεράριον* = seed, grain of corn; the seed of the carob tree, *Ceratonia Siliqua* L.), a unit of weight in the Muḡammadan apothecary's measure and coinage.

(1) Apothecary's weight. The name and the weight had long been adopted from the Byzantines by the Arabs before Islām. The Constantinian weight system founded by the Arabs in Syria and Egypt and left unaltered by them was as follows (the Arabic names are given beside the Latin):

These seven denominations have survived apart from inevitable variations to the present day. The *raṭl* of this system of about $\frac{1}{3}$ rd kg., its $\frac{1}{72}$ nd part

(*mithkāl*) of about 4.55 grammes (70.5 grains) and the $\frac{1}{1728}$ th part (*kīrāt*) of 0.19 grammes (2.93 grains) weight may be regarded as unalterable quantities.

(2) Ancient coin-weight. The coinage reforms of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (75 = 694/695) upset this system. By lowering the Constantinian gold solidus from 4.55 (70.5 grains) to 4.25 grammes (65.6 grains) (i.e. the weight to which the solidus had sunk at the time of the Muslim conquest of Syria), a new reduced *mithkāl* was created on which it appears that a new weight system

apparently very contradictory equations of Arab metrologists.

The coin *kīrāt* of 0.177 grammes (2.7 grains) is frequently found in statements of value and price but of course has only an intelligible meaning if the word gold or silver is added to define it. Where this is not found, gold is to be assumed. It was only actually struck in gold exceptionally as largesse (*nihār*) on festive occasions (*ajlūs*, *nawrūs* etc.) as $\frac{1}{20}$ dinār.

(3) At the present day we find in the east, as until recently in Europe, a vast number of different

libra (<i>Raṭl</i>)	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	327.45 gr: 5050.	grains.
uncia (<i>Ūkiya</i>)	12	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.288 n: 425.	"
sextula (<i>Mithkāl</i>)	72	6	I	-	-	-	-	-	4.548 n: 70.1	"
drachma (<i>Dirham Kail</i>)	96	8	$I\frac{1}{8}$	I	-	-	-	-	3.411 n: 52.7	"
obolus (<i>Dānaḡ</i>)	576	48	8	6	I	-	-	-	0.568 n: 8.7	"
siliqua (<i>Kīrāt</i>)	1728	144	24	18	3	I	-	-	0.189 n: 2.92	"
granum (<i>Ḥabba</i>)	6912	576	96	72	12	4	I	-	0.047 n: 0.7	"

was based at the mints. In order not to deviate too far from the traditional divisions of the *mithkāl* the coin-*kīrāt* was fixed at $\frac{1}{20}$ *mithkāl* and this new *kīrāt* was divided not into 4 but 3 *ḥabba*. We thus get the following table:

kīrāt weights in the apothecary's system (for jewels, precious metals and drugs) and in the monetary system. Thus in the former system the *kīrāt* weighs 0.2073 grammes in Constantinople, 0.200 in Damascus, 0.2103 in Baghdād, in Persia

<i>Raṭl</i>	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	306	gr: 4700.	grains.
<i>Ūkiya</i>	12	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.5	n: 394.	"
<i>Mithkāl</i>	72	6	I	-	-	-	-	-	4.25	n: 65.6	"
<i>Dirham</i>	96	8	$I\frac{1}{8}$	I	-	-	-	-	3.186	n: 49.1	"
<i>Dānaḡ</i>	576	48	8	6	I	-	-	-	0.531	n: 8.2	"
<i>Kīrāt</i>	1440	120	20	18	3	I	-	-	0.177	n: 2.7	"
<i>Ḥabba</i>	4320	360	60	54	9	3	I	-	0.059	n: 0.9	"

It must however not be forgotten that of these denominations the *mithkāl* alone was actually coined (in the form of the *dinār*). The further regulation of the monetary reform of 75 A.H. that the silver *dirham* should be to the gold *dinār* in the proportion of 7:10 as regards weight, i.e. should weigh 2.97 grammes (45.8 grains) (see *DIRHEM*), thus established a weight for the silver coinage, which could not be fitted into the above system and made the coinage of the above *dirham* of 3.186 as an actual coin impossible. The co-existence of two apothecary's systems caused much trouble in course of time and the retention of the same names for weights of two slightly differing but differently divided systems is responsible for the

0.1951, in Further India 0.198 grammes. In Egypt the apothecary's system is uniform for all wares, the *kīrāt* weighs 0.193 grammes.

(For comparison: the English Troy carat = 0.20531, Dutch 0.2059, French 0.2055, Prussian 0.2055, Austrian 0.2061, etc.).

(4) The *kīrāt* is not used in Islām to define the proportion of fineness of gold.

(5) As a money of account *kīrāt* always meant $\frac{1}{24}$ *dinār* (i.e. a weight of gold of 1.77 grammes [27.3 grains]); this is found as early as the Egyptian papyri.

Bibliography: See under *HABBA* and Hofmaier, *Beiträge zur arab. Papyrusforschung*, in *Islam*, iv. 97. (E. V. ZAMBAUR)

KIRGIZ, a Turkish people, mentioned as early as the oldest Chinese accounts of Central Asia (from the second century A.D.) under the name Kien-Kuen, which according to P. Pelliot (*J. A.*, Ser. II, xv. 137) goes back to a Mongol word, singular *kirkun*. The lands of the Kirgiz are not exactly defined in these sources; according to a not very reliable source the land of the Kien-Kuen lay north-west of the land of the K'ang-Kiu, i.e. of Sogdiana. The name *Qirghiz* first appears in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century; at that time the Kirgiz (as the contemporary Chinese annals also tell us) lived on the Upper Yenisei (Turkish Kem), north of the Kög-men or Sayan mountains. The same name (Kükman) is also mentioned in Gardizî (W. Barthold, *Ōtchet o poezdakh v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 86); according to this source, the capital of the *Khān* of the Kirgiz was 7 days' journey north of these mountains. There it is also said that the Kirgiz had red hair and a white colour of skin (*surkhi-i mui wa-sapidi-i pusi*) which is explained by their alleged relationship with the Slavs; the same anthropological features, of which there is no longer any trace among the modern Kirgiz, are mentioned in the Chinese *T'ang-shu*; linguistically the Kirgiz were then already Turkicised; it is no doubt to them that the so-called Yenisei inscriptions (c. seventh century) belong, i.e. the inscriptions in a Turkish language found on the Upper Yenisei. They did not come to the front politically till about 840 A.D., when they succeeded in conquering the lands of the Uighur in Mongolia. Nothing was known in Muslim lands of this event; Marquart's endeavour (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 91 sq.) to connect with this the story in *Djāhīz* of the defeats of the Tughuzghuz, can be utterly rejected; like Qudāma (ed. de Goeje, p. 262, 13) *Djāhīz* only refers to the hostility between the Tughuzghuz and the *Kharlukh* (Karluḡ). *Istakhri* (p. 9 sq.) and others mention the Kirgiz (*Khirkhiz*) as eastern neighbours of the *Kimāk* and as northern neighbours of the *Kharlukh* and Tughuzghuz; in the east their lands are said to have stretched to the ocean. The most important article of export for trade with Muslim lands was musk. The Kirgiz were probably driven out of Mongolia in connection with the foundation of the empire of the *Khitai* in the beginning of the tenth century and the advance of the Mongol peoples; on the other hand a body of Kirgiz must have migrated as early as this century southwards to the present abode of the genuine Kirgiz (Kara Kirghiz); according to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (f. 18a) even the town of Pančul (the modern Akşu in Chinese Turkestan) was in possession of the Kirgiz. The Kirgiz are not mentioned again in this region till the xvth century; what the Chinese C'ang-Te, who was there in 1259, records of the Kirgiz (especially on the use of dog-sledges, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 129) he had only been told and did not see himself and these stories probably do not refer to the people of the land he passed through. The main body of the people had probably remained on the Upper Yenisei; the *Qarā Khitai* [q. v.] when driven out of North China had to fight with these Kirgiz during their trek westwards. In the fertile region of the modern administrative district of Minusinsk the Kirgiz gradually adopted agriculture and a settled mode of life. According

to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (f. 17b) there was only one town among the Kirgiz, called Kemidjkat, where their *Khākān* lived, and no other towns or villages but only tents; on the other hand Rashīd al-Dīn says (ed. Berezin, *Trud? Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vii. 168 sq.) that the Kirgiz had "many towns and villages". From these and similar statements Radloff has drawn the conclusion (*J. A.*, Ser. 6, vol. ii., p. 328) that the present state of Kirgiz culture is much lower than it used to be.

In the xiiith century the Kirgiz on the Yenisei had to submit to the Mongols under Čingiz Khān. Negotiations for their submission were already begun in 1207 but it was only settled in 1218 when the last rebellion was put down. After the decline of the empire of the descendants of Čingiz Khān the Kirgiz had sometimes to be under the yoke of the Mongols, sometimes of the Kalmucks, and sometimes of the Russians; in 1607 they recognized the suzerainty of the *Qazāk*, but by 1609 we find them killing a tax-collector sent by the *Qazāk*. In 1642 they were described by the Kalmuck Khān Batur as Kalmuck, in 1646 by the Russian plenipotentiary Daniyil Arshinskiy as Russian subjects. In 1703 they were transferred by the Kalmucks by arrangement with Russia to the south to the region of the modern Semirečye; they are then said to have numbered 3,000–4,000 tents. As mentioned above, a portion of the Kirgiz had migrated thither at a much earlier date; shortly after 1514 a certain Muhammad is mentioned as being invested as Khān of the Kirgiz by Sa'īd Khān the ruler of the Mongols (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 141); in the xvth century the Kirgiz were for the most part under the rule of the Khāns of the *Qazāk*. The Kirgiz were called *Burūt* by Kalmucks; they were nearly all driven out from Semirečye to Farghāna and *Qarātegin*; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire by the Chinese (1758–1759) that they returned to their old settlements in the southern part of Semirečye. At this date the name Kirgiz was transferred to the *Qazāk* by the Russians; to distinguish them from the latter, the true Kirgiz were called Black Kirgiz (*Qarā Qirghiz*). In Semirečye, the *Qarā Qirghiz*, outwardly at least, professed Islām; in their epic, which takes its name from the principal hero Manas, the wars against the Kalmucks are described as wars of religion. Unlike the *Qazāk*, the *Qarā Qirghiz* had neither princes nor nobles; the elders, called *Manap*, were not chosen by any kind of election but owed their position entirely to their personal influence. Owing to the continual state of war the tribes of the *Qarā Qirghiz* did not break up into small subdivisions as was the case with the tribes of the *Qazāk*; an *aul* (camp) of the *Qarā Qirghiz* comprised the members of a whole tribe and therefore occupied a much greater area than an *aul* of the *Qazāk*. In the xviiith century authority over the *Qarā Qirghiz* was claimed by the Chinese, in the sixth first by the Özbegs in Farghāna and later by the Russians; the final establishment of Russian rule dates from 1864. The prosperity of the *Qarā Qirghiz* has been seriously affected by Russian colonisation and particularly by the rising of 1916, when a considerable portion of the people migrated to China; the Russian government resolved — but nothing came of it owing to the revolution of 1917 — to take from the *Qarā Qirghiz* all their grazing-grounds except

the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the *Qarā Kirghiz*" or *Kirghizistān* has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "*Qarā*" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the *Qazāq*; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (*Kaisak*, corrupted from *Kazak*, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the *Qazāq* from the *Özbek*, cf. the articles *ABU 'L-KHAIR* and *QAZAQ*. The whole of the *Qazāq* people was for long under the rule of one *Khān* who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; *Khān Qāsim* (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the *Özbeks* in the xvth century, the *Qazāq* still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of *Khān Tawakkul*, who, during the last years of the reign of *Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar* [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into *Mā warā al-Nahr* and even later still held the town of *Tāshkent*. In the xviii century the power of the *Khāns* only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time *Tāshkent* and *Farghāna* were usually in the possession of the *Qazāq*, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the *Khāns* of the *Özbeks*. At this time must have taken place the division of the *Qazāq* into three "Hordes" (called by the *Qazāq* themselves *djüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the xviii century this division was already an accomplished fact. *Khān Tyawka*, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of *Turkistān* and in 1698 one from the *Kalmucks*), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of *Sairām*, *Tāshkent* and *Turkistān* were conquered by the *Kalmucks*. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the *Khān* of the Little Horde was recognised by all the *Qazāq* and the agreement doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, *Abu 'L-Khair* negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii century; but it was not till the sixteenth century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the *Sīr Daryā*, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from *Orenburg*; regulations for the government of the Siberian *Qazāq* were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the *Khān*'s authority, the descendants of *Čingiz Khān* or "*Sultāns*" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the *Qazāq* called "white bones", *aq süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

popular leader of the *Qazāq*, *Kenesarī*, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and *Orenburg* from 1842, was killed in 1847 in the mountains of *Ala Tau*; several risings were stirred up down to 1873 by his son *Sadik* (so-called by the Russians, properly *Šiddik*). Another son, *Ahmad*, later wrote the life of his father *Kenesarī* and of his brother *Sadik*, entitled: *Sultanī Kenisara i Sadik. Biografieskiye očerki sultana Ahmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlye pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnowim, Tāshkent 1889*. Review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv., p. 122 sq.

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the sixteenth century by the *Özbeks* of *Farghāna* and *Khiwa* and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the *Qazāq*. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of *Turkeštān* (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882), *Semirečye* belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to *Turkeštān*, the government of the Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand after the revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "*Qazākistān*"; since 1924 this "Republic" has included a vast territory, little smaller than Russia in Europe, but of course less thickly populated. According to the latest Russian figures before the revolution the *Qazāq* numbered about 4,000,000 compared with about 500,000 genuine Kirgiz. The present numbers of the population cannot be very different from these. *Čulošnikow*'s (see below) reckoning, by which the *Qazāq* and true Kirgiz would now be about 8,500,000 together is certainly much too high. In the northern part of the Kirgiz steppes between 1920 and 1923 the population is known to have declined by 21.20%. According to figures in the official publication *Sowjetskaya Kirgiziya* (1924, No. 8—9, p. 4), the population of the "Kirgiz Republic" is 6,536,000 including 4,008,310 Kirgiz (61.30%).

The *Bibliography* of the Kirgiz is very large: see the attempts to collect it in A. *Kharuzin* (*Etnograf. Obozreniye*, 1891 and 1892) and A. *Alektorow* (*Izv. Obsšt. Arkh. etc. Kazan*, xx. 1904). The fullest history of the Kirgiz steppes is that by A. *Levshin*, *Opisaniye Kirgiz-kaisakskikh ord i stepei*, St. Petersburg 1832; this is supplemented by many quotations (especially from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and the *'Abd Allāh Nāme*) in *Welyaminow-Zernow, Issledowanija o kasimovskikh taryakh i taravichakh*, vol. ii. On the everyday life (esp. of the *Qazāq*) in the sixteenth century: W. *Radloff, Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893, vol. i.; do., *Proben der Volksliteratur etc.*, vol. iii. and v. On laws: N. *Grodekow, Kirgiz i Kara-Kirgiz Sr-Daryinskoi Oblasti*, Tāshkent 1889; review by N. *Veselowskij in Zap.*, v. 115 sqq. On present conditions: *Obzor narodnogo khozaistva Kirgizskoi A. S. S. R. 1924 god. Pod redakciyei J. P. Krutulina*, Orenburg 1925. Later essays on the history of the Kirgiz: A. *Čulošnikow, Očerki iz istorii Kazak-Kirgizskogo naroda, Cast' I. Drevneye vremya i sredniye veka*, Orenburg 1924. M. *Tifšpayew, Materialy dlya istorii Kirgiz-kazakskogo naroda*, Tāshkent 1925. (W. BARTHOLD)

KIRID. [See CRETE].

KIRK KILISE. A town in Eastern Thrace, situated twenty-four miles to the east of *Adrianople*,

on the southern slope of the Istrandja mountains, which run parallel to the coast of the Black Sea from the north-west to the Southeast. It was conquered from Byzantium during the reign of Murād I, a few years after the capture of Adrianople and after the great defeat of the Serbians near this town (766). The chronology of the conquest is very uncertain, for neither the early Turkish chroniclers nor the Byzantine mention it. Ḥādjī Khalifa (*Chronologia historica*, Venice 1697, p. 116) and Sa'd al-Dīn (*Tādī al-Tawārīkh*, p. 3) say that Murād, after having definitely established his residence in the new palace of Adrianople, commanded in person an expedition in the territory to the east of this town; on this expedition Kīrk Kilise was taken, as well as some other places in the region of the Instrandja, such as Wize and Buñar Hışār. Ḥādjī Khalifa places these events in 769; Munedjdīm Bashī (iii. 295) gives the year 770. The identification made by von Hammer (*G.O.R.*, I, 175) with the ancient Tarpodizus (see Pauly, *Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1852, vi. 1605) would appear to be very questionable. Leunclavius *Pandectae Historiae Turcicae*, Paris 1650, p. 473) says that the town of Kīrk Kilise was called by the Greeks Sarante Ecclesies and that it was, in his time, the capital of the Sandjak of this name. Ewliyā Čelebi (v. 79) says that it was the most important sandjak of the wilāyet of Adrianople; he gives a short description of the town. It may be concluded therefore, that formerly Kīrk Kilise was not a place of importance; under Turkish rule, however, its situation on the route from Constantinople to Shumla and to Prawadia made it gain in importance. As regards the name "the forty churches", the numeral *kīrk* which is found here is also met with in other geographical names (e.g. Kīrk Aghaç); it is perhaps permissible to find in this an allusion to the forty saints who play a certain part in geographical nomenclature, both Christian and Muḥammadan (cf. Goldziher in *R.H.R.*, ii. p. 320).

About the year 1900 Kīrk Kilise had about 16,000 inhabitants, of whom Greeks formed the greater part; after them came Turks and Bulgarians. There were eight *djāmi*, one of which is attributed to the Sultān Bayezīd I and two *tekke*. The most important local industry was the weaving of wool. Under the new administrative system of the xixth century Kīrk Kilise remained the capital of a sandjak in the wilāyet of Ederne; the sandjak stretches along the two sides of the Istrandja and contains seven *kaḍā*. All this district is fertile and contains many streams, especially to the south of the Istrandja; the rivers, of which the most important is Erkene Şu, all belong to the basin of the Maritza. Agricultural products are grain, all kinds of fruit, and especially tobacco and wine. The pasturage is very suitable for the raising of cattle.

After the Balkan War had broken out in October 1912, the Bulgarians occupied Kīrk Kilise during the last days of this month, during their advance on Cataldja, to which the Turkish army had retired. As a result of the recapture of Adrianople by the Turks Kīrk Kilise was restored to Turkey after the war and remained Turkish after the victory of the Turkish nationalists, in 1922 (Treaty of Lausanne 23rd July, 1923). Kīrk Kilise is now, with Adrianople, Rodosto and Gallipoli, one of the chief towns of Eastern Thrace.

Bibliography: Ḥādjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. von Hammer, Vienna 1812; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii. 401 sqq.; Sāmi, *Kāmūs al-A'lām* v. 3614. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KĪRK WAZĪR. [See SHAIKHZĀDE, II.]

KIRKŪK, a town in Mesopotamia, in 44° 25' E. Long, and 35° 25' N. Lat., the largest town in the district bounded by the Little Zab in the north-west, the Djabal Ḥamrīn to the south-west, the Diyālā to the south-east, and the chain of the Zagros to the north-east. This territory, which even in the days of the ancient Babylonian empire and later in the Assyrian empire was much exposed to the raids of the hill-peoples of the north-east, was called under the Sāsānids, Gamarkān (Moses of Khurene) and in Syriac sources Bēth Garmē; the town of Kirkūk is called in these sources Karkhā de Bēth Selōkh. The proof of this identification was given by G. Hoffmann (*Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii. no. 3, p. 267 sqq.). In the history of the martyrs of this town (*op. cit.*, p. 43 sqq.) its foundation is attributed to the Assyrian King Sardanā who had it built as a bulwark against the Medes. Seleucus at a later date built a tower in the citadel; henceforth the town bore the name of Seleucus (Selōkh) while the citadel was called Sarbūy or Sarbūg (cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 21). Under the Sāsānids the town became a celebrated centre of the Nestorians; the Metropolitan of Bēth Garmē had his residence there and it was here that took place the persecution of the Christians under Yazdegerd II (438—457) described in the martyrology above mentioned.

While the Christians continued to call the town by its old Syriac name, or in Arabic al-Karkh, (Eliyā of Damascus in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* III/ii. p. ccccxvi.; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 272) it is not clear what name the Arabs gave it. We find Bādjarmā as a *kūra* of the province of al-Mawṣil in Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 94; al-Balādhuri, p. 265; Yāqūt, iv. 683) but none of the towns enumerated can be identified with Kirkūk. Ibn Khurdādhbih (*loc. cit.*) knows a town Khunyā Sābūr in Bādjarmā (a conjecture of de Goeje which applies also to Tabarī, i. 840). Hoffmann, (*loc. cit.*) suggests a connection with the town of Karkhīnā in Yāqūt (iv. 257). The identification is made more difficult by the fact that the Arab geographers always describe the road from Baghdād to al-Mawṣil as following the Tigris; the old road which is also the modern road by Kifri, Ta'ūk, Kirkūk and Irbil does not seem to have been much used in the early centuries of Islām.

In the xiith century the region of Kirkūk belonged to the territory ruled by the Begteginid dynasty which had its capital in Irbil [q.v.]. After the death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kōkbūrī in 1232, the lands of this dynasty passed to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs to be conquered soon afterwards by the Mongols. The name Kirkūk is found for the first time in the history of Timūr by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (transl. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, ii. 259), where we are told that after the conquest of the 'Irāk, Timūr set out for Diyār Bakr, going via Ta'ūk (Daḳūka among the Arabs), Carcouc (Kirkūk) and Altoun Cupru (Altūn Köprü) which he left on December 20, 1403. Next comes the rule of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu followed by the

conquest of Mesopotamia by Shāh Ismā'il I in the early years of the xvth century. When finally Mesopotamia and the Irāk had passed into the hands of the Ottoman Sultāns Selim I and Sulaimān I, by the first Turco-Persian peace concluded at Amasia (May 29, 1555), Kirkūk resumed its former role of an important bulwark against an enemy from the east. It appears also that from this time onwards the desolation of the banks of the Tigris encouraged the development of the ancient commercial and military route between Baghdad and al-Mawṣil (Ewliyā Ālebi, however, took the road along the Tigris, cf. *Siyāhat-nāme*, v. p. 6). Kirkūk again was occupied by the Persians after the fall of Baghdad in 1623, but was retaken by Khusrāw Pasha [q.v.] in 1630. In 1638 Murād IV passed through it on his way to recapture Baghdad. The real masters of the country however were the local Kurd chiefs in the province of Ardalān (Hādjji Khalifa, *Djihān-Numā*, p. 435). But little by little Ottoman power was established there through the energies of the pashas of the *eyālet* of Shehrizūr [q.v. or Shehrizūl]. This *eyālet* contained thirty-two sandjaks one of which was the sandjak of Kirkūk and this town became the official residence of the Pasha of Shehrizūr, after the town of this name was destroyed (*Djihān-Numā*, l.c.). In 1732, Nādir Quli (the future Nādir Shāh) besieged the town in vain; the following year there was a great battle near Kirkūk, where the Turks were completely defeated under the grand vizier Topal 'Othmān Pasha, who was killed in it. In 1743, Kirkūk again fell into the hands of the Persians but was restored to Turkey by the peace of 1746. The town remained in the Ottoman empire down to 1918; under the modern Turkish administrative system it was the capital of the sandjak of Shehrizūr (although the site of the old town of this name was henceforth in the new sandjak of Sulaimāniye) in the province of Mōṣul. Kirkūk had just been occupied by the English troops when the armistice of 1918 was concluded. It remained under the English and in 1920 passed under the government of the kingdom of the Irāk. It was not till 1926 that it was definitely incorporated in this kingdom after the agreement came to between Turkey and Great Britain regarding the fate of the old province of Mōṣul.

The modern town is grouped round an acropolis (*ka'a*) about 120 feet high, which forms a little town by itself; on the south and east side in the plain lies another larger quarter. These two are separated from a quarter on the west by the Khāṣa Āi coming from the north-east and running southwards, under the name Adhaim Ṣu, to reach the Tigris below Sāmarrā. The population must now be 20,000 at most. The Turks are the dominant element, or to distinguish them from the Turks of Asia Minor, Turkomans. This Turkish population was probably there long before the conquest by the Ottoman Sultāns but it is uncertain whether its origin is to be traced to a Turkish garrison placed there by the Caliphs in the ninth century or to an immigration in the time of the Seldjūks or Begteginids. In any case the town was always a bulwark of the Ottoman empire and a centre of its culture (cf. *Türk Yurdu*, 1915). In Turkish the name of the town is pronounced as Kirkūk, although the correct official form is Kerkūk (Sāmi, *Qāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3846). The Christians

to the number of 350 families (*Rapport de la Commission de Mosul* quoted in the *Bibliography*, p. 52), also speak Turkish which they write in Syriac characters; they all live in the citadel. They are "Chaldaean" Catholics (Kirkūk is the see of an archbishop or Maṭrān) and descendants of the old Nestorians, although according to their own tradition they immigrated in the Seldjūk period. Since 1906 they have had a new cathedral. Arabic is spoken mainly by the Jewish population which is quite considerable. Finally there is a strong Kurdish element. The *ka'a* was at one time surrounded by a wall; it contains the mosque of Ulu Djamī, an old church, and on the slope of the hill there is a mosque called Mār Daniel. Quite recently excavations have been begun in the hill which promise to give us information about the history of the town in the Babylonian period. Another Christian monument is the tomb of the martyr Mār Tahmazgerd, who is known from the martyrology above mentioned; this tomb is to the east of the town.

Kirkūk is of some commercial importance; it is the market for the cereals and animals raised in the surrounding country and its most important connections are with Baghdad (via Ta'ūk and Kifri) and with Mōṣul (via Alūn Köprü and Irbil). A railway line is being built along this route. Then there is the eastward road to Sulaimāniya and on to Persia. Between Kirkūk and Sulaimāniya is the land of the Hamawand Kurds, who were redoubtable brigands in the Turkish period. The country round Kirkūk is still a little hilly but to the west of the town the Mesopotamian steppe soon begins, mainly inhabited by Arabs. The immediate vicinity produces a great deal of fruit. Here we have the most northerly palms in Mesopotamia.

The wealth of sulphur, naphtha, and bituminous products contained in the soil of the whole district of Kirkūk has been known and exploited since ancient times. The bituminous springs are specially well-known, two hours north-east of Kirkūk, called Bābā Gurgur where bluish flames rise out of the ground.

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KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name of the town was derived later from that of the province. The usual pronunciation is Kirmān, although, according to the tradition of Arab scholarship (Yāqūt, iv. 263) the form Karmān is more correct; the name, in any case, goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv. 2, 14), and which in its turn is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital, Carmana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, vi. 8; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6, 48). According to Marquart

(*Ērānshahr*, p. 30) the name Carmania replaced that of Yūtiya, which is found in the inscriptions of the Achaemenids (Beh., iii. 23) and corresponds to the *Oṽrio* whom Herodotus (iii. 93) places in the fourteenth satrapy. In Pehlevi the orthography *k-r-m-n* is found. Legendary Arabic historiography (Ibn al-Kalbī) derives Kirmān from the name of Kirmān b. Falūdj, the descendant of Japhet, who is said to have settled in this region. Later popular etymology has connected the name with the noun *kirm*, signifying worm or dragon, and derives it from the legend of Haftān-Bōkht and the dragon of Kirmān in the romance of Ardešhīr (see Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 145).

1. THE PROVINCE. From the geographical point of view Kirmān is as a whole well-defined. Situated to the south-west of the great central Irānian desert (Dasht-i Lūt, or, in the middle ages, Maḥāzāt Khurāsān), the province is bounded in the east by the steppes, and the mountains which separate it from Makrān, while, from the direction of Yazd to the north-west, and from Fārs, to the west, it is also bordered by desert and uncultivated lands. The chief feature which distinguishes Kirmān from Fārs, is, as Iṣṭakhrī observed (p. 163), that the cultivated part of Fārs is an uninterrupted territory while Kirmān consists rather of a certain number of fertile and cultivated areas, separated by desert plains through which the villages are scattered. This geographical situation quite naturally leads to the sub-division into five principal districts: that of Kirmān to the north (in ancient times Bardasīr), of Sirdjān to the west, of Džiruft in the centre and of Bam and of Narmasīr in the east (Maḥdisī, p. 460). On the south, Kirmān is bounded by the sea but this part is of little interest for the province; the only important port, Hormuz [q. v.] is sometimes counted as belonging to Kirmān and sometimes to Fārs; but this port has often been in different hands from its hinterland. The lords of Kirmān have only once extended their domination over the opposite coast of 'Umān. Chains of mountains stretch across the province from the north-west to the south-east; to the north the highest chain is found which forms a part of the Kūhrūd and has summits like the Kūh Hazār to the north-west of Bam, with an altitude of almost 15,000 feet. This chain separates the district of Kirmān from that of Sirdjān; its continuation towards the south-east is called Djabal Pāriz or Bāriz. Further to the south-west there are other parallel chains. In the middle ages these mountains were inhabited by savage tribes like the Balūš (see BALŌCISTĀN) and the Ḳufs; the latter inhabit the mountainous region to the south of Džiruft, along the coast, on the Makrān side. Kirmān has no important rivers; the cultivated districts receive their water from the mountains; the most important of these streams is that which flows across Džiruft, called Khalīl Rūd (formerly Drw Rūd) without ever reaching the sea. Thus Kirmān contains within itself all the geographical features which are typical of the whole of Persia.

The Arabic geographers, beginning with Ya'qūbī, treat Kirmān as an independent geographical area (*iklām*). They classify three-quarters of its surface amongst the warm regions (*džurūm*); the cold districts (*šurūd*) are found mainly around Sirdjān (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 165).

From the point of view of traffic, Kirmān lies

on the great roads leading from Fārs to Sistān and Khurāsān and to India, and on the route for commerce and pilgrimage, which leads from the sea (Hormuz and later Bandar 'Abbās) to the north-east of Persia and beyond. This situation has exposed the province during its history to invasions from all sides: — a circumstance which has made it frequently change its political ownership, and which has been adverse to the development of its prosperity.

At the present day the desert part of Kirmān is more extensive than in ancient times; in the first centuries of Islām there were still forests in which lions roamed around Džiruft (Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥāt al-Ḳutūb*, p. 140). Now there are almost no trees except the date-palms which are found in large quantities around the villages and the towns. Irrigation is very laboriously practised by the subterranean *ḳanāt*. The principal agricultural products are corn, barley, and opium. The higher regions produce in autumn millet, cotton and beetroot. In the *džurūm* or *garmsīr* rice and maize are cultivated in summer and the environs of Bam and of Khabīš produce *hemnā*; besides, all sorts of fruits are found in great abundance — its dates especially are noted. The chief animal products are wool and goat skins (*kurk*) which are used for the manufacture of celebrated shawls. The mineral wealth of Kirmān, was exploited in the middle ages. Marco Polo speaks of the turquoises of Kirmān, the mines for which have now been abandoned. The mountains contain iron also, which formerly provided material for the armourer's art; to the west of Džiruft silver was found. Oxide of zinc, called *tūtīyā*, was prepared from the minerals found near Kubanān (Maḥdisī, p. 459 and 470 speaks of *al-tūtīyā al-Marāzibī*, see de Goeje in *B. G. A.*, iv. 246). Ḳazwīnī (i. 172) seems to refer to the existence of anthracite.

History. Under the Sāsānids the province of Kirmān had been governed by a governor holding the title of *Shāh* (Ibn Khurādādhbih, p. 17); thus Bahram V was before his accession Kirmān-Shāh [q. v.]; the semi-legendary tradition of the *Shāh-nāma* is also acquainted with a *Shāh* of Kirmān under king Kai-Khusraw (ed. Vullers, iii. 1279). Balādhuri, on the other hand, speaks of a *marzbān* of Kirmān (p. 391). Already, before Islām, Arab nomads had immigrated into Kirmān and according to Ṭabari (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, p. 57) it was Shāpūr I who, after his expedition against the Arabs, had driven out by force the people of the tribe of Bakr b. Wa'il. While admitting with some reservation the historical truth of this, Nöldeke prefers to think there was an immigration of Arabs into Kirmān in the period before Islām. The capital of the province at the end of the Sāsānid period was Shiradjān (Sirdjān).

640—750. The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 315, 391 sqq.) was begun by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari, from 638 governor of Baṣra under the Caliph 'Umar; he conquered Shiradjān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bam and of Anadaghār. Another Arab invasion was made about the same time by the governor of Bahrain, 'Uthmān b. al-'Āṣ al-Thakafī; he killed the Marzbān of Kirmān in the island of Abarkawān (which, however, belonged to Fārs). But its pacification was only temporary. In 29

(649–650) Yazdagird fled from Isfahān to Kirmān, where the majority of the inhabitants were still loyal. Then ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amir b. Qurayz sent Mudjāshī^c b. Mas‘ūd al-Sulamī with another general to pursue him. The Arab army perished in the snow at Baimand before reaching Shiradjān, and Yazdagird was able to continue his flight to Khurāsān, where he met his death (the flight of Yazdagird has perhaps influenced the story of the end of the King Dārā whom the *Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers, iii. 1975, makes take to flight and perish in Kirmān). Mudjāshī^c, appointed governor of Kirmān by Ibn ‘Amir, succeeded at last in reconquering the chief towns as far as the mountains of the Kūfs; a counter-attack by the Persians from Hormuz was defeated. The historical data recording the conquests of this period are uncertain. Further information is found for example in al-Ya‘qūbī (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 286). After the conquest many inhabitants fled to Sistān or to Khurāsān or withdrew into the mountains where they for long retained their Zoroastrian creed. The mountaineers themselves kept for three centuries more their independence. This province being at a considerable distance from the centre soon became the theatre of the activities of the Khāridjis. A certain number of the inhabitants had joined as *mawālī* the Azraqī Khāridjis who had seized Fārs and Kirmān about the year 693, under command of Kaṭari b. al-Fudjā’a [q.v.]; their centre was Djiruft. They remained there until about the year 699, when the general al-Muhallab succeeded in defeating them, after the separation of the Arab Khāridjis and the *mawālī* had weakened them. During the succeeding century Kirmān was a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. Thus ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash‘ath [q.v.] the enemy of al-Hadīdjadī took refuge there for some time after his defeat (after 701). Twenty years later, Kirmān was one of the provinces over which the usurper Yazid b. al-Muhallab [q.v.] had established his dominion, which came to an end in 102 (720). From this time the Umayyads (of whom we know several coins struck at Kirmān) seem to have exercised a sufficiently efficacious control over the province of Kirmān, which moreover had been exhausted by wars — for it was from here that their last army set out to face the attack of the partisans of the ‘Abbāsids under Kaḥṭaba. The principal sources for this period are al-Balādhuri, al-Ṭabarī, al-Ya‘qūbī and al-Mas‘ūdi.

750–1041. Under the first ‘Abbāsids Kirmān was not the scene of important events; the provinces had to suffer during this time the incursions of the Zuṭṭ, coming from India, until they were driven out during the reign of al-Mu‘taṣim. There are ‘Abbāsīd coins struck in Kirmān in the years 165 and 167. Soon afterwards the province began to play a role, mostly passive, in the different Persian national movements, which gave rise to several dynasties. The first dynasty was that of the Šaffārids; Ya‘qūb b. Laith had obtained in 253/862, the governorship of Kirmān from Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the governor of Khurāsān. Ya‘qūb had to quell the opposition of the mountaineers around Djiruft; he and his brother ‘Amr seem to have left a favourable impression in the province (Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 16 according to the *Chronicle* of Afdal al-Dīn), but their reign was too short to leave more permanent

traces. ‘Amr succeeded his brother in 879, and, on his death in 902, the rule of the ‘Abbāsids, or rather anarchy, was re-established in Kirmān. In 315/928 Kirmān received a new master in the person of Abū ‘Alī b. Ilyās [q.v.], a former brigand, from Khurāsān, who looked upon the Samānids as his suzerains (Maḥdisī, p. 472). He soon found himself in conflict with the Būyid Aḥmad Mu‘izz al-Dawla, who attacked Kirmān in 935 and took Shiradjān. But Ibn Ilyās who had chosen for his residence Bardasir (the present town of Kirmān) had himself appointed governor for and tributary to the Būyids. The quarrel which broke out some decades later between Ibn Ilyās and his son al-Yāsī^c brought about the ruin of them both and resulted in the occupation of the province by the Būyids in 357 (968). Soon after the descendants of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla began to fight among themselves for the province and a very confused period followed, during which even the Ghaznawids were for some time masters of Kirmān (Mas‘ūd I conquered it in 1032; see also the article ABŪ KALIDJĀR). The Būyids were the first to fight with energy the mountain tribes of the Kūfs and Balūš. Sources for this period: al-Ṭabarī, al-Ya‘qūbī, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Ibn Miskawaihi, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta’rīkh-i Guzīda*.

1041–1222. The province was able to breathe at last when in 1041 a branch of the Seldjūks founded there a dynasty, which reigned until 1187. For the history of the members of this dynasty see the article SELDJŪKS, III. The founder was Kāwurd Karā Arslān Beg, the son of Čaghri Beg. In 440 (1048/1049) he seized the capital Bardasir and subdued the mountaineers of the Kūfs and of the Shabānkāra [q.v.], a Kurd tribe to the south-west who for some time had been terrorising the *garmisr* of Kirmān. Kāwurd finally conquered the territory of ‘Umān on the other side of the Persian Gulf. He made two attempts to resist the Great Seldjūks, Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh; the second attempt cost him his life (466 = 1074) and nearly ended his dynasty. Kirmān prospered most during the long reign of Arslān Shāh (1101–1142) who was also ruler of Fārs, and this state of things continued under his son Muḥammad Shāh (1142–1156). Under the last Seldjūks of Kirmān anarchy again reigned until the Ghuzz [q.v.], who came from Khurāsān, completed the desolation of the province. A chief of the Ghuzz, Malik Dīnār, became in 581 (1185) the ruler of Kirmān; his residence was at Zarand. Soon the turn of the Shabānkāra came; their chiefs Kutb al-Dīn and Nizām al-Dīn took Bardasir in 597 (1200), to the great joy of the inhabitants. But as the Ghuzz continued to resist under ‘Adjam Shāh, the son of Malik Dīnār, some years of confusion followed; the result of this was that Sa‘d b. Zangī, the Atābek of Fārs, made himself master of Kirmān in 600 (1203). In 607 (1210), the province was conquered in the name of Khwārizmshāh. In 1220 the half-independent governor of Kirmān was Shudjā‘ al-Dīn Zawzani, who after the defeat of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad refused to admit the son of this latter, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, when he was fleeing before the Mongols. Sources for this period: Ibn al-Aṭhīr; Ibn Ibrāhīm; Afdal al-Dīn (cf. *Bibliography*); Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*; Djuwainī, *Dīkhān Gushā*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta’rīkh-i Guzīda*; Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-Sudūr*.

1222–1502. Soon afterwards in 619 (1222)

the famous Burāk Hādhib [q. v.] who was descended from the Qara Khitai and was at the time vizier of the already mentioned Ghiyāth al-Dīn, drove Shudjā' al-Dīn out by force and succeeded in playing a political game so cunningly, first against Ghiyāth al-Dīn, next against Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh, and finally against the Mongols, that he succeeded in keeping his power so that Kirmān never knew the terror of the Mongol armies. Burāk Hādhib who had received from the Caliph the honorary surname of Kutlugh Khān became thus the founder of the dynasty called that of the Kutlugh Khāns. It remained under the sovereignty of the Mongols until the year 1303. A notable figure of the dynasty was Turkhān Khātūn, the daughter of Burāk Hādhib; she reigned from 1258 to 1282, and contributed to the prosperity of the country by having the *kanā's* dug for irrigation. It was in her reign that Marco Polo visited the "kingdom" of Kirmān; it is evident from his account that at this time the ruler of Hormuz was also the vassal of the Sultān of Kirmān. The end of the dynasty was brought about by an act of disobedience of the last Kutlugh Khān (1303). The province had several Mongol governors, until in 1340 Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar, the husband of the last Kutlugh Khān's daughter, seized Kirmān. He took Shirāz in 1354 and founded the dynasty of the Muẓaffarids. His brother 'Imād al-Dīn in 1363 succeeded him in Kirmān; some of the buildings of the latter still exist (the Pā Minār mosque in the town of Kirmān). Not long afterwards the province became the theatre for the quarrels of members of the dynasty which was finally exterminated by Timūr in 1393. The Timūrids who had at times to put down rebellious governors (Shaikh Uwais in 1408) were followed in their turn in the ownership of Kirmān by the Qara Qoyunlu (about 1350) who soon had to give place to the Aq Qoyunlu. As a rule Kirmān was from this time united with Fārs under the governorship of one of the relatives of Uzun Hasan. Sources: Djuwaini; Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Simt al-'Ulā* (cf. *Bibliography*); Hamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*; 'Alī Yazdī, *Sharāf-Nāma*; 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī, *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*; Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Safā*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*.

1502—1794. It was under the last prince of the Aq-Qoyunlu, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Beg Bāyandari that Shāh Ismā'īl seized the province of Kirmān (about 1502) which henceforth belonged to the dynasty of the Ṣafawids [q. v.]. In 1509 it suffered from an invasion of the Özbeks, but until the end of the Ṣafawid period Kirmān enjoyed tranquillity; the majority of the inhabitants, as throughout Persia, adopted the official form of the *ihnā-'ashariya Shī'a*. One of the most noted Ṣafawid governors in Kirmān was Gandj 'Alī Khān (1596—1621) who built many caravanserais and bazaars. In 1720 the Afghāns under Maḥmūd Khān passed through Kirmān when they began their march on Isfahān, which brought about the downfall of the Ṣafawids. Then came the reign of Nādir Shāh (1735—1747) which was followed by a period of anarchy; the Afghān nomads and the Balūṭi ravaged the country. In 1772 (1758) Karīm Khān Zand conquered Kirmān under the last usurper. It was the overthrow of the dynasty formed by the latter which brought upon the province and especially on the capital, the most terrible catastrophe which it had experienced in its history. The son of

Karīm Khān, Luṭf 'Alī Khān [q. v.] fleeing before the Qājār Agha Muḥammad Khān had retired to Kirmān in 1794 where a part of the inhabitants remained faithful to him. In the same year the capital had to surrender and Luṭf 'Alī Khān, although he succeeded in escaping to Bam, was betrayed and handed over to Agha Muḥammad. The terrible vengeance of the Qājār, who according to the authorities, sold 20,000 women and children into slavery and blinded 35,000 male inhabitants, deprived the province of all strength and prosperity; it did not begin to recover until a century had elapsed. — Sources: Khwāndamīr and the Persian histories of the Ṣafawid and the subsequent dynasties (see *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 586 sqq., 592, 594).

From 1794. The Qājārs [q. v.] governed Kirmān usually by governors who belonged to the dynasty. During the years 1839—1841 a certain Agha Khān made many fruitless attempts to free the province from the power of the Qājārs. From this time there were no further notable events in the history of the province. In proportion as Persia became an important element, although passive for the moment, in world politics, Kirmān entered little by little into the sphere of influence of Great Britain. This situation found expression in the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.

The principal towns and districts. The province of Kirmān is now divided into 19 districts. Three of the five chief towns mentioned by Maḥdisī (see below): Sirdjān, Džiruft and Narmāsīr are no longer in existence and are now only names of districts. Many of the towns and villages named in ancient geographies have also disappeared or have not yet been identified.

The northern part includes the capital Kirmān [q. v.]. On the route from Kirmān to Yazd still stand Zarand and Bāfk and, to the northeast of this route, on the edge of the desert we still have Kūhbanān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) and Rāwar. Khābīṣ, a historic site to the east of Kirmān, in a much lower country, is famous for its dates. Māhān (now Māhūn) to the south-east of the capital is noted for the sanctuary of the Ṣūfī Saiyid Ni'mat Allāh (who died in 1431) built under Shāh 'Abbās. From the time of Maḥdisī Māhān was inhabited by Arabs.

The principal town on the west side was the old capital Sirdjān (often Shiradjān), situated very close to the province of Fārs. This town was larger than Shirāz in the time of Maḥdisī, but it was destroyed in 1396, after a long resistance against the armies of Timūr. The site is marked at the present time by a limestone rock rising in the plain to a height of 300 feet, called Kal'a-i Sang. This rock, formerly the citadel, has been described by Sykes (*10,000 Miles*, etc., p. 431 and following), who found some inscriptions there. In the neighbourhood is the village of Saiyidābād. The plain is much more fertile than that of Kirmān and contains many villages.

Bam [q. v.] in the eastern part of the province is still in existence. The road from Sirdjān to Bam passed by Rayīn and Darzīn; from this last place a road ran (and runs) to Džiruft. Narmāsīr (also Narmāshīr) situated at a short distance from Bam in a south-west direction, was formerly an important market for commerce with India; at the present time the name only marks a district. The village of Fahladj which is in this district was a fortress in the time of the Afghāns.

Djiruft, formerly the capital of the southern part of Kirmān, occupied a site now called Shahr-i Daḡiyanūs. In the time of Marco Polo the town had already been supplanted by its former quarter Kumādin called Camadi by the Venetian; it was an important market. Basing his belief on a passage in Idrisi (transl. Reinaud, p. 423) Sykes (*op. cit.*, p. 445) thinks that the earliest capital Carmana must be looked for between Djiruft and Fahladj. On the road from Djiruft to Hormuz are Walāshgird or Gulāshgird, which is still the name of a village.

Population. The inhabitants of Kirmān are described in general as possessing a dark brown colour and a slight physique because of the heat (Istakhrī). In the *garmsir* indeed, the summer is very hot and unhealthy (Sykes). The most ancient inhabitants of Kirmān were probably represented in the Middle Ages by the mountain peoples called the Ḳufs in the mountainous district of the south and the Bāriz (παριζῖοι in Herodotus, iii. 92), in the mountains to the south-east of the town of Kirmān, still called Bāriz Kūh. Maḡdisi (p. 471) says that the language of the Ḳufs and of the Balūs was unintelligible. These people were probably exterminated in the course of history or became mixed from the time of the Būyids and of the Seldjūks with the Irānian element. For the Balūs, who immigrated from the north-west (Balādhuri and Ṭabarī do not yet mention them) and who were established in Makrān from the twelfth century see the article BALŪCISTĀN. As regards the settled population it seems to be of Irānian stock; Strabo already says that their customs and their language are similar to those of the Medes and of the Persians (xv. 2, 14). From the time of the Sāsānids a part of the inhabitants was composed of Nestorian Christians; the bishop of Kirmān was under the authority of the metropolitan of Fārs. The conversion to Islām was slowly affected; according to Ṭabarī the mountaineers had been islāmised under the ʿAbbāsids; later they showed great sympathy for the Shiʿa (Maḡdisi). Yāḳūt (s. v. Ḳufs) insists upon the fact that while having no religion, they venerated ʿAlī b. Abi Ṭālib. The islāmised population was very much exposed to sectarian influences such as those of the Khāridjīs, and later that of the Ismāʿīlis. From the theological point of view the inhabitants of Shiradīn belonged, according to Maḡdisi, to the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and those of Djiruft to the *ahl al-raʿy*. The advent of the Ṣafawids at last established the official form of Shiʿa, *iṭhnā-ʿashariya* to which the great majority of the population still belongs. In the sixth century the sect of the Shāikhīs [q.v.] gained many adherents in the province of Kirmān, so that it became one of their most important centres. Sykes reckons their number at 7,000. The Bābīs are a little less numerous. Finally Kirmān is one of the districts where the adherents of the religion of Zoroaster were able to maintain themselves as a community under the spiritual direction of their ancient sacerdotal hierarchy. Tavernier (p. 390) says that in his time (about 1650) their number was still more than 10,000 in the town of Kirmān, after the great emigration to India. They had a temple at a distance of four leagues from the town; they were for the most part wool-merchants. Until the middle of the xviiith century there must have existed at Kirmān a school of *dasṭūr*'s whose influence was considerable. According

to Khanikoff there were still 12,000 Parsis families at Kirmān before its destruction in 1794 by Agha Muḡammad Shāh. About the year 1900 their number is given by Sykes as 1,700 souls (see also the article PARSI).

The Parsis of Kirmān, like those of Yazd, speak the archaic dialect called *Gabri*, which has been studied, e.g. by Houtum Schindler and Browne (cf. *Grundriss der Ir. Phil.*, i. 381 sq.) and more recently by O. Mann (*Die Mundarten von Khunsar*, etc., ed. by K. Hadank, Berlin-Leipzig 1926). The other dialects spoken in Kirmān do not seem to have ever been specially studied; they belong to the southern group represented e.g. by the dialects of Fārs and of Kāshān (see Geiger in *Grundriss*, i. 2, p. 422). Maḡdisi remarks that the language of Kirmān resembles that of Khurāsān.

The nomads who form a strong minority of the population of Kirmān are probably the descendants of the Arab, Turkish and Kurd invaders.

The total of the population of the province was estimated at 750,000 about the year 1900 (Sykes).

II. The town of Kirmān situated in the north-east part of the province (30° 17' lat. N. 56° 59' long. E.) has been identified in all likelihood with the town and the district which Arab geographers call Bardasir (Yāḳūt has Burdasir) or Guwāshir (see also Maḡdisi, p. 460). The two forms might represent the form Beh-Ardashir, which is, according to Ḥamza Isfahānī (ed. Gottwald, p. 46) the name of a town built by Ardashir, the founder of the dynasty of the Sāsānids. The building of the Ḳalʿa-i Ardashir, the ancient citadel to the east of the town, which, in the Middle Ages, must have been just outside the gate of the city, is also attributed to Ardashir. But the town was thought to be less ancient than Bam and Djiruft (Sykes, following Afḡal al-Dīn). A district to the south-west of Kirmān still bears the name of Bardasir. In the ninth century, when Ibn Ilyās had just occupied it, it was not yet very large, but in the xiiith century Yāḳūt describes it as the largest town of Kirmān. The name of Kirmān was given to it as capital of the province of that name. The official honorary name of the town is Dār al-Amān.

The town is situated at the meeting place of three valleys at a height of about 6,000 feet, 12 miles to the north of the Djūpar chain of mountains. The surroundings consist almost exclusively of steppes and possess very little cultivated land. Between Ḳalʿa-i Ardashir, already mentioned, and the town is a ruined citadel at a lower elevation, Ḳalʿa-i Dukhtar, which must have been formerly in the town. All the plain to the east and to the south of the town has a large number of remains of buildings. There are found here very beautiful pieces of fayence and other archaeological remains. The town itself is surrounded by a wall of baked clay with four gates. A quarter outside of the walls to the north-east is that of the Zoroastrians, Mahalla-i Gabr. The citadel is situated on the western side. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 140) speaks of a mosque built under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but the most ancient mosque is at the present time the Masjid-i Malik built by the Seldjūk Tūrān Shāh (1084—1096); this mosque was already in ruins in the xvith century, but has been restored. The two other important mosques are the Masjid-i Djāmiʿ built, according to an inscription, in 1349 by Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḡaffar

and the Masjid-Pā-Minār, erected by the latter's brother 'Imād al-Dīn. A monument destroyed by an earthquake in 1896 was the Gunbad-i Sabz, a building of cylindrical form covered with mosaics of a greenish blue. According to information given to Sykes it was the tomb of one of the members of the dynasty of the Kutlugh Khāns, built in 640 (1242). After the destruction of the town in 1794, it was rebuilt under Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, but it only began to prosper under the governor Wakīl al-Mulk about the year 1860. (A plan of the modern town is given opposite p. 188 of Sykes, *10,000 Miles*, etc.). The number of inhabitants increased in the last part of the nineteenth century. Schindler in 1878 gives the figure as 41,170 and Sykes in 1900 as 49,120. The great majority are Shī'is, next come the Shaikhīs (6,000), the Bābis (3,000), and the Zoroastrians (1,600). The Jews form a very small group of seventy souls. Kirmān owes its very great industrial reputation to its shawls, but this industry has been surpassed by that of carpets in wool and in silk. The workers are almost exclusively men; Sykes estimates the value of the exports at £ 40,000 annually. Another important industry is the manufacture of felt.

Bibliography: The statements of the Arab geographers (quoted in the text) have been used by P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iii., Leipzig 1912, p. 211 sqq.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861; J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, Abh. G. W. Gött., N. F. vol. iii., No. 2, Berlin 1901, p. 30 sqq., 179 sqq.; Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie Persiens*, S. B. Ak. Wien, 1890, vol. 121, Abh. viii.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 179 sqq. — The principal western travellers are Marco Polo; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, 1810; N. de Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'éthnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866; Lovett, Smith and Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, London 1876; A. H. Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien* 1897, Z. G. Erd. Berl., xvi., p. 323 sqq.; do., *Itineraries of Marco Polo*, J.R.A.S., N. S. vol. xii.; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, ii. 243 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*², Cambridge 1926; Major P. Molesworth Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902; the author who was British Consul in Kirmān from 1894 to 1899 is the best authority on the modern province. Other geographical descriptions: Hādījī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 256; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, volume viii.; K. Prellberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, Leipzig 1891.

The historical sources have already been given in the text. Three sources are of the nature of local chronicles: The history of the Seldjūks by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ed. by Houtsma in vol. i. of the *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, Leiden 1886; Afḍal al-Dīn Ahmad b. Hāmid Kirmānī, *Ikḍ al-Ūlā li 'l-mawḳif al-a'lā*, lith. Tihān 1293 (cf. *Cat. of the Printed Pers. Books in the Brit. Mus.*, London 1922, p. 90); Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Simṭ al-Ūlā li 'l-ḥadrat al-ʿulyā*, written in 716 (1316) (cf. *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii., p. 849); E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's af-handling om Qarachaitaiska dynastin med inledning och anmärkingar*, Helsingfors 1869. On pages 48—71 of the work mentioned by Sykes is a précis of the history of the province of

Kirmān. For modern times see also E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910; Sir Percy Molesworth Sykes, *History of Persia*², London 1921.

A. H. Schindler, *Die Parsen in Persien*, Z. D. M. G., 1882, p. 54—88; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*², 1884; Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i., Leipzig 1871; *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London 1902—1906; do., *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920; do., *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924; de Gobineau, *Les religions et les philosophies de l'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1900; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, London 1875—1890, i., vi., vii., ix., espec. x., p. clxxxiii.—iv. (J. H. KRAMERS).

KIRMĀNĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿAṬĀ MAḤMŪD B. 'ALĪ of Kirmān, known as KHŴĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ [the name *Khṵwādju* is a diminutive form from *Khṵwādja*: cf. *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, i./ii. 185; another instance of this formation, not noticed there, is *pirū* from *pir*, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī* (ed. Nicholson) i. line 2169], a Persian poet, born, as stated in the epilogue of his *Gul u-Nawrūz*, Shawwāl 5, 679 (Jan. 28, 1281) at Kirmān. He died at Shīrāz, probably in 753/1352; the date 742, given by Dawlatshāh, is erroneous. Men of letters gave him the surname of *Nakhli-band-i Shīʿarāʿ* (or *Ni maʿānī*) (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, p. 249; Vullers, *Lexicon*, ii. 1301). Biographical details are scarce about him. He belonged to a distinguished family, and seems to have travelled widely. That he stayed some time at Baghdād, appears from the lines from his *Humāy u-Humāyūn* quoted by Dawlatshāh, *loc. cit.* Kirmānī was a *murīd* of Rukn al-Dīn al-Samnānī († 736/1345) and lived some time as a mystic in Šūfiyābād (in *Khurāsān*, cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 396).

His first patron seems to have been the Muẓaffarid ruler Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad of Yazd [713/1314 — 759/1358 (deposed), died 765/1364]. Afterwards, Kirmānī was in the service of Amīr Shaikh Abū Ishāk (viz. Djamāl al-Dīn Shaikh Abū Ishāk, prince of Shīrāz till 754/1353; killed by order of Mubārīz al-Dīn in 757/1356). The poet died at the court of Abū Ishāk. A son of Kirmānī is mentioned in his *Kamālnāma* (see below).

Works. *Khṵwādju* Kirmānī wrote a *Khamsa*, in imitation of Nizāmī, as is the case with many of the later Persian poets, and a *Diwān*. The *Khamsa* consists of:

1. *Humāy u-Humāyūn*, a romantic poem, in the metre of Nizāmī's *Iskandarnāma* (i. e. *mutakārib*, because it treats of a subject from Irānian heroic tradition). It contains 3203 *dubāits*; it was composed, according to the epilogue, at Baghdād in 732. The prologue contains the *madḥ* of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd and his wazīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad; it states, that the poet was induced to compose the work by the high dignitary Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Maḍjd al-Dīn Maḥmūd. This *mathnawī* describes the adventures of Humāy, son of Shāh Hūshang, and his love of Humāyūn, princess of China. Notwithstanding the intrigues of the princess's father, the Faghfur, the lovers are united, Humāyūn's father perishing in battle by the hand of Humāy.

2. *Nawrūz u-Gul*, also a romantic poem, in the metre of *Khusrāw u-Shīrīn*, containing 2615 *dubāits*. It was completed in 742 (chronogram), dedicated to

Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmad 'Irāqī (a wazīr to the Muẓaffarid Muḥariz al-Dīn), and relates the love-story of Nawrūz, son of king Firūz of Khurāsān, and Gul, daughter of the emperor of Rūm. With the main narrative are interwoven three minor stories, told to the prince to console him in his love-sickness.

3. *Kamāl-nāma*, on ethics and religion, in the metre of the *Haft Paikar*, composed 744 (chronogram); this year is given as the date of completion of the *Khamsa* (Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 620). In the prologue, the Muslim saint Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm of Kāzerūn († 426/1035) is praised; in the epilogue the poet addresses Amir Shaikh Abū Ishāq, the ruler of Shīrāz, and also his own son Muḍjir al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Alī. The poem is divided into *bāb's*, in one of the manuscripts numbered from 1—12.

4. *Rawḍat al-Anwār*, mystical; a counterpart to the *Maḥzan al-Asrār* (Dawlatshāh, p. 251); composed 743 at Kāzerūn, according to the epilogue. It is divided into 20 *maḥāla's*. The dedication is to Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Šā'in (killed in battle 746/1345, as wazīr of Abū Ishāq of Shīrāz). The *Rawḍat* passes for the first poem of the *Khamsa*.

5. It seems not to be possible, to determine with certainty which of the other works of Kirmānī should be reckoned as the remaining part of the *Khamsa*. It may be, that it is the poem entitled *Mafātīḥ al-Kulūb wa-Maṣābiḥ al-Ghuyūb*, which is found in the manuscript No. 332 of the Library of the king of Oudh. This poem, consisting of 28 *bāb's*, appears, from the headings given in the catalogue, to treat of religious topics.

After the *Khamsa*, we have:

6. *Gawharnāma*; the aim of this poem, also a *maṭnawī*, is the praise of Bahā' al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was wazīr to the Muẓaffarid ruler, and claimed descent from the renowned Nizām al-Mulk. Besides the wazīr, his ancestors are also praised in the work. The date of its composition is 746 (chronogram).

7. *Dīwān*. Dawlatshāh (or his authorities) say, that the *dīwān* of Kirmānī numbers 20,000 verses (cf. also Sprenger, *Cat.* *Oudh.*, p. 472); it contains *ḥaṣīda's*, mostly panegyric, e.g. on the Muẓaffarid Muḥariz al-Dīn and Shaikh Abū Ishāq; also on the persons, lauded in the *Gawharnāma*, and besides on other great men, as for instance Shīrwānshāh b. Minūčīhr. A letter to a Shīrwānshāh, ruler of Shābarān and Shammākhī, from the part of the great wazīr Rashīd al-Dīn is extant (Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar dominion*, p. 83); the person, praised in the *Dīwān* of Kirmānī may have belonged to the family of Rashīd al-Dīn's addressee.

Further, the *dīwān* contains *ghazal's*, *muḥatta'āt*, *rubā'iyyāt*, etc.

Finally, a *tardī'a* of this poet (refrain: *kīh dīkhān šurāt ast u ma'nā dūst | war ba ma'nā naẓar kunī, hama ūst*) occurs in the Leyden manuscript 274, fol. 463 verso — 464 verso.

The little that is printed of Kirmānī's poetry will be found in the works, cited in the *Bibliography*. From these scanty extracts, it is impossible to form a judgment on his merits as a poet; therefore, the opinion of Browne, who had the opportunity of reading a great part of the *Dīwān*, may be repeated here: "his verse, while graceful and pleasing, lacks any conspicuous distinction or excellence".

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 249 etc.; Luṭf 'Alī Beg Ādhur, *Atashkade* (Bombay 1299), p. 124 sq.; *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 818; *Z. D. M. G.*, ii. 205 etc.; Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii. 620 etc.; Sprenger, *Cat. Oudh.*, p. 471—73; Rosen, *Manuscr. persans de l'Institut*, etc., p. 118, 217; Cat. Bankipore (Persian poets: Firdawsī to Hāfiz), p. 213 sqq.; *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 248 etc.; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar dominion*, p. 222 etc. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

KIRMĀNŠĀH, a town lying in a plain among the mountain ranges that border the Iranian plateau on the south-west, now the capital of a Persian province between Kurdistān on the north and Luristān on the south. The geographical position of the town is approximately 34° 20' North Lat. and 47° East Long.; the plain is traversed by the Kara Šu which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction, joining the river Gāmāsīyāb (formerly the Gāwmāsā Rūd) farther south; the latter is a tributary of the Kerkha [q.v.] and the most important water-course of the province.

It was probably in this district that the earliest kingdom of the Medes was established (A. Billerbeck, *Das Sandjak Suleimania und dessen persische Nachbarlandschaften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 162); and here also were the Parthian provinces of *Καυβαδωννή* and *Μυδιά ἡ κάρω* (Isidore of Charax, § 4, 5). It was the province called Māh under the Sāsānids (May in Moses of Khorene), and in the early centuries after the Arab conquest. De Morgan wished to identify the ruins of the ancient Cambadene to the north of Kirmānshāh. This town is itself not very old: it was founded in the Sāsānid period and only began to be an important town from the xvth century onwards. The older Arab geographers know it only by the name of *Qarmīsīn* (other forms: *Qirmāsīn*, *Qarmāsīn*, *Qirmāsīn*, *Qarmashīn*): Maḥdisī (p. 28) says that it is another name for Kirmānshāhān, while Yāqūt (iv. 69) regards *Qarmīsīn* as an arabicisation of Kirmānshāhān (Dimashkī gives the same note with reserve but Ibn al-Fakīh already explains the first form by the second). Qazwīnī (*Geography*, p. 290) however says that *Qarmīsīn* is near Kirmānshāhān. To explain *Qarmīsīn*, Ritter, ix. 374, calls attention to the name of the river Corma in Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 13). The name Kirmānshāhān seems first to appear in the tenth century, perhaps in the time of the Būyids, but the circumstances are unknown. A very widespread tradition found in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 108 makes Bahrām IV (388—399 A.D.) founder of the town: this king had acquired the title Kirmānshāh as governor of the province of Kirmān [q.v.] and the historians do record that he founded a town but it was more probably the little town of Kirmānshāh between Yazd and Kirmān (cf. Tabarī in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Arab.*, p. 71). Another tradition found more or less explicitly in almost all the geographers attributes the foundation to king Kawādh b. Firūz (488—531; cf. especially Maḥdisī, p. 257 sqq.). The country round the town contained and still contains many monuments of the time of the Sāsānian kings; they often resided there and their example was followed by later rulers, e.g. the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Būyid Aḥd al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Maḥdisī, p. 393). The new name of the town may perhaps be connected

with this event for it was under Aḏud al-Dawla that the Buyids became masters of the province of Kirmān [q. v.].

Karmīsīn was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the taking of Hulwān (in 640; Balādhuri, p. 301). The district of Māh, belonging to the province of Dībāl, was then granted as an appanage to the inhabitants of Kūfa and Baṣra. The upper part became Māh al-Kūfa with Dinawar as capital; the lower part was Māh al-Baṣra with Karmīsīn as its capital (Balādhuri, p. 306; Kūdāma, p. 226). Dinawar [q. v.] was however a much more important town than Karmīsīn (cf. especially Schwartz, p. 479) and the geographers of these times mention it mainly as a stage on the great road Baghdad — Khānikīn — Hulwān — Karmīsīn — Bisutūn — Hamadhān. Another important road ran from Karmīsīn to Nihāwand. The town is described in this period as pleasantly situated in a very fertile plain. It was ruled successively by the 'Abbāsids, Būyids — in their time it must have formed part of the territory of the Kurd dynasty of the Hasanawaih [q. v.], although it is not mentioned in the Kurd chronicle of Sharaf al-Dīn — and the Seldjūks; in the Mongol period it had sunk to a mere village (Ḥamd Allāh Qazwīnī).

The importance of Kirmānshāh began under the Ṣafawids after it had become a frontier bulwark of Persia against the Ottomans who had established themselves in dangerous proximity in Mesopotamia, especially after the time of Murād IV. The Turks several times occupied it in their wars with Persia, for example in 1630 during Khusrav [q. v.] Pāshā's expedition. It then was a fortified town with a brick wall; see the description in Ewliyā Ḍelebi (iv. 353) who attributes its foundation to Shāh Ismā'īl, which probably means that he fortified it for the first time. After the fall of the Ṣafawids (1722) the Pāshā of Baghdad succeeded in occupying Kirmānshāh but he was driven out by Ashraf Khān. In 1731, the Turks again occupied it to be expelled by the future Nādir Shāh. The treaties of peace of 1732 and 1736 left Kirmānshāh to Persia (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 404 sqq.). In 1754 Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān became its governor for Nādir Shāh. He later made himself independent until Karīm Khān Zand took the town in 1766 after a siege of two years. Under the Qājārs Kirmānshāh increased in importance; in 1790 it had about 6,000 inhabitants (Beauchamps, quoted by Ritter) but by 1810 there were already 12,000 houses (Kinneir, in Ritter). Under the governorship of Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh, who lived at Kirmānshāh as an almost independent vassal, the town became a formidable bulwark against the Turks. After the Turco-Persian peace of 1823 'Alī Mīrzā was sufficiently powerful to annex to his province the large district of Zohab which ought to have been restored to Turkey. A complete list of the governors of Kirmānshāh under the Qājārs to 1905 is given by Rabino (see *Bibliography*). As recently as April 1915 the town was occupied by Turkish troops; they conducted propaganda on behalf of the Central Powers there until they were forced to retire in March 1917.

Kirmānshāh at the present day is rather the name of the province; the town is called more correctly Kirmānshāhān. About 1905 it had a population of about 60,000 (Rabino) and owes its prosperity to its position on the great trade route

of considerable antiquity (*al-djādda* in Maḳdisī) from Baghdad to Hamadhān (Kirmānshāhān is 100 miles from each of these two towns); the through traffic is enormous. The same road is used by the Shī'a pilgrims who visit the sacred places of the 'Irāq. Kirmānshāhān possesses no ancient buildings; the ramparts have been demolished and the most remarkable building is the arsenal, which is also the residence of the governor, built beside the great Top Maidān. The town contains a large number of caravanserais; there is not much local industry, the manufacture of carpets having disappeared. The majority of the citizens are Kurds, then come Persians, Turks, Jews and Christians. The surrounding plain is very fertile. Ewliyā (*loc. cit.*) and Ḥādjdī Khalīfa (*Djī-hannumā*, p. 302) make special mention of the cultivation of saffron.

The province lies between 34° and 35° N. Lat. and 44° 30' and 48° 30' E. Long., the capital is almost in the centre, in the western part are Kerind and Kaṣr Shīrīn [q. v.] and in the eastern Asadābād, Kangāwar (formerly Kaṣr al-Luṣūṣ), Bisutūn [q. v.], Nihāwand [q. v.] and the ruins of Dīnawar [q. v.]. It is rich in monuments of the Achaemenids and Sāsānids, which are mentioned with more or less detail by the old geographers, such as the famous sculptures of Taḳ-i Bustān, three miles east of Kirmānshāhān, to which the geographers give the name Shābdīz or Shībdāz from the horse of the king Khusrav and the plateau (*dukka*) where Khusrav Parwīz is said to have received the submission of the kings of the earth in a hall of audience with 100 columns (cf. also BISUTŪN).

It is one of the richest provinces of Persia. It exports wheat and rice and grows for its own use, maize, clover, castor-oil and cotton. It has a population of about 300,000 and is divided into nineteen districts (*bulūk*), many of which are named after the tribes which inhabit them. Rabino gives forty-four names of tribes for the province (cf. also Curzon, i. 557) who are for the most part Kurds. The largest Kurd tribe is that of the Kalhūr (mentioned in the *Kurdish Chronicle* of Sharaf al-Dīn) to the south-west who have given their name to a district. Another important Kurd tribe is that of the Sindjābī west of Kaṣr Shīrīn. Their southern Kurd dialect is called Lakkī by O. Mann (*Die Mundarten der Lurstämmen im südlichen Persien*, Berlin 1910, p. xxii.) although the Lakk in the proper sense of the word live in Luristān. In the south of the province there are tribes of Lurs. The greater part of the seminomadic population are 'Alī Ilahī [q. v.]. Besides the two groups mentioned there are several small tribes of Arabs and Turks which have become allied to the great Kurd tribes.

Bibliography: The old geographers are quoted from the *B. G. A.* and other standard editions; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, *Abh. G. W. Gött. N. F.*, vol. iii., n. 2, p. 18; P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1921, iv., p. 445 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1840, ix., p. 369 sqq.; K. Prellberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, Leipzig 1891, p. 66; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 186 sqq. The early European travellers (Kinneir, Ker Porter, Rawlinson, Beauchamps) have been utilised by Ritter; cf. also S. de Sacy, *Mémoire sur les monuments et les inscriptions de*

Kirmanschah in Mémoire sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, Paris 1793; G. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 557 sqq.; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, p. 230 sqq.; H. L. Rabino, *Kermanschah in R. M. M.*, 1920, xxxviii, p. 1—40; M. Sykes, *Historia of Persia*², London 1921; R. Stuart Poole, *B. M. Cat. Coins of Shahs of Persia*, London 1889, s. v. KIRMĀNŞAHĀN.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KIRMĀSTĪ, capital of a *kazā* of the same name in Anatolia, 15 miles S. E. of Mikhālidj (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx. [1911], 101) and 40 miles S. E. of Brussa with about 5,000 inhabitants, 3,000 of whom are Muslims. The town has 14 quarters with 800 houses and lies on both banks of the Edrenos Çai (Rhyndacus). The origin of the name often wrongly written Kirmāslī, which points to a Greek *Κερμαστή or *Κρεμαστή, is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kremastis in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 743) mentioned in Xen., *Hist.*, iv. 8, is to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Aorata is said to have been here where the troops of Alexius Comnenus under Kamytzes were defeated in 1113 by the Saldjūks (cf. Anna Comn., ii. 279 sqq.). In any case there is close to K. a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edrenos Çai at Kesterlek and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ulubad (Lopadium) and Brussa to keep back the advance of the Ottomans. In the town which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a türbe and 14 masdjid's, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls, ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliyā Çelebi (v. 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i. 77, 80, ii. 93, London 1842) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was recently (1925) renamed Muştafa Kemāl Paşa in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid-i Wilāyet (d. 929 = 1522 in Stambul), son-in-law of the historian Ashyq-Paşa-zāde (cf. Taşhkoprüzāde-Medjidi, *Şakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, p. 352, 13), known from the *Menākib-i Tadj al-'Arifin* (i. e. *Sheykh Ebu 'l-Wefā'*; cf. Pertsch, *Türk. HSS. Gotha*, p. 137, No. 166 and Tornberg, *Catal. Uppsala*, p. 211, No. cccvii).

Two hours' journey from Kirmāstī are two hot mineral springs, called Dömböldak and Akardja.

Bibliography: (besides references in the text): Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, vi. 155 sq.; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Djihānumā*, 656, 17, 660, 1; Ewliyā, *Seyahetnāme*, v. 290 at top; W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 155, 437. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KIRSH. [See GHRŪSH.]

KİR-SHEHIR, (Turkish *kır-shehrī* — "town of uncultivated lands"), a town in Asia Minor, capital of a Sandjak in the province of Angora, 97 miles (33 hours) S. E. of this latter, on a river called simply İrmāk, a tributary of the Kızıl-İrmāk which flows at a distance of two hours from the town and is crossed by the stone bridge of Kezik with thirteen arches (about 120 yards). Its height is

3,290 feet. The houses are scattered among gardens which extend in length to a distance of 10 miles and in breadth to that of 5 miles; these gardens bear in the North the name of Öz, in the West that of Çukūr-Çair, in the South that of Deinek, and in the East that of Kāndām; it has an abundant harvest of fruit, especially of grapes. The population consists of 8,462 inhabitants of whom 7,794 are Muslims, 651 Armenians and 17 Greeks. There are 25 great mosques (Seldjūk mosque of Djedebey), 19 small mosques, 4 medreses, a civil preparatory school, a secondary school, 2 primary schools, a church. Several Muslim saints are buried there: the poet 'Ashik Paşa (d. 733 = 1332), Akhi Ören, Shaikh Sulaimān. In the suburbs is held the fair of Yapraklı; it has hot springs: Terme (Θερμαί) or Karghan-Kayan, ferruginous, used as a cure for anaemia, a quarter of an hour away; Kara Kūrt, sulphurous wells, a cure for nervous disorders, 8 miles away. Manufactures of carpets of wool and mohair (*tiftik*) for the šalāt (*sağdjadā*, q. v.) and for the room (*kalīce*), for curtains (*perde-lik*, *ēček-li gilim*), for wallets (*heibe*), in three qualities: striped (*palānde*), the same in a finer quality; *kesme*, woven mats; chairs, arm-chairs, cupboards of walnut-wood. To the West the mountain of Emir-burnū, in the middle of it facing south the immense cave of Göbek-Çaya.

The Sandjak is divided into four *Kazā's* (Kır-shehir) to which are attached two *nāhiya*, of which one is Hādjdj Bektāsh [q. v.], Keskīn (capital Ma'den), Medjidiye (capital Boyalık, Kurd village), Awanos (Abanos). It does not include any high mountains; it has a chain of hills called Bārānī Dagh which extends for 14 miles in length in the vicinity of the capital and terminates at Kūrt Beli. Millstones are obtained from the hill 'Alī Körlü. Two lakes, one quite near the town at Shebili Baghlari, Dib-Siz Göl (the lake without a bottom), and the second in the canton of Medjidiye, Yanar Gölü, near the village of Yanaroglu, which has given it its name. Total population, 119,139 inhabitants, of whom 116,999 are Muslims, 1,794 Greeks, 346 Armenians. Agriculture is only slightly developed. Roads suitable for vehicular traffic are hardly made completed: towards Cesarea and Angora, 80 miles; towards Ma'den, 40 miles; towards New-Shehir, 55 miles.

Bibliography: 'Alī Djewād, *Djoğhrāfiyā lughātī*, p. 645; *Sālnāme*, 1325, p. 791; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 620; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. i., p. 324. (CL. HUART)

KIRTĀS (A.), paper. This word is found in the *Kur'an* (vi. 7) with its plural *karūṭis* (vi. 91) where they can only mean papyrus. The Egyptians wrote on the *kirtās* manufactured from reeds called *bardī* (*Fihrist*, i. 21). Chinese paper, *warāk šini*, is made from vegetable fibre, *hashish*; microscopical examination has indeed shown that this paper is made, not from cotton but from various fibres (*J. A.*, 1925, ccvi., p. 159 sqq.); while the paper of Khorāsān is manufactured from linen fibre, *kattān*, by Chinese workmen in imitation of that of their own country (*Fihrist*, *ibid.*). More details are found in the article KĀGHADH.

Katāda in Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vii. 90, translates *kirtās* by *ṣahīfa* which tells us nothing.

(CL. HUART)

AL-KISĀ'Ī, 'ALĪ B. ḤAMZA B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. BAHMĀN B. FAIRŪZ, client of the BANŪ ASAD, grammarian and reader of the *Kur'an*,

born at Kūfa, died at Ranbūya, not far from al-Ray, about 189 (805). The following dates are also given for his death 179, 180, 182, 183, 185, 193 and 197.

After having studied in his native town, he came to Baṣra to study with al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (see this article) who advised him to go and study language amongst the tribes of the Naǧd, of the Ḥiǧǧāz and of the Tiḥāma. On his return to Baṣra he found that al-Khalīl was dead and had been succeeded by the grammarian Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, who after several discussions on grammar gave up his place to him. Nevertheless he took up his permanent abode at Bagħdād where he taught chiefly Qur'anic diction, first in accordance with the method of his master Ḥamza al-Zayyāt, and afterwards he followed a method of his own; he is the seventh *badr*, and because of that he is counted amongst the seven canonical readers.

Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd confided to him the education of his sons al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn. In spite of the opinion of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī who praised exceedingly his grammatical knowledge, al-Kisā'ī was especially weak in grammar, and his partisans admit that he only latterly concerned himself with this science. In any case he had numerous adversaries, whom he dealt with in a fashion neither honest nor just, notably Sibawaihi, al-Yazīdī.

Amongst his teachers were: Abū Dja'far al-Ru'āsi, Mu'adh al-Harrā', Sufyān b. 'Uyaina, Sulaimān b. Arḳam, Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh.

His pupils were: Abū 'Omar al-Dūrī, Abū 'l-Ḥarith al-Laith b. Khālid, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Farrā', Abū 'Obaida al-Kāsim b. Sulaimān.

Of his numerous works, it appears that we have no more than one, *Risāla fī laḥn al-'umma*, "a treaty on the mistakes of the vulgar language", which seems to be the oldest work composed on this subject and was published from the Berlin manuscript N^o 7103, by Brockelmann in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xii. (1898), 29—46 (cf. below Nöldeke, *ibid.*, p. 111—115).

Bibliography: al-Fihrist, p. 29, 65; al-Aghānī, v. 46, 54; xi. 106; xii. 23; xviii. 73; xxi. 106; Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Leiden 1913, p. 293—294 and Ind.; Ibn Kuṭaiba, *al-Ma'arīf*, Cairo 1300, p. 184; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1326, vii. 313; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Udabā'*, Cairo 1294, p. 81; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Buldān*, s. v. "Ranbūya"; do., *Irshād al-Arīb*, Leiden 1911, v. 183; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 330; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, ii. 332; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 18; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansūb*, Leiden 1912, f. 482a; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Būlāq 1282, ii. 232; do., *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 236; do., *al-Ashbāḥ wa 'l-Naṣā'ir*, Ḥaidarābād 1317, iv. 15, 18, 44; Flügel, *Die Gramm. Schulen d. Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 121; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qurān*, Göttingen 1860, p. 291, 297; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, p. 115; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 150. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-KISĀ'Ī, the author of the *Kitāb Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, is identified by Ḥāǧǧdī Khalīfa, iv., N^o 9437 with the grammarian and Qur'an reader 'Alī b. Ḥamza (see the foregoing art.). This identification, first adopted by Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, 961b, but rightly disputed by

Lidzbarski, following Pertsch and Ahlwardt, in his *De prophetis quae dicuntur legendis Arabicis* (Leipzig 1893, p. 25), was again accepted by Wellhausen in I. Eisenberg's dissertation, *Die Prophetenlegenden des Muhammed ben Abdallah al-Kisā'ī* (Berne 1898), p. V., on the assumption that the work was not actually by this celebrated scholar himself but had been ascribed to him. The evidence of most manuscripts is however contrary to this view; they sometimes call the author (Abū 'Abdallāh) Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, sometimes Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, sometimes Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (sic). Besides it can hardly be doubted that the author is identical with the author of the *Kitāb 'Adǧā'ib al-Malakūt* (Ḥāǧǧdī Khalīfa, iv. 8075) or simply *Kitāb al-Malakūt* (*ibid.*, v. 10527) whom Ḥāǧǧdī Khalīfa calls Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Kisā'ī, and of the *Kitāb Bad' al-Dunyā*, whom he mentions by name without the *kunya* on iii. 991. This latter work is lost but perhaps it was only an independent edition of the first part of the main work, which in the manuscript is sometimes also called *Kitāb Bad' (Khalk) al-Dunyā wa-Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*. The period in which the author flourished is nowhere mentioned. Contrary to Eisenberg's view (Diss., p. ix.) nothing can be deduced as to this or the grammarian's authorship of the book from the statement of Ḥāǧǧdī Khalīfa, iv. 9477 that Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī [q. v.] wrote a *Mukhtaṣar Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*; for Ḥāǧǧdī Khalīfa does not say that this work was the basis of that of al-Kisā'ī. Al-Tha'labī [q. v.] does not mention al-Kisā'ī but an investigation of the sources and the relation of the two authors has still to be made, so that nothing can be deduced regarding the age of al-Kisā'ī. From the whole character of his literary activity one must agree with Ahlwardt in putting the author in the fifth century A. H.; while al-Tha'labī's work grew out of Qur'ān exegesis and is intended for learned circles, al-Kisā'ī is a typical representative of the class of *ḥuṣṣāṣ*; he relates the legends to edify and especially to entertain the reader. He therefore quotes only the oldest authorities, like Ka'b b. al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih, although he likes to appear scrupulously accurate; but his quotations are not of the slightest value for literary criticism. The work, which exists in numerous manuscripts (to those mentioned in *G. A. L.*, i. 350, may be added: Gotha, Pertsch, *Verz.*, N^o 1839; Brit. Museum, Ellis and Edwards, *A descriptive List*, p. 34, Or. 5820; E. G. Browne, *A supplementary Handlist*, N^o 1012; Princeton, Littmann, N^o 28; Cairo, *Fihrist*, v. 113; Damascus, Zaiyāt, N^o 74, 39), being a popular work was not always carefully treated by the copyists, but often arbitrarily abbreviated; it has also been translated into Turkish, s. H. L. Fleischer, *Catalogus codd. mss. or. bibl. Dresdensis*, N^o 128.

Bibliography: Hottinger, *Promptuarium*, Heidelberg 1658, p. 209; Lidzbarski, *Diss.* (s.l.), p. 20—25; Vita (sic!) *Prophetarum auctore Muhammed Ben Abdallah al-Kisā'ī e codicibus, qui in Monaco* (sic!), *Bonna, Lugd. Batav., Lipsia et Gothana* (sic!) *asservantur edidit* Isaac Eisenberg, i., Leyden 1922, ii. *ibid.* 1923. (BROCKELMANN)

KISĀ'Ī, ḤAKIM MAǦD AL-DĪN ABŪ IṢḤĀḲ (or ABU 'L-ḤASAN) KISĀ'Ī, a Persian poet of the second half of the fourth century A. H. belonging to the first period of Persian poetry. He was

born in Merw on Wednesday 26th Shawwāl 341 (March 16, 953) and according to most authorities died in 392 (1002); one source however (Wāliḥ, quoted by Ethé), says that he reached a very advanced age. A few of his poems have been preserved in the different *tadhkira*: they have been published by Ethé (*Die Lieder des Kisā'ī*, S.-B. Bayr. Ak., 1874, p. 133—149). These poems illustrate the whole repertory of Persian poets of the time; the best known is the *kašida* in which the poet gives the date of his birth as above and says that he composed it at the age of 50; this *kašida* is pessimistic and ascetic in tendency. The *tadhkira* describes him as a poet who celebrated the family of the Prophet in numerous poems (a *kiṭ'a* of this kind is given in Ethé's article). He is also said to have written *kašida*'s in praise of the Sāmānids and of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He must have been a celebrated poet in the Sāmānid period; the later *tadhkira*'s however (such as Dawlatshāh) do not mention him.

The *Diwān* of Nāṣir-i Khuraw contains several passages in which the latter speaks contemptuously of Kisā'ī. Ethé (*Grundr. d. iran., Phil.*, ii. 281—282) has concluded from this that Kisā'ī must have been still alive in the time of Nāṣir (c. 1040) so that he must have lived to a great age. Ethé further seeks the cause of the antagonism between the two poets in their theological views, Kisā'ī being a "Twelver" (*iṭhnā-ashariyya*) Shī'ī and Nāṣir-i Khuraw a "Sevener" (*sab'iyya*). But Browne (*A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 160—164) holding that Nāṣir's invective is only intended to maintain his superiority as a poet, thinks that Ethé's conclusions cannot be accepted, even that regarding Kisā'ī's age, because there could be nothing astonishing in Nāṣir-i Khuraw's attempts to surpass one of the best known poets of the preceding generation.

Bibliography: 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed.

Browne, ii. 33—39; Čahār Maḳāla, *Gibb. Mem.*

Ser., xi. 28, 131. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KĪṢĀṢ (A.), synonymous with *kaḡad*, retaliation ("settlement", not "cutting off" or "prosecution"), according to Muslim law is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal, called in the former case *kiṣāṣ fi 'l-naḡs* (blood-vengeance) and in the latter *kiṣāṣ fi-mū dūn al-naḡs*.

1. For *kiṣāṣ* among the pagan Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 186 sqq.; Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*; the collection of essays: *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung, gestellt von Th. Mommsen*, Section v.—vii., and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 284 sqq.

2. Muḥammad takes it for granted that the blood-vengeance of Arab paganism — in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and note 5) — is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain: Qur'ān xvii. 35; xxv. 68; vi. 152 (cf. KATL, i. 1; in these passages only the *ius talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another; already in xvii. 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty

one); ii. 173 sqq. (before Ramaḡān of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *kiṣāṣ* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother he shall be dealt with equitably . . . and pay him compensation as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *kiṣāṣ* you have life, you of understanding . . ." (the first verse says that a freeman can only be slain for a freeman, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a freeman, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally of course only the guilty one and that in all other cases the payment of compensation [*diya*] takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the freeman in relation to the slave is a matter of course according to old Arab views and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muḥammad's based on them [there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 75 note 5]. The commentators had difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments [cf. below 4]. Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 [see below]. By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed; pardon is the abandonment of *kiṣāṣ* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved); v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medina Jews but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for them (the Jews) in it (Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *kiṣāṣ* for wounds; but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins) . . ." (this verse of course does not cancel ii. 173). In the years 3—5 with iv. 94 sqq. there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (of KATL, i. 1): in this the application of *kiṣāṣ* is excluded; in ii. 190 (before the campaign of the year 6) *kiṣāṣ* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sira*, the records of the life of Muḥammad, are in agreement with this. In the so-called ordinance of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medina period it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt in a trial before the authority — Muḥammad — is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *kiṣāṣ*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the murderer and can only take an active part against him. Here the *kiṣāṣ* is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (*umma*) which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood-avengers for their blood

spilt for the sake of Allāh, but is throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, no one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of *kişās*, logical from the standpoint of the *umma*, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treaties with Muḥammad, he did not allow *kişās* to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community) and even paid the compensation himself; his utterance regarding the possibility of *kişās* à propos of the second of these cases is however illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to *kişās*, but in one case he cursed the murderer — again an illogical attitude. Muḥammad in his turn after the capture of Mecca in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation for the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood-guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. *ḲATL*, i. 2). But Muḥammad also intensified the operation of *kişās* and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between *kişās* and compensation; the proscription and execution of murderers who were also *murtadd*'s (q.v.; cf. *ḲATL*, ii. 5), is however to be interpreted differently; from everything it is clear that Muḥammad also supervised the carrying out of *kişās*.

Taking the evidence of the *Qur'an* and the *Sira* together, it is evident that Muḥammad did not recognise the blood-feud, but allowed *kişās* to survive as personal vengeance, only he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muḥammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (*ḥadith*'s) that one must be genuine according to which Muḥammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim *djāriya* (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when *Qur'an* ii. 173 (cf. above § 2) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as *kişās* for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the *Qur'an* passage was only concerned with Muslims. But this *Qur'anic* prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Aṭā' and 'Ikrima are quoted as representatives of the *Qur'anic* view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (Zamakhshari on *Qur'an* ii. 173) but Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyab, al-Sha'bī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and Kaṭāda had held the opposite view (*ibid.*) and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition

(Zamakhshari's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that *kişās* could be inflicted on several, on account of one individual, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the *kişās* is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muḥammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by *ḥasāma* (cf. 5 below) and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muḥammad wished to apply *ḥasāma* in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed *ḥasāma* as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only *kişās* and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of *Qur'an* ii. 174) and that Muḥammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to *kişās*, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3; in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations mentioned and still to be mentioned and need not therefore be quoted, especially as the *ḥadith*'s on this subject are collected in Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 107 sqq.

Summing up the results of the traditions as the expression of opinion of authoritative circles of Islām in the early period, we must notice in contrast to Muḥammad's period the important change in the treatment of women, which marks an undeniable advance, just as the request for forgiveness is evidence of a loftier point of view.

5. The *kişās fi 'l-nafs* according to the *Shari'a*. In the cases of illegal slaying noted in the article *ḲATL*, i. 5—7 *kişās* comes into operation, i. e. the next-of-kin of the slain man, who in this capacity is called *walī 'l-dam* (avenger of blood) has the right to kill the guilty man under certain conditions. From what has been said above, it is obvious that this punishment still partakes for the most part of the character of personal vengeance; this is also clearly seen in the regulations — disputed in points of detail — prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up [thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which *kişās* cannot take place, *ta'zir* intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the *walī* of one who has no *walī*; therefore anyone who kills a *dhimmi*, *mu'ahad* (an unbeliever

connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a *musta'min* (an unbeliever who enters a Muslim country after being given a safe conduct) must, according to Malik, be put to death and the *wali* has no right to abandon claim to *kişāş*. On the other hand, however, it is laid down that anyone who kills a *wakf* slave goes scot-free, but that this point of view is found at all is a step in advance, for Muhammad's decisions in this connection (cf. above 3) were only dictated by the demands of the individual case; in other matters also in certain points we see a loftier attitude adopted, at least in some of the schools.

For the application of *kişāş* the fulfilment of the following conditions are necessary: 1) The life of the person slain must be absolutely secured by the *shari'a*; this is the case with a Muslim, *dhimmī* and *mu'ahad*, at least so long as they are in the *Dār al-Islām* [q. v.], and *Dār al-Şulh* [q. v.] (in the case of the slaying of a Muslim prisoner in the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [q. v.] it is unanimously agreed that there is no *kişāş* and for the slaying of another Muslim there is no *kişāş*, according to the Ḥanafī school; there are corresponding regulations for the *dhimmī* and *mu'ahad*) in contrast to the *musta'min*, *murtadd* and *ḥarbī* [but *kişāş* may be inflicted on a *murtadd* if he kills another *murtadd*, and Mālik makes *kişāş* the general rule if anyone kills a *murtadd*, without the authority of the Imām]. This point of view is to be distinguished from the conception of the illegality of the slaying (cf. KATL, i. 5) although the two ideas have a certain amount in common; the killing of a *musta'min* is illegal but there is no *kişāş* (apart from the special case just mentioned). 2) The slain man must not be a descendant of the slayer, nor the slave of the slave of one of his descendants, nor must there be a descendant of the slayer among the heirs of the slain man. 3) It is further taken for granted that the man when he committed the deed must be of years of discretion and be in full possession of his faculties. 4) The further conditions are disputed (cf. below). — Any alteration in these relations of the doer after the deed makes no difference to the old blood-guilt (it is however to be noted that the adoption of Islām by a *ḥarbī* wipes out all previous blood-guilt) with the exception of lunacy (in which case *kişāş* cannot be inflicted), nor does, for example, an alteration in the relations of the slain man after the doer has decided on the deed but before it is actually committed (but there are various views on this point). If one of several men who have slain someone jointly cannot be put to death for one or other of these reasons, the others also escape *kişāş*; this is also the case if a further reason for killing leads to the action of the slayer. If the slayer dies before *kişāş* is carried out, all claim by the avenger of blood ceases according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik; according to al-Şāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal compensation can still be claimed.

Mālik, al-Şāfi'ī, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal further demand, before *kişāş* can be allowed, in addition to the conditions mentioned that the slain man is at least the equal of the slayer as regards Islām and liberty, so that they certainly uphold Muhammad's intentions, while the Ḥanafīs — of course interpreting differently the evidence cited — take no account of this and therefore occupy an undoubtedly higher position. A particular view of

Mālik's has already been mentioned. According to Mālik the slayer can further be put to death, if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant and this view is also admitted in the Şāfi'ī school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Şāfi'ī, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Mālik alone excluded *kasāma* [cf. below] on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to *kişāş*; on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Kişāş can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as in another case; in *Kişāş fi'l-nafs* there is however also the old Arab institution of the *kasāma* (cf. KASAM and Goldziher, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, 8, p. 412 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2, p. 187 sqq.) which Islām allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Şāfi'ī's earlier opinion, *kişāş* can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Mālik on one only) if the *kasāma* is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the later view of al-Şāfi'ī, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation; among the Şāfi'īs, with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict *kişāş* does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with *ta'zir*.

The execution of *kişāş* is open to the avenger of blood and according to Abū Ḥanīfa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon; if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with *ta'zir*, but not imprisoned; according to Mālik and al-Şāfi'ī the guilty person with certain limitations is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Kişāş takes place — among other conditions — only when the next of kin (*wali*) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it; if there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood all must express this desire; if one of them remits *kişāş*, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The *wali*, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the *kişāş* and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations on detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. *Kişāş fi-mā dūn al-Nafs* according to the Şari'a. If any one deliberately (with '*amd*', opposite *khaṭ'*; cf. KATL, i. 5) and illegally [this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellow-man, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without

permission] has inflicted an injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in an exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the Fīkh books) he is liable to *qīṣās* on the part of the wounded man, (except that Mālik makes it be inflicted by an expert), if the conditions necessary for carrying out the *qīṣās* *fi 'l-naḥs* are present with the following modifications: according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *qīṣās* *fi-mū dūn al-naḥs* is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is according to Mālik, al-Shāfi' and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik further allow no *qīṣās* *fi-mū dūn al-naḥs* between freemen and slaves. According to Mālik, al-Shāfi' and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal this *qīṣās* is inflicted for one on several, but not according to Abū Ḥanīfa. A sound limb may not be amputated for an unsound one; if the guilty person has lost the limb, there can of course be no *qīṣās*. In the case where he loses it after committing the deed, there is a corresponding difference of opinion as in the case of his death before the execution of *qīṣās* *fi 'l-naḥs*.

The further regulations correspond to those quoted in section 5.

7. If retribution is not permitted or if the person entitled to *qīṣās* voluntarily remits his claim, compensation may nevertheless be demanded; for an unlawful slaying, the blood money (*diya*; q. v.) is to be paid to the avenger(s) of blood, in an unlawful but not mortal wounding, according to the particular case either the full *diya* or a definite part of it or a contribution defined by the law (*arṣḥ*; q. v.) or a percentage of the *diya* laid down by the judge (the so-called *ḥukūma*) to the injured person; all this of course on the supposition that the slain or wounded man was a freeman. If he is a slave his value must be made good. If the culprit is a slave, his owner has to pay these contributions for him; he can however escape by handing over the slave (parallels in the Romano-Celtic institution of *in noxam dedere*; cf. e. g. Girard, *Nouvelle Revue Historique*, 1887, p. 440 sqq.).

8. Of the regulations of the Shī'a Fīkh books, which need not be gone into fully here as they are essentially the same as the Sunni, we need only mention that among the Twelver Imāmis, for example, it is taught that if a man has killed a woman, *qīṣās* can be carried out if the *wālī* of the woman pays the relatives of the man the difference between the blood-money on each side; an isolated interpretation explains Qur'ān, ii. 173 in this way. Here we can scarcely have a late effect of the Qur'ānic rule regarding woman, as similar calculations are also made in other cases.

9. On the practical carrying out of *qīṣās*, cf. KATL, ii. 10, in which we may note that breaches of his regulations are recorded of even the Prophet's companions.

Bibliography: The Fīkh-books; the works already quoted under KATL: the article QIṢĀS in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. For the Arabic expressions not further explained see the separate articles. (J. SCHACHT)

KISHM. 1) A long island in the Persian gulf (also called *ḥawila* because of its shape), off the coast of Lāristān at the entrance of the straits of Hormuz, opposite Bender 'Abbās. In length it is about 77 miles. It is separated from the mainland by a strait, called Clarence Strait, the breadth of

which varies from one to seven miles. It is composed of rocky and calcareous hills. The latter to the West form an elevation called Kishm Kūh (mountains of Kishm). Vegetation is rare; mines of sulphur and of salt are found here; the population, of Arab origin, amounts to 15,000 inhabitants. It was ruined by an earthquake in 1884. The chief pursuit is coral and pearl-fishing. Idrīsī (in Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 373) mentions a great whirl pool in the sea near here; the name that it now bears is that of the capital, a small town with 5,000 inhabitants, situated at the eastern point; an old Portuguese port is still to be seen there; in the Middle Ages it bore successively the names of the Island of the Banū Kāwān (Iṣṭakhri, p. 107); Barkāwān (Ibn Hawḳal, p. 183); Ibn Kāwān, Abarkāfān, Abarkāwān (Balādhuri, p. 386); Lāft (Iṣṭakhri, p. 32, i. 18; Yaḳūt, iv. 341) from the name of a place still found at the present time on the Northern side. The English founded, at Bāsīdū, the factory of Bassadore, soon afterwards abandoned. Other places are Guran and Sūxeh.

2) There was formerly a town of the same name in the upper basin of the Oxus which belonged for a short time to the Yabghū of Tokhāristān (Ṭabari, *Annales*, ii. 1590 10). It is found in Hiouentsang under the name of *Kit-li-sit-mo*, corresponding to a hypothetical Sanskrit name *Kṛśma; it lay four days to the East of Hwōh, identified by Yule with Warwālīz near Ḳunduz (J. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 70, 231).

Bibliography: Ibn Hawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 38; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuḣat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Browne, p. 137, 186, 234; Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, Fr. transl. (1745), v. p. 384; vi. p. 230 sq. (Kesem); L. Pelly, *Visit to Lingah*, *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1865, xxxiv. p. 251 (with map); Dubeux, *Perse*, p. 55; De Bruyn, *Voyages*, p. 322. (CL. HUART)

KISMET (A., T.); this word, the Arabic meaning "distribution" of which is a synonym of *iktisām* later came to mean lot, portion and developed as a third meaning "the lot which is destined for every man". It is this meaning of the Turkish that is best known. In Turkish however *kismet* is not so much an expression of theological doctrines concerning predestination (cf. QADAR) as of a practical fatalism which accepts with resignation the blows and vicissitudes of fate. The same sentiment is often expressed among Persian and Turkish poets by the words *falak* and *ḥarkh* to express the irrational and inevitable influence exercised by the spheres.

In Turkish, *kismet* is also another word for the judicial office called *ḥassāmīlik*, especially in the expression *kismet-i 'ashariye*, i. e. the authority charged with the supervision and maintenance of the *ewḳāf* instituted by the Sulṭāns (cf. Sāmī, *Ḳamūs-i Tūrki*, s. v.).

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tübingen 1924; Else Marquardsen, *Das Wesen des Osmanen*, Munich 1916, p. 100. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KISRĀ, the Arabic form of the name of two Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty, *Khushraw* [q. v.] has become a general name for all the Persian kings; then it was given a broken plural *akāsira* (other forms: *kusūr*, *akāsir*, *kasāsira*). The only remaining monument of the town of al-Madā'in (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) before its recent destruction

by an earthquake was called Tāk-Kisrā "vault of Chosroes" and Iwān-Kisrā "audience-chamber of Chosroes" (Pietro della Valle, Fr. transl., Paris 1661, part 2, p. 64—68; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, i. 519; Edw. Yves, *Voyage from England to India*, London 1773, p. 290; Beauchamp, in *Journal des Savants*, 1790, p. 797; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman*, vol. ii., p. 433 sqq.; J. Cl. Rich, *Narrative*, ii., ch. xix., p. 159; J. Keppel, *Personal narrative*, i. 122 sqq.; J. Baillie Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii. 1—9).

(CL. HUART)

KĪSSĀ (A., plur. Kīṣaṣ) does not occur in the Qur'ān. The Qur'ānic noun from the root *k-ṣ*, perhaps an infinitive, is *kaṣaṣ* which occurs 5 times: iii. 55; vii. 175; xii. 3, 111; xxviii. 25; and in the title of xxviii. The root does not mean simply "narrate", as usually translated, but has a particular meaning and usage which have conditioned the whole after use of *kīssa*. It will be for clarity in this connection to look shortly at the usual Qur'ānic expressions meaning "narrative", "narrate". In Muḥammad's earlier career (for such broad considerations the order of the Qur'ān is sufficiently significant), he used exclusively the root *ḥ-d-ṭḥ*; thus *ḥadīth* (meaning strictly "a new thing", "news", "an event" as opposed to *ḥadīm*) occurs 23 times in all: e.g. lxvi. 3; lxxviii. 44; lxxvii. 50; lxxix. 15; lxxxv. 17; lxxxviii. 1; *ḥaddathā*, xciii. 11; xcix. 4. In lxvi. 3, *ḥadīth* is combined with root *n-b-* which occurs before that only twice: lxxv. 13; lxxviii. 2. In Muḥammad's later career root *n-b-* preponderates by far: stem ii occurs 46 times and stem iv. 4 times, apparently in much the same meaning, but al-Rāghib in the *Mufradāt* (p. 499, l. 5 from below; Lane, p. 2753a) says that *nabba'a* is more intensive than *anba'a*; stem x occurs once; the noun *naba'* occurs in the sing. 17 times and in the plur. 11 times. Of the root *kḥ-b-r* the verb does not occur and the 52 noun usages are curiously scattered from Sūras ii. to lxxvii., with two isolated, and apparently early, in xcix. 4 (*akḥbār*) and c. 11 (*khabir*). Of these 52 occurrences 45 are *khabir*, "well informed".

The root *k-ṣ* is much more difficult. Leaving aside *ḥiṣāṣ* [q. v.] "talio" (ii. 173, 175, 190; v. 49), the fundamental and primary meaning is given in xviii. 63, *fa-raddū 'alā āthārihimū kaṣaṣū*, "so they two went back in their foot-prints, tracing them", and in xxviii. 10 where the mother of Moses says to his sister, *kuṣṣihī*, "trace him up". This meaning persists in all the Qur'ānic usage; cf. the similar development of root *t-l-w*, "to follow, imitate, recite from, relate a narrative (*naba'*)", Qur'ān, v. 30; xxviii. 2, etc. So *kaṣṣa* means "he traced out, step by step, the facts in the case of some one or something and (or) he made a statement upon it". The lexicons all add the explanation *'alā waḍiḥihi* which Lane (p. 2526c) renders, "in its proper manner"; perhaps better, "straight on, point by point" (*shai'an ba'da shai'in* in *Lisān*, viii., p. 341, l. 3 from below). This statement is made by Allāh to (*'alā*) the Prophet (mostly), Qur'ān, iv. 162; vi. 57; vii. 6, 99; xi. 102, 121; xii. 3; xvi. 19; xviii. 12; xx. 99; xl. 78; by the Qur'ān, xxvii. 78; by Moses to Shu'aib of Midian, xxviii. 25; Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream (*ru'yā*) to his brothers, xii. 5; Allāh tells the Prophet to state the case (*fa-kuṣṣi-l-kaṣaṣ*) to the people, vii. 175; messengers

(*rusul*) make a statement of Allāh's signs (*āyār*) to the people, vi. 130; vii. 33. It is combined with *naba'* (sing. or plur.): vii. 99; xi. 102, 121; xviii. 12; xx. 99; with *ḥaḥḥ*, iii. 55; vi. 57. It might be possible in all these cases to translate roughly "narrate", but that would obliterate the basal idea in the root of following up traces (*ittibā' al-aṭṭār*, *Lisān*, viii., p. 341—343) which, in these cases, are ideas and expressions (*Lisān*, p. 342, l. 4 from below). This is sometimes expressed as a *bayān*, "explaining"; so, while Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i., p. 451, ll. 19 sqq.) exegetes Qur'ān xii. 3 as a following of traces, the *Lisān* (p. 431, l. 4 from below; p. 432, l. 5 from below) explains it as a *bayān*.

It is significant that in the lexicons the usage for narrating is very subordinate and in the case of *kīssa* sometimes vanishes. The fundamental ideas in the root are two, "to cut off, shear", as hair with scissors (not, apparently, in the Qur'ān) and "to follow traces"; the *Lisān* quotes only traditions and never, *shawāhid* of poetry in illustration of the usage *kaṣṣa 'alaihi 'l-khabar*, "he recounted the information to him". In the *Misbāḥ* the only meaning given to *kīssa* is *shai'an, amr*, "affair", "matter", "case" — not *ḥadīth* or *khabar*. In the *Ṣaḥāḥ* the meanings are (i.) *amr* and (ii.) *ḥadīth*, and the plural *kīṣaṣ* is restricted to the *kīssa* which is written. In the *Lisān* (p. 341, l. 5 from below) *kīssa* is said first to be known (*ma'rūfa*) and then there is quoted, *fi ra'sihi kīssa* ("there is a *kīssa* in his head"), as meaning "the whole thing is merely talk" (*al-djumla min al-kalām*); cf. the judgement on *kaṣṣ* as *kaṣṣ*, "words", opposed to *'amal*, "works" (p. 343, ll. 2 sqq.; Lane, p. 2526c). Later in the *Lisān* (p. 342, l. 7 from below) *kīssa* is given two meanings, *amr* and *ḥadīth*, and several traditions bearing on the *kāṣṣ* (evidently the religious exhorter and storyteller; see below) are quoted. In one he is said to be either an *amir*, whose duty it would be to exhort his people in his *khuṭba's*, using stories of the past, or his appointee — such do not seek gain, or he who does it out of pride and hypocrisy, whose exhorting and talk have no reality in them. Cf. several forms of this tradition and remarks upon them by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī in his *Ithāf al-Sāda*, a commentary on the *Ihyā* of al-Ghazālī, vol. i., p. 153. In another it said that the *kāṣṣ* may expect (divine) hatred (*maḥṣ*) because he will inevitably add to or take from his stories as he tells them. In these traditions, evidently of late origin, the connection of *kāṣṣ* with *kīṣaṣ*, "stories", is taken for granted but others held that the *kāṣṣ* was so called because he followed up (*kaṣṣ*) one story with another in his *kalām*, here apparently "patter" in contempt (above, p. 671a; *Lisān*, p. 343, l. 10). From all this it is plain how uncertain was the original meaning of *kīssa*. Lexicographically the existence of the word is assured and it may be conjectured that, beside *kaṣṣ* and *kaṣaṣ*, infinitives, it was originally an *ism naw'*, "a kind of tracing out" — but what kind? So in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, *Salām, bāb al-sīr*, trad. 44: *sāk al-ḥadīth bi-kīṣṣatihi naḥwa ḥadīth*.... "he carried on, or pursued, the *ḥadīth*, in his way of tracing it out step by step, just like the *ḥadīth* of...". In later Arabic the word had two distinct meanings: (i.) "story" mostly of a religious and edifying kind, but used also much more widely and even, in Spanish Arabic, "history", if we can

trust the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala (Dozy, *Supplément*, ii., p. 352a, b, under *kaššās* and *mu-kaššīs*; cf., too, "historian" in Redhouse's *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1458a); (ii.) "request", "petition", "claim", laid before a superior; a number of examples of this are given by Quatremère in his *Sultans Mamlouks*, I, i., p. 236, note III; there was an official for the purpose of dealing with these called *kišša-dār*; see, too, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. xlv. This second meaning is almost certainly more original and goes back to the *sha'n*, *amr* of the lexicons. It is worth notice also that *kaššās* similarly retained two separate meanings: (i.) the professional reciter of such tales = *kāšš* above and (ii.) a police-agent, detective, "tracer". For the second meaning Dozy (*loc. cit.*) refers to the Breslau text of "The 1001 Nights", vol. vii., p. 313, l. 4 from below, derived here from one of De Sacy's Egyptian MSS., although the printed text of Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension is quite different (II Calcutta, ii. 246; I Bulaq, i. 500). In the grammatical usage *damir al-kišša* = *damir al-sha'n* the meaning *sha'n* is explicit; Zamakhsharī in the *Mufaṣṣal*, p. 54, ll. 8 sqq., explains such a prefixed *huwa* as meaning "the case, and the event, is..." (*al-sha'n wa 'l-hadīth*...).

In rubrics of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ kišša* occurs several times and always apparently in the sense *sha'n* or *amr*, "the matter, affair, case of"; see ed. Bulaq, 1314, iv. 182; v. 72, 129, 171, 172, 174.

In the *Fihrist* (c. 400 A.H.) *kišša* does not seem to occur; certainly it is not there one of the normal words for "story" in any sense. These are: *ta'rikh*, *khavar*, *hadīth*, *sīra*, *samar*, *khurāfa*; *hikāya* in the *Fihrist* is used only in the exact sense of a verbatim reproduction (see *HIKĀYA*, above). Undoubtedly the *kaššās* had been at work for more than two centuries, but their labours had not reached literary form and recognition.

In a very few years more that had taken place. There are two books with which the word *kišša* is peculiarly connected, the so-called *Kiṣṣa al-anbiyā'* (commonly rendered "Stories of the Prophets") of al-Kisā'i [q. v.] and of al-Tha'labī (d. 427 A.H.; cf. on both Lidzbarski, *De prophetis legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893). Yet in the rubrics of the first book *hadīth* is the word used throughout except of the *Kiṣṣat Harūt wa-Mārūt* (ed. Eisenberg, p. 45) and there is no mention of *kiṣṣa* in the introduction. The second book begins: "This is a book which contains the *kiṣṣa* of the prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān with commentary" and then quotes Kur. xi. 121, "and each (piece of information) We trace out (or give in detail, or explain, *na-kusṣu*) for thee of the information (*anbā'*) concerning the Messengers, that by which We establish thy heart". Five reasons are then given why Allāh recounted to Muḥammad such records of the past, apparently interest in the *kiṣṣa*, for some people, required justification. Thereafter *kišša* is used regularly in the rubrics and it is probable that Tha'labī understood by *Kiṣṣa al-anbiyā'* very nearly, "The Records, or Accounts of the Prophets", records from the Qur'ān and from *hadīth*. While it is plain that Tha'labī was not regarded as a very careful traditionalist (see Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-Sāda*, vol. iv., p. 556, but contrast Ahlwardt's judgement on his Qur'ān commentary in the Berlin Cat., i. 293) yet a gulf still separated him from the utterly unscrupulous professional

kaššās who made a living out of the pious gullibility of the masses and drew as freely on their imagination as did the popular entertainers with secular *asmār* and *khurāfāt*. It is unnecessary to give details on these as Goldziher (basing on the *Kitāb al-Kuṣṣa* of al-Djāwzī, d. 597 A.H.) has already dealt with them in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii., p. 161 sqq. (also his *Richtungen der isl. Koranauslegung*, p. 58 sqq., 61). They began as stirrers up of religious enthusiasm before the Muslim armies, like the poets in the old days, making free use of *sady'*, or rhymed prose. Thus they naturally became popular exegetes of the Qur'ān and public homilists, passing into storytellers for religious purposes. From these the professional class must have quickly developed and it is certainly strange that there is no mention of them in the first *Fann* of the eighth *Maḳāla* of the *Fihrist* where the varieties of storytellers are dealt with in detail. Further, there is only one trace of them in the *Amthāl* of al-Maidānī (d. 518 A.H.) in a *muwallad* proverb, *al-kāšš lā yuḥibbu 'l-kāšš*, "one *kāšš* does not love another" (Cairo 1310, ii. 51; ed. Freytag, ii. 304, N^o 180). But in the *Ihyā'* of al-Ghazālī (d. 505 A.H.) there are a number of references. In Book I of the *Ihyā'*, in the section which deals with the perversion of religious expressions, it is pointed out how *dhikr* and *tadhkir* have been twisted by homilists (*wu'āz*) to apply to *kiṣṣa*, poetry, *shath* (q. v., cf. also Macdonald, *Religious Attitude*, p. 173) and *ṭammāt* ("overmastering outpourings"; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii., p. 59a). *Kiṣṣa* are a *bid'a* and evidently not one to be approved. The *kaššās* appeared only in the troublous times (*al-fitna*) after 'Umar, i.e. under 'Uthmān and 'Alī. 'Alī excluded them from the mosques but made an express exception of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī because of the truly edifying and terror-striking character of his *kalām*. A *madjlis* for *dhikr* may be more edifying even than reciting the Qur'ān, according to traditions from the Prophet, but such traditions do not apply to the *madjlis* of the *kaššās* who give the name of *tadhkir* to their *khurāfāt* and are occupied with *kiṣṣa* which breed nothing but controversies and which are quite different from the *kiṣṣa* of the Qur'ān. So al-Damīrī in his *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo 1313, ii. 170), giving the story from Tamīm al-Dārī about *al-djassāsa*, the strange beast in attendance on al-Dajdjal in his island, says that Tamīm was the first who *kaṣṣa 'ala 'l-nās*. So there are *kiṣṣa* the listening to which is for edification and there are *kiṣṣa* which are the reverse. The difficulty is to distinguish; truth may easily lead to falsehood and the useful to the harmful. A long statement as to this is quoted from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (ed. with commentary of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-Sāda*, i. 240 sqq.). Again, in the Book on the *Ṣalāt*, in the section which considers how the pious should pass their leisure time on Friday, there is a warning against the frequenting of the *kaššās* (iii. 277 sqq.). It is worth noticing that the commentator Murtaḍā (d. 1205 A.H.) uses *kiṣṣa*, *akhbār* and *hikāyāt* quite indiscriminately. So, too, Ibrāhīm al-Baidjūrī in his *ḥaṣhiya* on Abū Shudjā's *matn* on canon law, written in 1258 A.H., speaks of "lying *hikāyāt* like the *kiṣṣa* of 'Antar and of al-Dalhama" (Cairo 1307, i. 131, 12).

But Massignon in his *Essai* (pp. 141 sqq., 221) has shown that, in spite of this condemnation,

the labours of the mystics of Islām and of the *ḥuṣṣāṣ* among them were what gave to Islām its permanent type as we know it to-day. Their spontaneous movement, preaching to the populace directly in rhymed prose pointed with religious legend, was the first apologetic and categetic of Islām. They naturally shocked the canonists and theologians and religious authorities generally. They were sincere and terribly in earnest and the *ḥāṣṣ* who worried 'Aṣīṣha by holding forth in the court of her chamber until she sent to Ibn 'Umar who drove him away and broke a stick over his back, may have been like an over-zealous street-preacher with us (*ḥyā'*, iii. 279). All depended on the character of the men, as the exception of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī by 'Alī shows. In Ramaḍān the daily preaching in the mosques is still of this character. It cannot, then, be surprising that *kiṣṣa* has come to be one of the most popular words for "story" and especially for "religious legend". In the index of book-titles in Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue (x. 493^b—496^b) it occurs 216 times; of these 27 are in the form *kiṣṣat ghazwat* . . . , on which confer the cases from Bukhārī above. These are mostly religious stories, but quite a large proportion are non-religious and of the Arabian Nights type. In the same index *ḥikāya* occurs only 48 times and there are very few uses of *ḥadīth* simply as "story".

Bibliography has been given in the article.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

KİŞT (ξέστις, sextarius, sétier, Sester etc.), an Arab measure of capacity for fluids equal to about a pint. In the early period of Islām the use of measures of capacity seems to have been more general than in the later period for in the mounds of ruins in Egypt, we find numerous broken bottles with the official stamp indicating their capacity expressed in *kiṣt*'s. We get an idea of the volume from statements such as a *kiṣt* of oil weighs 18 *ūḳiya*, a *kiṣt* of wine 20, a *kiṣt* of honey 27; assuming a troy ounce of 27.288 grammes and taking into account the specific gravity of the liquids above mentioned, we get a value of c. 0.54 litre for the early Arab *kiṣt* (the old French sétier = 0.546 litre).

A multiple was the *djarra* (amphora) = 48 *kiṣt* (c. 25 litre). — Cf. also the article **KAFİZ**.

Bibliography: Sauvaire, *Matériaux* in *J. A.*, 1886, vii. 126; S. Lane-Poole *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum*, London 1891, p. 22—24, 107—109; Casanova, *Collection Fouquet*, *M. M. A. F.*, vi/13; A. Grohmann in *Islamica*, i., p. 145 sqq.

(E. v. ZAMBAUR)

KISWA. [See **KĀ'BA**, **MAḤMAL**.]

KİT'Ā (A.), pl. *kiṭā'*, "piece cut off", "section", means in the geometry of the Arabs (a) a segment of a circle, the part cut off by a chord; (b) a segment of a cone, the part cut off by a plane; (c) a section of any other figure (parabola, ellipse, etc.). From the same verb *kaṭa'a* come three other geographical expressions, *kuṭā'* (so written in the *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, etc.) or *kaṭṭā'* (so in the *Cod. Leidensis*, 339, 1, ed. R. Besthorn and J. L. Heiberg, and in the *Maḥaṭṭih al-'Olūm*, ed. van Vloten) = sector of a circle, i.e. an area bounded by two radii and the portion of the arc of the circle between them; *ḥaṭṭ'* or better *ḥaṭṭi'*, a line cutting through the circle, i.e. a

secant; *kaṭ'* = section (through a body) e.g. *kaṭ' al-maḥkrūt al-mustadīr* = conic section.

Bibliography: Besides the above mentioned works cf. *The Elements of Euclid* in the recension of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, Rome 1594, and *Traité du quadrilatère, attribué à Nassiruddin al-Toussy*, éd. et trad. par Alex. Pacha Cavatheodory, Constantinople 1891. (Here *quadrilatère* is the translation of *al-shakl al-kaṭṭā'* where *kaṭṭā'* is apparently an intensive form of *kaṭ'* i.e. "the polysecant figure").

(H. SUTER)

KİTÂB (A., pl. *Kutub*), book. With the art of writing the Arabs had taken over from their Northern Semitic neighbours also the words for book and for writing and in the earlier phraseology *Kitāb* means simply something which is written, not necessarily a book and in fact the word is also applied to a "letter" simply. As we do not possess any Arabic book earlier than the *Qur'an* and the only other remains, besides inscriptions on stone, are the poems of early poets to which we may add in some cases the tale or *Kiṣṣa* [q. v.] explaining the occasion on which the poem was composed, we cannot be certain whether books existed or not. The word *Kitāb* occurs rather frequently in the *Qur'an* in several meanings but the outstanding meaning is the sacred book containing the revelation of God to his worshippers and in consequence the adherents of the three great religions known to Muḥammad, the Christians, Jews and Mazdians are named the "People of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb*). For the first the *Indjil* or New Testament is meant, for the Jews probably only the Pentateuch and Psalms, while I do not know whether any book of the Mazdians was known to him at all. However the *Qur'an* knows of another Book i.e. the Book in which God has written the destiny of every man and in which during his life-time all his good and evil deeds are continuously recorded to be brought before him as witness for his reward or punishment on the Day of Judgment. The "Book" par excellence is however the *Qur'an* itself; it is the revelation of God, untarnished by falsifications through ill-will or human error and according to its own assertion there is no book in the world equal to it, nor can it ever be equalled, being the true word of God. As the *Kitāb* is the word of God it has also the meaning in the *Qur'an* of "a decree of God" or it becomes the "impression" which God stamps upon the hearts of man; and as anything written down is lasting so God himself has "written" or made incumbent upon himself to have mercy upon men. Finally it means a simple letter or message written to a distant person.

If we investigate the meaning of the word as applied in the verses of the Arabic poets before Islām we find it used in almost all the same meanings, though perhaps we have to be very sceptical when we find the word in the meaning of divine revelation, though 'Adī b. Zaid, a Christian poet who lived shortly before Muḥammad, uses the verb in the meaning of predestination (*Djamharat al-Aṣḥār al-naṣrāniya*, ed. Cheikh, p. 102 ult.), it may be that the poem was attributed to him by a later forger. I am, however, not so confident that such old references to ideas expressed in the *Qur'an* are of necessity falsifications. More frequent are the references in old poems to

writings in a foreign script, and there is every evidence that the ancient poets were at least acquainted with the appearance of manuscript books adorned with illuminated title-pages. In a verse by Tufail al-Ḡhanawī (x. v. 3) the poet refers to a written safe-conduct which he calls a Kitāb. At the same time the word appears to have also the meaning of a book as a literary product and though I believe that poems etc. were committed to writing very early, some elapsed time after the Qurʾān had been fixed in writing in book-form before any other works were committed to paper or parchment and it is very difficult to say which Arabic work was first written in this form. The collectors of the traditions of the Prophet for a long time insisted upon the *Ḥadīth* being handed down orally, and the same was probably the case with the commentaries of the Qurʾān by Ibn ʿAbbās. This must have been fairly comprehensive and al-Baghawī in the *Maʿālim al-Tanzīl* states that he received the book through three different channels. The books on the *Maḡāzī* or biographies of the Prophet also were very early committed to writing, but as all the earlier works are lost, except in extracts, it is difficult to say that they were books. This much however is certain, that the *Dīwān* of the poet Labīd existed in written copies before the end of the first century of the Hīdja from the verse of al-Farazdaq (*Naḡāʾid*, ed. Bevan, i. 201, 6) where he states that he possesses his poems in a complete book. After this, books were written in the lands of Islām with feverish activity, to which the thousands of titles of lost works found in biographical works bear witness. Finally, one work has had the distinction of being simply called *al-Kitāb*, namely the great grammatical book of the Baṣrian Sibōḥ (Sibawaihi) and it is certainly the most extensive work of early Islām which has come down to us.

The Arabic lexicographers try to find an etymology of the word from others meanings of the root in the language which can easily be consulted in the existing dictionaries, but it would be vain to seek the derivation there for a word which had been imported from the North with the art of writing.

(F. KRENKOW)

KITĀBKHĀNA, library, is a Persian word for which we find also the Arabic *maktaba*, which is applied to public libraries founded and endowed by princes and private individuals for the benefit of scholars, sometimes for those of a special sect or for some particular study. With the zeal for literary pursuits and the ever increasing composition of books, after the period of conquests, men of literary tastes accumulated handsome private collections of books and from the example of the Kūfī philologist Abū ʿAmr al-Shaibānī we can reasonably assume that it was a custom for authors to deposit copies of their works for reference in the mosque of their town or quarter. The earliest record of anything like a public library is connected with the name of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who devoted his life to the study of Greek sciences, particularly alchemy and medicine. We are told that he caused such books to be translated, and when an epidemic occurred at the beginning of the reign of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he commanded the books to be fetched out of the library (*khizāna*) to be made available for the people. However, the first public library on a large scale was the *Dār al-ḥikma* (Temple of Wisdom) inaugurated by

the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Maʾmūn in Baghdād. To make this library as comprehensive as possible he had valuable Greek manuscripts purchased in the Byzantine empire and translated by a number of competent scholars into Arabic. This library contained books in all the sciences cultivated by the Arabs and it flourished till the city was taken and sacked by the Mongols in 656 A.H. Equal in importance was the library of the Fātimīd rulers of Egypt in Cairo, which contained untold literary treasures and we learn that in the year 435 = 1043/1044 the wazīr Abū ʿl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Djardjarī gave instructions for a catalogue of the books to be made and the bindings to be renewed, and he appointed Abū Khalaf al-Ḳudāʾī and Ibn Khalaf al-Warrāk to superintend the work. This library remained intact till the death of the last Fātimīd caliph al-ʿĀḍid, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered it to be dissolved and the Ḳāḍī ʿl-Fāḍil [q. v.] bought most of the books and deposited them in the library of the Fāḍiliya Madrasa which he founded, where they were soon neglected and by the time of al-Ḳalqashandī most of them had disappeared. This library is stated to have contained 6,500 volumes on exact sciences, alone such as mathematics, astronomy etc. and among its treasures was a globe of copper stated to have been constructed by Ptolemaios and bearing an inscription stating that it had been acquired by Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. The third great library was that of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordoba, which was also dispersed after the Almoravid conquest of Spain early in the fifth century of the Hīdja. Among the minor libraries was one founded by the Ḡhaznawī Sultān Maṣʿūd, most of whose treasures were later transferred to Bukhārā. We are frequently told of valuable private libraries which were placed at the disposal of learned men as e.g. in the biographies of al-Ṣūlī [q. v.] we read of his large collection of books which were bound in tasteful leather-bindings in red and yellow leather. Al-Ṣafadī [q. v.] records in the biography of Ḡhars al-Nīʿmat al-Ṣabī that he founded in Baghdād a library of about 300 volumes for the use of students and that this library was shamelessly robbed by the librarian who had been placed in charge. But even earlier we read of Abū Tamām detained by wintry weather in Hamadān selecting from the books, which he found there in the libraries, the contents of his celebrated poetical anthology, the *Ḥamāsa*. A great impulse was given to the foundation of libraries by the wazīr of the Saldjūk Sultān Malikshāh, Nizām al-Mulk, when he founded in Nishāpūr and Baghdād and other places colleges or Madrasa's for public instruction. These colleges were not only endowed with funds for the salaries of the professors, but also provided with the most precious manuscripts of works dealing with the sciences taught at these institutions. When early in the seventh century of the Hīdja the Mongols swept over Persia we read that in addition to the loss of human life and the destruction of other valuable property untold quantities of priceless books were wantonly destroyed. The Aiyūbīd amīrs of Egypt and Syria emulated the example of the great Saldjūk wazīr in founding colleges, but from a remark of Ḳalqashandī, neither they nor those in charge of these Madrasa's appear to have had a proper conception of the value of great public libraries (*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, i. 467). For the centuries which

follow we still find learned men endowing mosques and colleges with their books, where they were deposited as *Wakf* or inalienable property, but the custodians with incredible dishonesty in most cases not only did not prevent, but actually connived at the loss of most of these treasures. How many a manuscript which once was deposited in these libraries for all eternity has found its way into private hands, or into the large libraries of Europe! In addition to this in most cases a fearful neglect set in soon after the foundation of the library and instead of being the source for enriching the knowledge of students the books became the breeding places of worms. As the control over the guardians of the libraries was rarely as strict as it should be, the books entrusted to their charge fell frequently into such a condition that they could no longer be used without falling to pieces. A striking example are the books which formed part of the Imperial library of Delhi, now deposited in the India Office in London; though the volumes may contain many a valuable work, worms and long neglect must almost drive the librarian to despair in his task of making the books again accessible to students. In more recent times this state of things has improved; the *Khedival* (now State) Library in Cairo has led the way in again collecting the treasures in books which have survived several centuries of neglect, and its treasures are available to students who can afford to visit Cairo. Inestimable are the treasures in valuable books deposited in various libraries in Constantinople of which catalogues have been printed, though these are in many cases very inaccurate. Many valuable libraries exist in Madina and in the 'Irāk and it is occasionally possible to those who possess Muslim friends in those countries to obtain information about rare manuscripts existing there. We also have incomplete catalogues of the *Zāhiriya* library in Damascus and the libraries in the great mosques in Fās and Tunis, but as yet it is very difficult for European students to make use of the treasures deposited in these libraries. In India also we find a new era as is testified by the care which is bestowed upon the books preserved in the State-Library in Haiderabad, the *Khudābaksh* Library in Bankipore, the Library in Rampore and the Molla Fērōz Library in Bombay. I have been told by those who have visited the Imām Yahyā in Ṣan'ā' in Yaman that his extensive library contains many very ancient manuscripts among which some are as good as lost to the other world for the present. The Shī'a shrines at Karbalā' and Najaf have also valuable libraries, but the hope that these together with manuscripts from other centres in the 'Irāk might be collected into one central State Library is probably very remote. The very fact that continually valuable ancient manuscripts are brought to Europe from the East is a proof that far more ancient manuscripts are preserved than might be expected from the neglect of many centuries, but the excellence of the paper and ink used in early times for writing has preserved many a volume which would have perished, and in addition it is also probable that at the dissolution of the large libraries their contents found their way into private hands from which they gradually reappear. Testimony for this is also that in the East exist many very valuable private collections of ancient manuscripts as e.g.

the library of the Saiyid Ṣadr al-Dīn in Baghdād and of Aḥmad Taimūr Pāshā in Cairo, besides others known to us. Unfortunately the owners are in many cases, the two named excepted, very unwilling to give any information about their possessions. As it is more and more realised that the remains of ancient literature, whether Arabic or Persian, should be made accessible, the owners commence by having some of the rarer works made accessible by the press and when the value is fully recognised we may hope that within the next fifty years much may be in the hands of the students which is now guarded in Eastern libraries.

(F. KRENKOW)

Arrangement, administration and use of libraries. In the fourth (tenth) century there were already buildings devoted solely to libraries and erected specially for this purpose. For example Sābūr b. Ardashīr, the vizier of Bahā' al-Dawla, built in 381 (991) in Baghdād in the Karkh quarter a *Dār al-Kutub*, which contained over 10,000 volumes (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 246; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 799). The geographer al-Muḥaddasī (p. 449) found in Shirāz a huge library which had been built by the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla (338–372 = 949–982). This library was a separate building and consisted of a great hall and a long vaulted building along the three sides of which were a series of rooms (*khawāṣṣ*). Along the walls of the central vaulted room and along the side-rooms were cases of carved wood three ells high and three broad, with doors which were let down from the top. The books lay on shelves one above the other. The cases used in the Fātimid library in Cairo were somewhat different (Maqrīzī, *Khifāṭ*, Cairo 1270, i. 409); the bookcases (*rufūf*) were divided by partitions into separate compartments (*ḥadjiṣ*) each of which was closed by a door with hinges and locks. Open cases which also were divided into small compartments, are illustrated in a miniature by Yahyā b. Maḥmūd of the year 634 (1237) in the Paris MS. of Hariri (MS. Arabe, 5847), which shows a library in Baṣra (Blochet, *Les enlumineurs des MSS. orientaux*, Paris 1926, Pl. 10). Unlike our custom, we find the books lying one above the other in the small compartments, as is still usual in the East. This explains the Oriental custom (which is only occasionally found in the west) of writing a short title of the works on the upper or lower edge.

The books were systematically arranged, classified according to the various branches of knowledge. Copies of the Kur'ān had usually a special place; in the Fātimid library for example they were kept on a higher level than the others. The various books were often present in several copies; this made it possible not only to lend the same work to several readers but the scholar was also enabled to read corrupt passages at once in a manuscript by referring to another copy. The Fātimid library of Cairo for example had thirty copies of the *Kitāb al-Ain* of Khalil, twenty copies of the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabari and if the figure is not wrong actually a hundred copies of the *Djamhara* of Ibn Duraid.

The catalogues consisted either of several volumes in which (probably according to the various branches of knowledge) the titles of the books were arranged, or, as in the Fātimid library, a list of the books within was fastened to the door of each room.

Libraries usually had a director (*ṣāhib*) and one or more librarians (*khāzin*) according to the size of the institution, also copyists (*nāsikh*) and attendants (*farrāsh*). We find that some of the most celebrated scholars were librarians: thus the historian Ibn Miskawaihi was librarian to the vizier Abu 'l-Faql b. al-'Amid in Raiy (Ibn Miskawaihi, *Tadjarib al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, text, ii. 224, transl., v. 237); al-Shābushtī (d. 390 = 1000), the author of the book of monasteries, was librarian of the Fātimid library in Cairo under al-'Aziz (Ibn Khaldūn, *Wafayāt*, i. 338).

The books were acquired partly by purchase and partly by the copyists attached to the libraries copying manuscripts. Makrizi has preserved for us the budget of a library (i. 459); according to this, the Caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411 = 996-1020) spent 257 dinārs a year (c. £150) on the *Dār al-'Ilm* founded by him. This was allotted as follows:

	Dinārs
Mats from 'Abbadān, etc.	10
Paper for copyists	90
Salary of the librarian	48
Drinking water	10
Wages of the attendant	15
Wages of the keeper of paper, ink, and reed pens	12
Repairing the door-curtains	1
Repairing books	12
Felt carpets for the winter	5
Blankets for the winter	4

Libraries were open to everyone free of charge. Paper, ink and reed-pens were supplied by the authorities. Some private libraries even provided for the maintenance of scholars who had come from a long distance. A deposit had usually to be made if books were taken outside the library buildings, at least Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, iv. 509 sq.) (d. 626 = 1229) praises the liberality of the libraries in Marw where he always had two hundred and more volumes to the value of two hundred dinārs in his house without a deposit. Instructive in this connection also is the waḳf document of 21st Šafar 799 (Nov. 24, 1396) by which Ibn Khaldūn bestowed his *Kitāb al-'Ibar* on the library of the Džāmi' al-Ḳarawīyīn in Fās; according to it, this manuscript was only to be lent out to trustworthy, reliable men for two months at most in return for a substantial deposit; for this period was long enough to copy or study the borrowed work; the director of the library was to take care that this rule was observed (Lévi-Provençal in *J. A.*, cciii. [1923], p. 164).

But at the same time we find in Muslim lands purely reading libraries. One of these was the library of the Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya founded in Cairo in 797 (1395). By the will of the founder the Ustādār Džamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī (d. 799 = 1397) no book was to leave the rooms of the Madrasa. The manuscript of the *Tadjarib al-Umam* of Ibn Miskawaihi (Gibb Mem. Ser., vii/6) published in facsimile by Caetani belonged to this library; in the waḳf document on the first page of this manuscript dated 15th Šahbān 797 (June 5, 1395) it is written: "The above-named donor makes the condition that neither the whole work nor a single volume of it shall be lent from the library either against a deposit or without one".

Nevertheless by the year 826 (1423) when the books were checked, it was found that 400 volumes (exactly a tenth of the total) were missing, whereupon the then director of the mosque was dismissed (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Askalānī in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 64, 70; Makrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 395).

If we think of the above statements, which are true even of the fourth (tenth) century, it can safely be asserted that Muslim libraries were in every respect centuries in advance of those of the west. There was a general need for public libraries felt in Muslim lands much earlier than in the west.

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Mémoire sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux*, in *J. A.*, 1838, Ser. 3, vi. 35-78; and the supplementary notes by Hammer-Purgstall in *J. A.*, 1848, Ser. 4, xi. 187-198; von Kremer, *Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 164 sqq.; Ribera, *Bibliofilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana*, Saragossa 1896 (not accessible to me); Grohmann, *Bibliotheken und Bibliophilen im islamischen Orient*, in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna 1926, p. 431-442; M. Hartmann, *Das Bibliothekswesen in den islamischen Ländern*, in *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1899, xvi. 186 sqq.; do., *Zur litterarischen Bewegung und zum Buch- u. Bibliothekswesen in den islamischen Ländern*, in Catalogue N^o. 4 of the Buchhandlung Rudolf Haupt, Halle 1905. — For a comparison with the western libraries cf. Milkau, *Die Bibliotheken in Kultur der Gegenwart*, i/i., 2nd ed. 1912, p. 587 sqq. and the references given on p. 630. (HEFFENING)

ḲITĀL, one of the names of the xlviii Sūra of the Ḳur'ān.

ḲITḤĪR is the name in Muḥammadan legend of the Biblical Potiphar. Ḳitḥīr is corrupted from Fiṭfir like Bilqīs, queen of Saba, from Nikaulis, or as in the Yūsuf legend we have Ainam or Hāinam from Muppīm, Ḥuppīm. Ḳitḥīr was then further corrupted to Itfir (so generally in Ṭabarī and Ṭha'labī), Itfin and almost unrecognisably to Ḳitṭīn (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 377) and Ḳitṭifin (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xii. 98). On the other hand al-Kisā'ī always has Ḳuṭīfar, a direct borrowing from Potiphar. Ḳitḥīr is quite arbitrarily called Ibn Ruḥaib. In the Ḳur'ān xii. 30, 51, the Egyptian who buys Joseph is called al-'Aziz. This is not considered a personal name but a title of honour, for after his elevation we find Joseph likewise addressed as al-'Aziz (xii. 78, 88). Joseph succeeded Ḳitḥīr as Treasurer of Egypt, according to some in Ḳitḥīr's lifetime after his dismissal from office, according to others only after his death, when Joseph inherited his office and his wife. Legend numbers Ḳitḥīr, — along with Jethro's daughter who offered hospitality to Moses and Abū Bakr who magnanimously appointed 'Omar his successor — as the three *afrasu*, most chivalrous and noblest in their dealings among mankind (Ṭabarī, Ṭha'labī). Cf. also 'AZIZ and YŪSUF B. YA'ḲŪB.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 378, 381, 382, 391, 392; the commentaries on Sūra xii.; Ṭha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 74, 75, 76, 80; al-Kisā'ī, ed. Eisenberg, p. 161, 162, 164, 168. (B. HELLER)

KITMĀN. [See ṬAQIYA.]

KITMĪR. [See AṢḤĀB AL-KAḤF.]

KĪYĀFA is an infinitive of the 1st stem (form of name of office or trade, Wright³, i. 114a) of root *k-w-f*, meaning "trace, follow traces, follow".

The root does not occur in the *Kurʾān* except as a variant in xvii. 39 (Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 539 25), but the cognate root *k-f-w*, with the same meaning, occurs five times. Technically in old Arabia *kāʾif* (pl. *kāfa*) was used not only of one who followed and interpreted actual tracks on the ground but also of one who professionally established kinship between individuals by likeness, primarily likeness of the feet. This ability was ascribed peculiarly to the tribe Mudlidi, who were called simply *al-Kāfa* (Ibn Kūtaiba, *Maʾārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 32 11); so *mudlidi* meant *kāʾif*. Other synonyms are *mudjazziz*, lit. "shearer" (*Lisān*, xi, 202 5 where cf. whole article for *kiyāfa* in general; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 185) and *ḥāzir*, lit. "conjecturer, guesser" (Goldziher, p. 184, note 9, who refers to *Aghānī*, x. 38 17). In a story given from Muḥammad al-Anbārī by Freytag (*Chrestomathia*, p. 31 sq.) a *kāʾif* in the infancy of the Prophet tells by his *firāsa* [q. v.], that he is a foster-child and foretells his future eminence. And the Prophet himself in tradition (Bukhārī, *Farāʾid*, b. 17; Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, trad., 36, bāb: *al-walad li 'l-firāsh*) decides a case of kinship by resemblance (*shabah*). In the same passages are other traditions giving prophetic sanction to the practice and using as synonyms *kāʾif*, *mudlidi* and *mudjazziz*: it is plain from them that the *kāʾif* paid special attention to the feet, as was natural in a race of trackers. From the fact that a poet in the *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag, p. 504) is named simply ʾIyās b. al-Kāʾif the profession was evidently one of distinction. From the beginning, also, it had in it a certain mystery: it was an innate power belonging to certain individuals or the peculiar inheritance of a tribe. It, therefore, attracted the special attention of Muʿtazilites who felt driven to accept certain facts as to it but had, on their principles, to seek rationalistic and philosophical interpretations of them. Al-Masʿūdī in his *Murūdj* gives to it and some allied phenomena a whole chapter (li., Paris ed., iii. 333—346) and refers to other books of his where he has treated the same subject more completely. Ḳazwīnī in his *ʿAdḍib al-makhlūkat* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 318) traces it similarly to psychical power in those who profess it and places their "souls" (*nufūs*) in the class of the *nufūs al-fāḍila*, "super-souls", among which are those of the prophets, the *walī's* and *kāhin's*: all these possess a certain instinct of insight. In canon law *kiyāfa* of necessity plays little part. The services of a *kāʾif* are to be called in only when the paternity of the child of a female slave is in doubt as between a former and a present owner (Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, p. 187 sq.); for further details see Sachau, *Muh. Recht nach Schaf. Lehre*, p. 89 sq.; Baidjūrī, *Hāshiya* on the *Sharḥ* of Ibn Kāsim on the text of Abū Shudjā, Cairo 1307, ii. 184 (*in amkana kawnuhu minhumā ʾurida ʿala 'l-kāʾif*); Nawawī, *Minḥādī al-ṭālibin*, ed. van den Berg, iii. 450 sq. In present day folk-lore usage *kiyāfa* has become chiromancy and physiognomy, called also *ʿilm al-simiyā* and *ʿilm al-asār* (Boethor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, vol. i., p. 154b; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 370 and references there). Very strangely the word has come to mean in modern Egyptian colloquial, "style, fashion", *ṣāhib kiyāfa*, "a stylish person" (Spiro, *Vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, p. 505, who gives no other meaning). This apparently connects with

Turkish and Persian usage of *kiyāfa* in sense "appearance, form, gait, costume" (Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1503b; Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 997a).

Bibliography: The principal treatments of this subject are in Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage*², p. 169 sq.; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 184 sq.; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 370; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 420a; see further references in all these. (D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-KİYĀMA, "the Arising" (of men at the Resurrection), and *al-Sāʿa*, "the Hour" (or Day of Judgement), come for theologians under the general term *al-Maʿād*, "the returning", i. e. the return to life after death; and they rank them among *al-samʿiyāt*, things on which traditional teaching is based, as the prophetic office, or which for their authority go back to the prophetic office, as this Return and such causes of eternal happiness and misery, connected with it, as faith and obedience, unbelief and disobedience (Mawākif of al-Idjī, Bulāḳ 1266, p. 544 sq.).

A schematic statement of the order of events in Muslim eschatology. I The Signs which will announce the coming of the End, especially the appearance of the Antichrist, al-Dajjāl (see above, i. 886 sq.), who will lead almost all men astray, followed by the descent of ʾIsā (see above, ii. p. 524 sq.), or the Mahdī [q. v.] (or ʾIsā is both), who will kill al-Dajjāl. A period of faith will follow. II The First Blast of the Trumpet; all living things will die. The Interval. The Second Blast of the Trumpet, bringing all living things to life again and uniting them at the Place of Gathering (*al-maḥshar*). The long standing there (*al-mawḳif*) in the presence of Allāh and the Sweat (*al-ʿarāk*). III The Judgement begins. The questioning of each individual directly by Allāh. The Books of Record. The Weighing of the deeds of those as to whom there might be doubt. Adjustment of enmities and requital of wrongs between man and man, and man and beast. IV The Bridge over Hell into Paradise (*al-Sirāt*). The Intercession (see SHAFʿA). The Tank of Muḥammad. V The Fire (Hell and Purgatory; see DJAHANNAM above, i. 998 sq.); the Garden (Paradise; see DJANNA above, i. 1014 sq.); a Limbo (according to some theologians). — *Ihyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī, Cairo 1334, iv. 436—453; *Ithāf*, commentary on *Ihyāʾ*, x. 447—530.

For Muḥammad, a revivalist preacher seeking to strike terror in his hearers, the doctrines of the Resurrection and of the Judgement were of the first importance, and the *Kurʾān*, in consequence, is full of references to them. The word *maʿād* occurs once only (*Kur.* xxviii. 85) and evidently has not this application there: it may mean the place of Muḥammad's resurrection or Mecca to which he will return from exile (Baidāwī in loc.). But the verb is used very frequently; in *Kur.* iv. 10, 35; xxi. 104; xxx. 10, 26; lxxv. 13, of Allāh's bringing men back at the resurrection, in contrast to his first production of them (*abdaʾa*); in contrast to his *anbata* in *Kur.* lxxi. 16, 17; in contrast to his *faṭara* in *Kur.* xvii. 53. The same verb is used of the repeated processes of creative power in the earth in *Kur.* xxvii. 65; xxix. 18 and of man being brought back to the earth at death and burial, *Kur.* xx. 57. *al-Kiyāma*, only in the phrase *yawm al-kiyāma*, occurs 70 times, e. g. ii. 79, 107, 169, 208; iii. 48, 71, 155;

lxviii. 39; lxxv. 1, 6 (last occurrences). On the meaning of *ḳiyāma* (*ḳiyām* with the feminine termination of emphasis) see *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Isbahānī, p. 429, ll. 2 sq. *al-Sā'a* occurs 40 times, generally in fixed phrases and always, when with the article, of the Hour; e.g. vi. 31, 40; vii. 186; xii. 107; xv. 85; xlvii. 20; liv. 1, 46; lxxix. 42 (last occurrences). In the *Iḳyā'* of al-Ḡhazālī (iv. 440 sq.; *Ithāf*, x. 462—465) there is a long list of names of the Hour which occur in the *Qur'ān* or can be formed from *Qur'ānic* phrases. The following may be mentioned: *al-ḳār'a*, "the striker", *Qur.* xiii. 31; lxix. 4; ci. 1, 2 only; *al-ghāshiya*, "the coverer", *Qur.* xii. 107; lxxxviii. 1 only; *al-sāḳḥḥa*, "the deafener", *Qur.* lxxx. 33 only; *yawm al-faṣl*, "day of dividing", xxxvii. 21; xlv. 40; lxxvii. 13, 14, 38; lxxviii. 17 only; *al-wāḳ'a*, "the event", lvi. 1; lxix. 15 only; *al-ḥāḳ'a*, "the certainty", lxix. 1, 2, 3 only; *yawm al-ḥisāb*, "day of reckoning", xxxviii. 15, 25, 53; xl. 28; *yawm al-ba'th*, "day of arousing", xxx. 56 only (*al-ba'th* alone xxii. 5 only); *yawm muḥit*, "an encompassing day", i. 85 only; *yawm al-dīn*, "day of judgement", xi. 3; lxxiii. 11 and very often; also *al-dīn* alone in meaning "the judgement" very often; for meanings of *dīn* in the *Qur'ān* see above, vol. i., p. 975.

In the overwhelmingly theocentric theology of Muḥammad the doctrine of the Resurrection and Judgement was only second to that of Allāh's creation of the world, was a necessary consequence to it and could be proved by it. Allāh as Creator meant Allāh as Ruler and Allāh as Judge. But a Judgement meant a Resurrection and all the analogies of what we call nature pointed to the possibility of such a return and repetition of life, if under other conditions. So Muḥammad was primarily a preacher of this wrath to come and of the need of repentance and self-surrender to Allāh before it should come. For the Arabs of his time the Resurrection was, if anything, a harder doctrine than the Creation. Muḥammad proved the one by the other. He had also a foothold for this in the primitive Arab conception that the dead had a continued and conscious existence of a kind in their graves; cf. among the Hebrews, Job, xiv. 20—22. Through Muḥammad this belief passed into Islām and is the basis in Islām of the doctrine of the two Judgements (see below), of punishment in the grave (*adḥāb al-ḳabr*; see MUNKAR and NAKĪR), and of bliss in the grave, i.e. that the grave for each individual is a preliminary Hell or Paradise. This doctrine does not seem to have any sure *Qur'ānic* basis although texts from the *Qur'ān* (vi. 93; ix. 102; xiv. 32; xl. 11, 49; lxxi. 25) are used by the theologians in support of it (*Mawāḳif* of al-Idrī, p. 591; al-Taftāzānī on 'Aḳā'id of al-Nasafī, Cairo 1321, p. 109; al-Bukhārī in heading to section cited below). It is possible that there may be a reference to it in *Qur'ān* xxxv. 21 where Muḥammad seems to be warned not to preach to the dead in their graves, as (e.g.) he preached to the Djinn. But that it was taught by Muḥammad seems certain from the mass of traditions on the subject (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, ed. Constantinople 1329—1334, viii. 160—164, *Kitāb al-djanna*; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, Bulāḳ 1315, ii. 97—100, *Kitāb al-djannā'is*). In consequence of all this the *Qur'ān* from beginning to end is full of lurid descriptions of the Day with picturesque details of its certainty, its nearness and its over-

whelming terrors — passing into descriptions of the Fire and, in contrast, of the Garden. In the *Qur'ān* it is a Judgement of individuals and not of peoples or of religious bodies in masses; this, as Wellhausen pointed out, shows the Christian, as opposed to Jewish, theological influence upon Muḥammad. Later traditions and still more the theologians were going to change all that in accordance with the "agreement" (*idjmā'*) of Islām. As examples of these multitudinous, longer or shorter descriptions, reference will suffice to *Qur.* vi. 22—31; xix. 67—74; xxii. 1—7; xxiii. 101—end; xxxix. 68—end; lxix. 1; lxxv. 1; lxxxi.—lxxxiv.; xcix.—ci. Naturally the most picturesque details are in the earlier and more poetical sūras. The descriptions of the Garden changed also with Muḥammad's changing circumstances and age; cf. Josef Horowitz, *Das Koranische Paradies*, Jerusalem, 1923.

In these descriptions there are certain references and allusions which (i) tradition has developed more precisely and elaborately, of which (ii) the systematic theologians have made chary use in their short eschatological statements but which (iii) the writers for religious edification have expanded in intolerable and contradictory detail. Thus (i) the *ṣirāt* is only once in the *Qur'ān* (xxxvii. 23) *ṣirāt al-djahīm* — a mere allusion to "the road to Hell". This has become in tradition "the bridge", elaborately described, "over the back of hell" (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 113, 116, *Kitāb al-imām*; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 128, 130, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*). (2) The noun *mawḳif* does not occur in the *Qur'ān*, but four times (vi. 27, 30; xxxiv. 30; xxxvi. 24) there are allusions to man standing in the presence of Allāh on the Day. This has become the awful scene which al-Ḡhazālī develops so fully in his

Durra (ed. Gautier, 1878, p. 50 sq.). (3) *Qur.* lxviii. 42, "on the day when a shank (*sāk*) shall be uncovered" means, according to the commentators (e.g. Baidāwī, Fleischer's ed. ii., p. 350, l. 10), a day of stress and trouble when skirts will be tucked up for flight. In the traditions (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 115 foot — *Kitāb al-imām*; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 130 — *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*) the *sāk* is that of Allāh and the uncovering of it is a sign between him and the true believers. (4) On the resurrection trumpet there is much more in the *Qur'ān*. The *Qur'ānic* formula is *nufīḳha fī 'l-sūr* (vi. 73; xviii. 99; xx. 102; xxiii. 103; xxvii. 89; xxxvi. 51; xxxix. 68; l. 19; lxix. 13; lxxviii. 18), except in lxxiv. 8, where it is *nukira fī 'l-nākūr*. In lxix. 13 a single blast, *nafḳha wāḥida*, is enough, but in xxxix. 68 there are two blasts; at the first all in heaven and earth, save whom Allāh wills, swoon (*ṣa'tīka*); at the second they are restored and stand up. This whole passage has evidently been of the first importance in the forming of the later picture of the Day. In tradition the first blast of the trumpet is reckoned among the Signs of the Day (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 201 sq.; 210, *Kitāb al-fitan wa-ashrāf al-sā'a*). (5) The word for "balances" when used in the singular in the *Qur'ān* expresses the general idea of justice (xl. 16; lv. 6, 7, 8; lvii. 25 and Baidāwī on these passages) but the plural, *mawāzin* (vii. 7, 8; xxi. 48; xxiii. 104, 105; ci. 5, 6) is used only, in fixed phrases, of weighing men's good and bad deeds in the eschatological Balances on the Day. (6) There is a personal

account between Allāh and every man (*ḥisāb* and other terms; cf. C. C. Torrey, *Commercial-theological terms in the Koran*, Leyden 1892, p. 9 sq.) and there are books written by recording angels (*saḥāra*, *kātibūn*; lxxx. 11—15; lxxxii. 10—12; lxxxiii. 7, 18). Each man has a book of his own deeds or there is simply the Book (x. 62; xxxiv. 3; xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 47; lxix. 19, 20, 25—7; lxxxiv. 7—12); Allāh himself is a witness (*shahid*, often) or he is watching in a lurking place, like a hunter waiting for game (lxxxix. 13, *la-bil-mirṣād*); or *Djahannam*, personified, is such a *mirṣād* (lxxxviii. 21), a dubious phrase which gives the commentators much trouble. (7) Again, *Djahannam* (occurs 77 times) is brought as though it were moveable (lxxxix. 24) and there is a description of it (lxvii. 7, 8) as braying and boiling and almost bursting with rage as though it were a wild animal. What this became in tradition is seen in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 149 sq.; *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna*, Cairo 1318, ii. 154—156; *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*, Dihli 1327, p. 428—430. Al-Ghazālī develops the idea still further, for pious edification, in his *Durra*, p. 44, 56 sq. (8) In *Qurʾān* xlv. 9 there is a very obscure expression. "Then look for the day when the heaven shall bring plain smoke" (*dukhān mubīn*). Baiḍāwī (Fleischer's ed. ii., p. 245, ll. 22 sq.) gives as a possible interpretation a reference to smoke as one of the Signs of the Day; for the traditions on this see *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 130 sq., 179, 208. (9) For a supposed *Qurʾānic* allusion to the descent (*nuzūl*) of ʿĪsā as one of the Signs of the Day see above ʿĪsā, ii. 525 and add to the references there *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 93—95, 107 sq.; viii., p. 175—208. (10) Another of the Signs to which allusion is made in the *Qurʾān* (xxvii. 84) is the Beast of the earth (*dāb-batān min al-arḍ*); cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 96; viii. 179. Baiḍāwī (*in loc.*) identifies it with *al-djassāsa*, "the searcher out", described in a tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (viii. 203—206) as in attendance, according to Tamīm al-Dārī, on the false Masīḥ al-Daḍḍjāl, apparently the Antichrist, in a certain island; see also, *ʿĪsā*, vii. 337; Damirī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1313, ii. 170. (11) On al-Daḍḍjāl, who is not in the *Qurʾān* at all, see traditions in Muslim, viii. 161, 194—208; on p. 189 thirty lying Daḍḍjāls will come before the end; Bukhārī, ix. 159 sq. See, also, DAḌḌJĀL, above i. 886; the name is evidently Aramaic, not Arabic. (12) The Tank (*ḥawḍ*) of Muḥammad also plays an obscure part in the picture of the Day, although it does not occur in the *Qurʾān*. There is doubt especially as to the end of the *Ṣirāt* at which it should be placed; in later collections of traditions (*Maṣābiḥ*, ii. p. 145; *Mishkāt*, 415) it is grouped with the Intercession and after the Reckoning and the Weighing. See, also, Bukhārī, ix. 46. (13) In the story of *Dhu 'l-karnain* in the *Qurʾān* (xviii. 82—98) he builds a great wall to keep back Yāḍūdī and Mādūdī. But that will hold them only until the Day; then it will be made as dust (verse 98) and they will come out (*Qur.* xxi. 96). For this, among the Signs, in tradition see *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 61; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim viii. 165 sq., and often.

There is thus very little in the *Qurʾān* as to the Signs preceding the Last Day; but such picturesque and accidental references as there are have proved useful in the later development. The

systematic theologians have been by far the most cautious in this. Nasafi in his *ʿAkā'id* gives only five: the appearance of al-Daḍḍjāl; the Beast of the earth; Yāḍūdī and Mādūdī; the descent of ʿĪsā; the rising of the sun in the west. Taftāzānī in his commentary on this passage (p. 145) gives ten: the Smoke; Daḍḍjāl; the Beast; the rising of the sun in the west; ʿĪsā; Yāḍūdī and Mādūdī; three eclipses, in west, in east and in Arabia; a fire which will break out in al-Yaman and drive men to the Place of Gathering; cf. a similar list in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 179. But the traditionalists have luxuriated in tendentious details. A section of tradition is devoted to *al-ḥitan wa ashkrāt* or *āyāt al-sā'a*, "trials and signs of the Hour"; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 165—210; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 46—61; *Maṣābiḥ*, ii. 128—42; *Mishkāt*, p. 392—410. To give any full analysis of these would be impossible here. Reference may be made for this and for details on the Resurrection and Judgement to Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 539^a—44^b. This is largely based on Sale's "Preliminary Discourse", Section 4, p. 76—103 of ed. 1734, and he, in turn, was greatly indebted to the learning and research of Edward Pococke, in his *Porta Mosis*, ii. p. 235—313 of ed. Oxford 1654—55, who gives Arabic passages and terms at length. These details were then taken up by the writers for religious edification and an immense literature was based upon them. Even among mystics in Islām religious conversion has normally been wrought by fear of the wrath of Allāh; in consequence their books are full of pictures of the horrors of death, the resurrection and the judgement. This is the whole bearing of the last Book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* (iv. 361—469) on "Taking thought of death and that which comes after it" (*Dhikr al-mawt wa-mā ba'dahu*), until it ends in a few pages on the Beatific Vision in Paradise and the wideness of Allāh's mercy, for luck! (*alā ṣaḥīl al-tafā'ul*). His smaller treatise, *al-Durra al-fākhirā*, on the same subject, goes still further in this direction.

Yet in this mass of traditions certain drifts of influence and development show themselves, theological and historical. Reference has already been made to the development of the doctrine of two judgements, a lesser on the death and burial of the individual and the greater on the Day itself. It is difficult to say whether this was in the mind of Muḥammad, but it was a natural development of the doctrine of the Punishment of the Grave which is so strongly represented in traditions. The doctrine, also, that the Fire itself will be a temporary place of purgation for "certain rebellious ones of the believers" would naturally grow out of this. It, too, is represented in tradition and has become fixed in theology (Taftāzānī on Nasafi, p. 114—19). On the whole question, see *Immortality in Mohammedanism* by the present writer in E. H. Sneath's *Religion and the Future Life*, New York 1922, p. 311 sq. This leads naturally to the relation of faith and works and of sins, greater and lesser, and that involves a classification of different ranks even among the saved believers. On the whole question, see *IMĀN*, above, ii. 474 sq. Some believers will enter Paradise without any punishment or even reckoning (*ḥisāb*); there will be 70,000 of these (Muslim, i. 136—138). Then there are the *shuhadā'*, whose spirits (*arwāḥ*) seem already to be in Paradise (Muslim, vi. 38)

and a man who is killed in defence of his property is a *shahid* [q.v.] and his slayer is in the Fire (Muslim, i, p. 87). But the theological question which seems to have weighed most heavily in the Muslim world when traditions were being formed was that of Intercession (*shafʿa*, q.v.).

The historical influences are equally plain in these traditions. Some may go back to Muḥammad himself full of forebodings as to the future of his people; the times must be evil before they are better. Such are those which tell that the Hour will not come until no one in the world says, "Allāh! Allāh!" — i.e. there is no faith left (Muslim, i, 89—91). But others seem clearly connected with the later civil strife. The traditions prophecying the murder of ʿUthmān run into prophecies of the Hour (Muslim, viii, 170 foot) and show the deep feeling of despair produced among the pious by the civil wars and the growing unbelief. Again, when the dream of the speedy conquest of Constantinople faded, the belief rose that that conquest would be one of the Signs of the End. As soon as the cry of Muslim triumph was heard in that city their armies would be recalled to face Antichrist, al-Dajjāl (Muslim, viii, 187 sq.). Then ʿIsā would descend. So some traditions see the whole world plunged in unbelief before the end, and others make the crowning conquest of Islām introduce the end.

The theologians have seen quite clearly that it was impossible to construct out of these materials a consistent narrative of what would take place on the Day. So they have abandoned the attempt and contented themselves with saying that such and such things — the *Ṣirāt*, the Weighing, the Tank, etc. — are Realities (*ḥaqīq*) and leave generally untouched what kind of reality is meant. Philosophically, they knew very well, there are different kinds of reality (Nasafī and Taftāzānī, p. 110 sq.; Ḳidjī, p. 592). They thus abandon picturing the Day to such religious writers as have edification for their object and not fact. Apparently the distinction was quite clear in their minds, and it goes back to the fundamental principle in Islām of the economy of teaching ("Speak to the people according to their understanding" — a saying ascribed both to 'Alī and to the Prophet) which was the ultimate source of the medieval doctrine of the two-fold truth. The situation may be illustrated by al-Ghazālī's method which was at least three-fold. In the last book of the *Iḥyā'* and, still more, in the *Durra* his frank object is to strike terror; these are all Realities — very dreadful Realities! Yet his philosophical conscience troubles him and even in the *Iḥyā'* (Book of *al-tawba*, "Repentance", iv, 20 sq.) he teaches that words applied to concrete things in this world can be used of things in the world to come only by metaphor, as *amthāl*; and he defends this by Qurʾān xxix, 42. But in his *Iktīṣād* (Cairo 1320, p. 96—98) he is a sober scholastic — the *Mizān* and the *ṣirāt* are *ḥaqīq* by revelation and the reason cannot deny them; in his *Maḍnūn* (Cairo 1303, intended for theological specialists) he develops to a certain extent the philosophical bottoming of these ideas — the Intercession (p. 28), the Reckoning and the *ṣirāt* (p. 36), the pleasures of Paradise (p. 38 sq.) which will be sensuous, imaginative, rational (*ḥissī, ḥayālī, ʿaqlī*). The feeling left in the mind is that there are still more distinctions, explanations and refinements behind

the two *Maḍnūn*'s, and that feeling is strengthened by his *Mishkāṭ al-anwār*; see the translation of this by W. H. T. Gairdner in "Asiatic Society Monographs", vol. xix. Further, al-Ghazālī developed the doctrine of a Limbo for those who, by reason of youth, mental affliction, historical and geographical situation and environment, had not been able to become Muslims and, therefore, had no works of obedience, in the technical sense, to their credit. There was nothing against them and punishing them in the Fire would be unjust: but there was nothing also for which they could be rewarded. He found a place for them, therefore, in the Qurʾānic *al-Aʿrāf* (vii, 44—46) which he explained as "Heights" whence those in the Limbo look down on both Heaven and Hell and their inhabitants. Such a conception was beyond doubt very far from Muḥammad's mind, but as a theological fiction it was sufficient for al-Ghazālī's purpose. For the four-fold classification of man which thus resulted see his *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 20—28; *Iḥāf*, viii, p. 548—570; for this particular class see his *Faiṣal al-tafrīka*, ed. Cairo 1319, p. 75 sq. and *Iḥyā'*, iv, 27 sq.; the *Iḥāf*, viii, p. 564—568 gives different views on the subject and there is an attack on al-Ghazālī's position in *Les Prolegomènes Théologiques de Senoussi* by J. D. Luciani (Alger 1908), p. 106 sq. On the whole subject see Miguel Asín, *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919, p. 99 sq. The treatment of eschatology by al-Ḳidjī in his *Mawāḳif* is of the dryest scholasticism, in startling contrast to the picturesqueness of the materials which he uses. Like al-Ghazālī he makes no use of the Signs; they were history, apparently, and not philosophical theology. He begins with the possibility of a Return to existence of a nonentity (*maʿdūm*) and fights that out with the different unbelieving philosophical schools: the different elements that follow suggest to him only dogmas to be demonstrated, and even the doctrine of the Intercession of Muḥammad interests him only by its connection with the Muʿtazilite heresies. For eschatological ideas as developed among the mystics see Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, ii, 664—698.

Bibliography has been given in the article.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ḲIYĀS (A.), infinitive III of *ḵāsa*, deduction by analogy. The term is used with a multitude of meanings; cf. the lexicons, especially Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. Here we shall confine ourselves to *ḵiyās* as one of the "roots" of the *fiḵḵ*, i.e. the deduction of legal prescriptions from the Qurʾān and the *sunna* by reasoning by analogy. — The death of Muḥammad deprived the community of the means of obtaining revelations and at the same time of its guide in matters political and religious. At first they relied on the book of Allāh and the example of the Prophet. The Qurʾān and the *sunna* naturally became the guides of the community. The expansion under the first Caliphs, the growing interest in theological and juridical speculation, the whole new world, intellectual and material, raised questions previously unknown, the answers to which could not be found in the Qurʾān or in the *sunna*. Men thus found themselves forced to take decisions or to regulate their conduct from their own opinion. The beginnings of this process were certainly not theoretical in character.

In the second half of the first century A.H. *fiḵḵ* began to develop at the same time as *ḥadīth*.

This parallelism gave rise to a rivalry between the "historical" and "rationalist" schools, the *ahl al-hadith* or *ahl al-ilm* and the *ahl al-ra'y* [q. v.]. The earliest founders of *madhhab*'s compiled their manuals of law, either by oral communication like Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 = 767) or in writing like Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 = 795) without much worrying about questions of general principle. Al-Shāfi'ī (150—204 = 767—820) was probably the first to give an outline of the "roots" (*uṣūl al-fikḥ*), of the value and function of the Qur'ān, *sunna*, *idjmā'* and *qiyās* in the theological and judicial system of Islām. "Qiyās" he says "is used in the cases which are not dealt with by the Qur'ān nor *sunna* nor *idjmā'*" (*Risāla*, p. 65). For him, "*qiyās* and *idjtihād* [q. v.] are two terms for the same idea" (*op. cit.*, p. 66). It might be added that there are other terms, more or less synonymous. We have already mentioned *ra'y*, a word which is often used as a synonym of *qiyās*, but which assumed the meaning of "pure reasoning", whereas *Qiyās* has always a more limited meaning is as much as it is applied to a particular method of reasoning, which otherwise ought to be applied to the other roots of *fikḥ* also. As more or less synonymous terms, we may mention *istiḥsān*, *istiṣāḥ* [q. v.], *mafhūm* (see below), *tamthīl* (see below).

The attitude defended by al-Shāfi'ī was not long in arousing fervent discussions. Among its opponents may be mentioned in the first place Dā'ūd al-Zāhirī [q. v.], who, although rejecting the employment of *qiyās*, approached the method of analogy when he relied on the *mafhūm* of the sacred texts.

Al-Bukhārī, himself a Shāfi'ī, included in his collection of traditions a chapter entitled "That one must adhere to the Qur'ān and to the Sunna". The *tardjama* of bāb 7 begins thus: "Traditions relative to the disapproval of *ra'y* and to the practice of *qiyās*". Equally significant is the *tardjama* to the ninth bāb: "How the Prophet taught his community what Allāh had taught him, without *ra'y* or *tamthīl*". This last term is explained by *qiyās* in the commentary of al-Kastallānī.

Al-Dārimī collected in his *Sunan* a number of traditions disapproving of the use of *ra'y* and *qiyās* in cases in which neither the Qur'ān nor *sunna* settle the problem (*Introduction*, bāb 16, 21). Among traditions we may mention that which traces the origin of the use of *qiyās* to Iblis (cf. Sūra vii. 11).

On the other side, the supporters of *qiyās* rely on the *ḥadīth* which tells how Muḥammad when he sent Mu'adh b. Djabal to the Yemen as qāḍī, asked him "How will you decide when a question arises"? He replied: "According to the Book of Allāh". — "And if you do not find the answer in the Book of Allāh?" — "Then according to the *sunna* of the Messenger of Allāh and if you do not find the answer neither in the *sunna* nor in the Book?" — "Then I shall come to a decision according to my own opinion (*adjtahidu ra'yi*) without hesitation". Then the Messenger of Allāh slapped Mu'adh on the chest with his hand saying: "Praise be to Allāh who has led the messenger of the Messenger of Allāh to an answer that pleased him" (Abū Dā'ūd, *Aḥḍiya*, b. 11; Tirmidhī, *Aḥkām*, b. 3; Dārimī, *Introduction*).

In spite of the opposition already mentioned, *qiyās* has found its place among the *uṣūl al-fikḥ*.

In some traditions (Nasā'ī, *Āḍāb al-Ḳuḍāt*, b. 11) there is mention not only of the Qur'ān and *sunna*, but also of the "usage of pious individuals" (*al-Ṣāliḥūn*) taking precedence of *qiyās* among the *uṣūl*. "The usage of pious individuals" has taken the place usually accorded to *idjmā'* [q. v.] which is the third "root", *qiyās* occupying the last place.

Although it is admitted, *qiyās* is nevertheless surrounded by restrictions. Here are some examples. The opponents of *qiyās* quote Sūra iv. 62 "and if there are differences of opinion between you and your chiefs, try to settle them, relying on Allāh and his Messenger". "Allāh and his Messenger", according to them, means Qur'ān and *Sunna*. The verse therefore passes over *qiyās* in silence. Baiḍāwī replies to this objection "Settling the differences by referring them to the texts is done by *tamthīl*" (see below) and by deduction" i. e. by *qiyās*.

This verse has given rise to a full exposition of the limitations of *qiyās* on the part of the commentator Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who lays down the rule that Qur'ān and *sunna* have precedence absolutely over *qiyās*. Only when it is impossible to use these "roots", the use of *qiyās* is permissible, cf. the tradition about Mu'adh (translated above) and the example of Iblīs, who argued instead of obeying the commandment of Allāh (see above). The text of the Qur'ān is established by *tawātur*, while *qiyās* is only *maẓnūn* and following one's *ẓann* (individual opinion) is what the *kuffār* do (cf. Sūra x. 67). If traditions require to be verified by the sacred text, *qiyās* does still more so. The Qur'ān is the word of Allāh, while *qiyās* is the work of the feeble intelligence of man.

See also the articles FIKH, SHAR'IA and UṢŪL.

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QIZ, in Turkish, "girl"; the word is common to most dialects (Radloff, *Opitt*, ii., col. 818); it is also found in the Orkhon inscriptions where *kiz-oghli* "daughter" is opposed to *uri-oghli* "son" (W. Thomsen, i. E., 7, p. 99).

Qiz-kulësi, the "maiden's tower", is the name given to an old tower now surmounted by a light-house, built on a rock at the entrance to the Bosphorus, between Scutari and Haider-pasha. Europeans wrongly call it "Leander's Tower", erroneously applying to it the legend of Hero and Leander, the scene of which is properly the

Straits of the Dardanelles. *Kiz-taṣhī* is the name given to Marcian's column at Constantinople, because this ancient monument was credited with the power of distinguishing virgins from others (Galland, *Journal*, ed. Schefer, ii. 125).

Kızlar Aghası, "the Aga of the maidens", a title borne among the Ottomans by the chief black eunuch, the negro supervisor of the Imperial Harem. His official title was *dār ül-se'adet al-sherife aghası*, "the Aga of the noble Gate of felicity". He was entitled to be called *devlet-lü 'ināyet-lü* and "Highness". In the *Sāl-nāme* he appeared at the head of the officials of the *Mā-bain*, with the rank of *mushīr* (marshal). (CL. HUART)

KIZIL AHMADLI. [See ISFANDIYĀR OGHLU.]

KIZIL ARSLĀN, ^{OTHMĀN} B. İLDEGİZ, an Atābeg of Ādharbāidjān. His father, the Atābeg İldegiz [q.v.], had been the real ruler in the whole Seldjūk empire. Kizil Arslān's mother was the widow of Sultān Toghrīl I and mother of Sultān Arslān b. Toghrīl [q.v.]. When İldegiz died in 568 (1172), he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Pahlawān; in 570 (1174—1175) the latter besieged Marāgha while Kizil Arslān advanced on Tabriz and when the lord of these two towns, the Kādi Ṣadr al-Dīn, entered into negotiations and declared his willingness to give up Tabriz, Muḥammad Pahlawān declared himself satisfied and gave the town over to his brother Kizil Arslān. In the beginning of 582 (1186), or according to another statement as early as Dhu 'l-Ḥijda 581 (Feb.—March. 1186), Muḥammad Pahlawān died and Kizil Arslān took over the government. Muḥammad Pahlawān had been on good terms with Sultān Toghrul II who had long before succeeded his father Arslān. But Toghrīl was treated almost like a prisoner by Kizil Arslān. When he fled from Hamadhān to Semnān, Kizil Arslān pursued him and overtook him near Dāmaghān but had to retire after a desperate battle. While the Sultān returned to Hamadhān, Kizil Arslān appealed to the Caliph al-Nāṣir who promised to help him and sent his vizier Djalāl al-Dīn 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yūnus against Toghrīl. 'Ubaid Allāh was however defeated in the beginning of Rabi' I, 584 (May 1188) and the Sultān threatened Ādharbāidjān. Kizil Arslān then again occupied Hamadhān and had Sindjar b. Sulaimān Shāh (or b. Malik Shāh) proclaimed Sultān, while his nephew Kutluḡ İnāndj b. Muḥammad Pahlawān rebelled in İsfahān. Kutluḡ was soon driven out by Toghrīl but when he was pursued and an encounter took place fortune did not favour Toghrīl and he had to return to Hamadhān which Kizil Arslān had in the meanwhile abandoned. The latter then suddenly appeared on the scene, captured Toghrīl and interned him in the fortress of Kahrān in Ādharbāidjān, and then by arrangement with the Caliph set aside his protégé Sindjar and assumed the title of Sultān himself. But in the night before his coronation, or according to another authority, some time after it, he was murdered. This took place in Shabān 587 (Aug.—Sept. 1191) or according to others in Shawwāl (Oct.—Nov.) of the same year; but see Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, *Acta orient.*, iii. 143. The murderer was never identified.

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i. 473, 475, 478; Defrémery, *Histoire des Seldjoudes* in *Journ. asiat.*, ser. 4, part xiii., p. 15 sqq.; Mirkhwānd, *Historia Seldschukidarum*, ed. Vullers, chap. 34; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 316, 341, 368 sq., 399.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KIZIL-BĀSH (T. "Red Head"), the name given by the Turks to the confederation of seven Turkoman tribes, Ustādjlu, Shāmlu, Tekelū, Bahārlu, Dhu 'l-Qadr, Qadjar and Afshār, who placed the *shaiḡhs* of Ardabil on the throne of Persia and helped Shāh Ismā'īl to found the dynasty of the Ṣafawids [q.v.]. The latter had given them as a head-dress the red turban worn by the disciples of his ancestors.

This name was taken by J. Morier for the title of one of his novels, *The Kuzulbash, a tale of Khurasan*, 3 vols., London 1828, the period of which is the reign of Nādir-Shāh.

The name of a religious sect found throughout Asia Minor and regarded as Shī'ī by the Muslims; it is closely connected with the Nuṣairis of Syria. Its adepts call themselves 'Alawī, i. e. followers of 'Alī. Some are Kurds; the others are for the most part Turks and only speak Turkish. Unlike the Muslims, they do not shave the head and let their beards grow freely; they do not observe the canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) or ablutions. They drink wine and do not observe Ramaḡān. They fast for the first twelve days of Muḥarram and lament the deaths of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. 'Alī is an incarnation of God who had already manifested himself in other incarnations, such as Jesus. God is one in three persons; below him are five archangels, intermediary between the divinity and man, twelve ministers and forty saints. They have a reverence for the Virgin Mary and recite litanies in her honour. They celebrate a service during the night. The priest who officiates sings prayers in honour of 'Alī, Jesus, Moses and David, accompanying himself on musical instruments. He holds in his hand a willow wand which he steeps in water; this consecrated water is then distributed among the houses. During the ceremony those present publicly confess their sins; the priest imposes penances, such as fines in money or kind. The lights are then extinguished (hence the Turkish expression *čerāḡh-söndürür*, "extinguisher of torches", by which they are popularly known) and they abandon themselves to lamentations and weeping for their sins. The lights are again lit; the priest pronounces the absolution (which may be refused, at least for a certain time); he takes pieces of bread and a cup of wine or similar liquid and after consecrating it steeps the bread in the wine and distributes it among those present. Those whose neighbours cannot report favourably upon them are excluded from it. Among the Kurds a sheep is also sacrificed and its flesh is distributed at the same time as the bread and wine.

They have a hierarchy at the head of which are two patriarchs regarded as descendants of 'Alī and invested with divine power; one of them is the Shaiḡh of Khubyār near Siwās, who lives in a *tekke* built in the wilds. He is recognised as Ṣūfī Shaiḡh by the government. Below him are bishops and at the bottom of the hierarchy, priests (*dede*), intermediaries between God and man. The Kizil-bāsh observe several Christian festivals, Easter, which falls on the same Sunday as that of the

Armenians, preceded by a week's fast, and that of St. Sergius celebrated on February 9th. They do not permit divorce. Like the Muslims they have a religious veneration for certain trees; they reverence the sun, moon and the sources of rivers. Their principal sanctuaries are the *tekke* of Khub-yār, those of Sewidjī, Pīr Sultān-li Yalindjak and Hādjdjī Bektāsh. Their religion seems to consist of survivals of pagan beliefs mixed with forms of Christianity covered by a cloak of Islām. They seem to number over a million (Kurds of Dersim, Malaṭya, Terdjān, Erzindjān, part of the wilāyets of Siwās and Bitlis, Turks of the wilāyets of Ma'mūret al-'Aziz, Siwās and Angora).

In Afghānistān, the name is given to immigrants of Turkoman stock who form with the Tadjik and Hindki the principal representatives of the bourgeois class; they came from Persia in the train of Nādir Shāh who settled them in Kābul and several other towns as garrisons. They keep themselves aloof from the rest of the population; at Kābul the court and government officials are recruited from them; at Herāt they are engaged in commerce and industry. They speak Persian, while using Turkish among themselves. Their number is put at 75,000.

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(CL. HUART)

KIZIL-IRMĀK (T. "Red River"), the ancient Halys ("Αλυξ"), Alys ("Αλυξ"), the largest river in Asia Minor. It rises in the mountains which separate the wilāyet of Siwās from that of Erzerūm, waters the towns of Zarra (4,530 feet high) and Siwās (4,160 feet high), then enters the province of Angora where it meets the mountain of Ardjish and the Kōdjā Dāgh range which force it to make an immense detour of over 160 miles. Its course is at first south-east, then it turns northwards, and finally it reaches the Black Sea below Bāfrā in the middle of marshes. It is nearly 600 miles long. Its waters of a dark yellow when they are in flood diminish enormously in the summer; its bed is wide and its banks high. Its principal tributaries on the right are the Khān-shūyu and the Delidje-Çai; those on the left are the Şarūmsāk-Çai which flows by Kaışariye, the Dewrek-Çai from Tosia, the Gök-Irmāk which comes from the İlghāz-Dāgh (the ancient Olgassus) and waters the town of Kaştāmūni [q. v.]. — According to Strabo (xii. 561), the river Halys ("Αλυξ") took its name from the mines of rocksalt, the produce of which was exported in the form of large blocks; these mines thirty miles to the north of Yūzghād near the village of Şarīl-Kāmish, are worked among the red sandstone, covered with clay and marl of a reddish colour; this soil washed down by the heavy rains gives the river a reddish colour, whence its name.

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotos (i. 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media. It seems to have been known to the Arabs by its ancient name, if it is that is referred to by the name *Ālis* in a verse of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie ar.*, iii., text, p. 45, transl. p. 109, gives by mistake "Aloos", an error reproduced by Defrémery, *Mémoires d'Histoire Orientale*, ii. p. 221).

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(CL. HUART)

KIZIL-KUM (T. "Red Sand"), a desert between the Sīr-Daryā and the Āmū-Daryā, cf. above, p. 741, **KARĀ-KUM**. The country is less uniform, especially in the central part, than in the **KARĀ-KUM**; the desert is crossed by several ranges of hills. The Kizil-Kum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Kīrlīghan ("where man perishes") between the Āmū-Daryā and the cultivated region of Bukhārā consisting of sandhills (*barkhān*) is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In the summer there is absolutely no life in the desert, in the winter a few springs are visited by the Kīrgīz (Kazak). In the middle ages also, we are told, a campaign could be conducted from Djend against Khwārizm i. e. through the Kizil-Kum in winter only when the desert was covered with snow (Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 858 sq.). As usual, the desert sands are encroaching on the cultivated lands as a result of the nomad life of the inhabitants and the resulting destruction of the scanty supply of wood. In the second half of the xixth century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafshān have become buried in sand.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

KIZIL-ÜZEN (in Turkish *āzeri*, "Red River"), the ancient Amardus, a river which flows through Ādh ar bāidjān and enters the Caspian Sea, forty miles east of Enzeli, after having received the Persian name of Sefīd-Rūd, "White River", at its junction with the river Shāh-Rūd at Mendjil. Its source lies in the province of Ārdilān, and it begins by crossing Irāk-'adjamī to the north; its right bank tributary is the Zendjān, on the left it receives the Karā-göl at Miyāne, then it runs along the southern slopes of Elburz, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crosses this range through the defile of Rūdbar and the narrow valley of Rustam-ābād, a kind of couloir through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. It was known to the Arabs as Nahr al-Abyad "White River" (transl. of the Persian *Sefīd-Rūa*); cf. Dimashḳī, *Cosmography*, transl. Mehren, p. 145; at one time the Turks called it the Hülān (Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 304).

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, p. 479, N^o. 2; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i. 75 sqq.; Rawlinson, *J. G. R. S.*, x. 64; Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 98; H. L. Rabino, in *R. M. M.*, xxxii., 1915—1916, p. 262—263; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 169; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 1915, p. 217; M. de Kotzebue, *Voyage en Perse*, Fr. transl., Paris 1819, p. 186 (view of the bridge of Kaplān-tāgh as frontispiece); Fr. Sarre, *Reise von Ardebil nach Zendschan* (Petersmann's Mitteilungen, xlv., 1899, p. 215—217).

(CL. HUART)

KOÇ HIŞĀR, the name of several places in Asia Minor. The meaning — if it is not

simply a corruption of *Koçja Hişar* — is "castle of the ram" and it may be compared with proper names like *Koyun Hişar*, *Toklu Hişar*, *Keçi Hişar*.

1. *KOÇ HIŞAR* in the sandjak of Kanhri is a little town on the Dewrek Cai, twenty-five miles north of the town of Kanhri. It is on the high road from Constantinople to Boli, Amasia and Erzerüm, between *Karadja Wiran* and *Toşia*. According to *Ewliya Çelebi*, this *Koç Hişar* was captured by *‘Othmān* in 708 (1308) and completely ruined, but this statement is not confirmed by any of the old Turkish chronicles. The country of *Kaştamūni* must at this time have still been under the dynasty of *İsfendiyār-Oghlū*. In the xviiith century there was a fort outside the town.

Bibliography: *Hādjdji Khalifa, Djihān-numā*, p. 646, 673; *Ewliya Çelebi, Siyahet-nāme*, ii. 178; iii. 251; *Sāmī, Kāmūs al-A‘lām*, v. 37, 16; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii. 406; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924, i., plate 26.

2. *KOÇ HIŞAR*, a little town, the capital of a *kaşa* in the sandjak of *Konya* ninety miles north-east of *Konya* and 115 miles east of *Kaışariya* on the eastern shore of the great salt lake called *Tuz Gölü* in the central plateau of Asia Minor. The town surrounded by gardens and vineyards is an oasis in the great steppe; it lies on the unfrequented road from Angora to *Ağ-saray*. A little is done in weaving kelims and *sadjdādas* there; the *kaşa* used to be called *Esbkeshān*.

Bibliography: *Hādjdji Khalifa, Djihān-numā*, p. 620; *Ewliya Çelebi*, iii. 194; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii. 63, 970; *Sāmī, Kāmūs al-A‘lām*, v. 3715; i. 755.

3. *KOÇ HIŞAR*, a little town, capital of a *kaşa* on the right bank of the *Kızıl İrmāk* [q. v.], 20 miles north-east of *Siwās* on the road from *Siwās* to *Zārā* and *Erzerüm*. The ruins of an ancient encircling wall still exist and in the neighbourhood are many artificial caves, dating from a very remote epoch.

Bibliography: *Hādjdji Khalifa, Djihān-numā*, p. 627; Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii., plate 36; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 695.

4. *KOÇ HIŞAR*, a village ten miles south of *Mārdin*, famous for the battle fought in 1515 between the Turkish General *Bīyūklī Muḥammad Pasha* and the Persians under *Kara Khān* (cf. *SELİM I*). The earliest Turkish historians do not mention the place in connection with the battle. *Munedjdjim Bashī*, iii. 460, calls the scene of it *Eski Koç Hişar*.

Bibliography: *Sāmī, Kāmūs al-A‘lām*, v. 3716; von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reich.*, ii. 433. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KOÇI BEG, also called *Gurūdjalī Kodja Muştafa Beg*, the historian of the decline of the Ottoman empire.

Koçi Beg belonged to *Gorča* (*Korytza*) in Macedonia (Greece, cf. H. Gelzer, *Vom. Hl. Berg und aus Makedonien*, [Leipzig 1904], 201 sqq.) and was therefore probably of Albanian descent. Other statements, which as a rule make him a native of *Gümüldjina* are wrong. He came when still young to Constantinople, was brought up in the *Serai* and in the service of the Sultāns *Aḥmed I* to *Murād IV*. He was in particular favour with the latter, whose trusted adviser he became. In this capacity he wrote for his sovereign the famous

treatise, *Risāle-i Koçi Beg*, in which with ruthless frankness he exposed the causes of the decline of the Ottoman empire. He finds the main reason for increasing decay in the neglect of and breaches of the old principles of the constitution. *Koçi Beg*, the Montesquieu of the Ottomans, gave an excellent political and statistical exposition of the decline of Turkey as a world power in his memoir, which clearly reveals all the disorders that had entered the body politic from *Murād III* to *Murād IV*. The document composed in 1040 (1630) did not receive special attention till a later period. It has been several times printed, first edition *Stambul* 1277 = 1860 (cf. *J. A.*, 1863, ii. 231, N^o 134), and without place (London), edited by *Aḥmed Wefik Pasha* 1279, 8°, 32 pp. and *Stambul*, 1303, 8°, 124 pp. — W. F. A. Behrner published a German translation in *Z.D.M.G.*, xv., 1861, 272 sqq. (cf. also *Z.D.M.G.*, xi. 111, and xvi. 271) and J. Thury a briefly Hungarian one in *Török történetirok*, vol. ii., 1896, p. 406 sqq., Budapest, 1896. The book entitled *Canon de Sultan Suleiman II, représenté à Sultan Mourad IV pour son instruction, traduit du turc en françois par M* [= *Pétis de la Croix*], Paris 1725, 12°, is said to contain a French translation. A Russian translation with Turkish text was given by *Vassilij Dmitrievič Smirnov* in *Kotschybeg Gümüldzinskij (!) i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII. veka*, St. Petersburg 1873. *Koçi Beg* according to the *Sidjill-i ‘othmāni*, iv. 63 presumably following *Na‘īmā*, composed for Sultan *Ibrāhīm* (1640/1648) a further treatise, *Risāle*, probably of a similar nature. He was the teacher of the great Ottoman historian *Na‘īmā* [q. v.]; he died at the beginning of the reign of Sultān *Mehmed IV* (1648/1687) and is said to be buried in his native town. His brother *Khurrem Beg* is said to have fled to Russia and to have become a Christian there.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ‘othmāni*, iv. 63; J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. 334, sqq., v. 291 (with a good, succinct summary of the contents of the *Risāle-i Koçi Beg*); Behrner in *Z.D.M.G.*, loc. cit.; *Brusali Mehmed Tāhir, ‘Othmānī Mülflileri*, iii. 119 sq. (with interesting notes on the family); *Pertsch, Berl. Türk. Hss.*, 244 sq. N^o. 215; *Flügel, Wiener Kat.*, ii. 255, N^o. 1045. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KODJA ILI, the name of a sandjak in the old territorial division of the Ottoman empire. This sandjak covered the north-west part of *Bi-thynia*, including the whole of the shore of the Gulf of *Nicomedia*. In the north it was bounded by the Black Sea, in the east by the *Bosphorus* and the Gulf of *Nicomedia*, in the south by the sandjak of *Brusa* and in the east by that of *Boli*; on this side the *Sakaria* forms the natural boundary but in the administrative division the eastern bank of this river was included in the sandjak. The name *Kodja Ili* is connected with *Akçe Kodja*, the famous *ghāzī* and companion-in-arms of *‘Othmān*. In the last years of the latter's reign, *Akçe Kodja* and his companions such as *Kara Mursal* had made *ghasā* into this territory and thus paved the way for the conquest of *Iznikmid* and other towns by *Orkhān* after his accession. When the town of *Iznikmid* fell into the hands of the Turks (c. 730 = 1329: the date is uncertain cf. *IZMID*), *Akçe Kodja* was already dead but *Kodja Ili* was given as a fief to his comrades-in-arms who had to defend the territory from the Greeks. *Sulaimān*

Pasha, son of Orkhān, was given the sandjak of the newly acquired territory. The descendants of these feudal frontier-guards were still to be found at a later period in the country.

In the xviiith century Kodja Ili, along with Bigha, formed part of the *eyālet* of the Kapudan Pasha and the west bank of the Bosphorus was under the direct administration of Constantinople. In the centuries following, Kodja Ili was incorporated in the *eyālet* of Khudāwandigār. After 1867 the old name was abandoned for that of the capital Izmid and in 1888 this territory became an independent *mutesarriflik* directly under the Minister of the Interior. A large area along the eastern shore of the Bosphorus was at this time included in the *wilāyet* of Constantinople. This *mutesarriflik* had five *kazā* (Izmid, Kara Mursal, Ada Bazar, Kāndere, Geiwe). Hādjidji Khalifa enumerates 19 of them.

Bibliography: *‘Ashīk Pasha Zāde, Ta’rikh*, p. 39; *Tawārikh-i Āli-‘Othmān*, ed. Giese, p. 13, 14; *Die früh-osmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 16, 89; Sa’d al-Din, *Tādī al-Tawārikh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 34; Hādjidji Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 661, 662; Sāmi, *Kānūs al-‘Alām*, v. 3714; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d’Asie*, Paris 1894, iv., p. 303 sqq., 371. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KÖH (P.), mountain; cf. the following compounds.

KÖH-I BĀBĀ, KÖH-I BUBUK, KÖH-I MĀLIK SIYĀH, KÖH-I SAFID, KÖH-I SIYĀH, KÖH-I TĀFTĀN. The dominant mountain system of Afghānistān is the Hindū-Kush, and the huge extension westwards which consists of the Kōh-i Bābā to the west of Kābul and of the double range divided and drained by the Harī Rūd River flowing due west towards and past Herāt. The southern component of this double range is the Kōh-i Safid; the northern chain is called successively from east to west the Paropamisus, the Kōh-i Bubuk, and the Kōh-i Siyāh. The Safid Kōh is also the name of the important range which divides the valley of Djalālābād on the Kābul River from the Kurram Valley and the Afridī Tirāh. The altitude of its highest peak Sikārām is 15,600 feet.

Koh-i Tāftān is the name given to the system of parallel ranges on the Persian side of the western border of Balūčistān; they attain an extreme height of 13,500 feet and extend north-westwards into the Kōh-i Mālik Siyāh, lying to the west of the Sistān basin.

The culminating peaks of the Kōh-i Bābā overlook the sources of the principal rivers of Afghānistān — the Harī Rūd, Helmand and the Kābul River — and nearly reach 17,000 feet (height of Shāh Fulādī: 16,870 feet). This range is a part of the continental divide of Asia, high, rugged, desolate, and almost pathless. Sir Thomas Holdich in *The Gates of India* describes it as a rolling, barren tableland, wrinkled and intersected by narrow mountain ranges whose peaks run to 13,000 and 14,000 feet in altitude. The winter is long and severe and the range is then impassable; the sparse Mongol population live a life of hard privation. The Harī Rūd flows due west to Herāt through a deep, narrow trench bounded north and south by the straight flat-backed ranges already named. These chains gradually decrease in elevation till they run out into the Persian plains towards Mashhad.

The central Afghān highlands are practically unexplored.

Bibliography: See s.v. AFGHĀNISTĀN.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KÖH-I-NŪR, a diamond, now weighing 106¹/₁₆ carats, but originally much larger; the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs; but about 1656 it was presented by Mir Djumla [q.v.] to the Mughal emperor, Shāh Djahān, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzēb; in 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nādir Shāh’s grandson, Shāh Rukh, gave it in 1751 to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, whose grandson, Shāh Shudjā’, when in exile in Lāhōr in 1813, had to surrender it to Mahārājā Randjit Singh. On his death-bed in 1839, Randjit Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Djagannāth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lāhōr until the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria.

Bibliography: E. W. Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, chap. xi., London 1882; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. by V. Ball, Appendix i., London 1889; N. S. Maskelyne, *The Koh-i-Nur* (*Nature*, vol. xlv., 555 sq.), London 1891.

(T. W. ARNOLD)

KÖHĀT, the central district of the North-West Frontier Province of British India, lying between Peshāwar and Bannū, with the river Indus as its eastern boundary. The district is a broken hilly tract and the area is 2,694 square miles. As a whole it lies at an elevation of about 2,000 feet; the rainfall is very capricious, the average annual fall at the town of Kōhāt, the administrative headquarters, being 18.6 inches. There are three *taḥsīls*, Kōhāt, Teri and Hangū. The tract is divided between the Bangash and Khatāk branches of the Pathān race, the Bangash occupying the Mirānzai valley and the western portion of the district, while the Khatāks are found on the eastern side down to the Indus. The total population at the 1921 census was 214,123, and the language commonly spoken is Pashto. The only town is Kōhāt; the district contains the military outposts of Thal and Fort Lockhart. A large and increasing trade with Tirāh and Kābul passes through by the Khushhālgarh-Kōhāt-Thal railway; imports and exports, apart from this through-traffic, are small, with the exception of salt which is the chief export. The thickness of the rock-salt at Bahādur Khel exceeds one thousand feet, perhaps the greatest amount of exposed salt in the world.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India. Provincial Series. North-West Frontier Province*, Calcutta 1908, p. 167 sqq.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KOHRUD, arabicised form of *Kōh-rūd*, “river of the mountain”, a village seventy-five miles from Isfahān on the road from Kāshān [q.v.] in a valley in the midst of trees and orchards. The col which separates the two slopes of the mountain is here; Oliver St. John in 1871 from this applied the name to the chain of mountains which separates Irāk-‘Adjamī from Fārs and stretches into Balūčistān (chief peaks: Shīr-kūh

south of Yazd c. 12,000 feet high and Hazār-kūh south of Kirmān c. 13,500 feet high).

Bibliography: de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, p. 235; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, xxiii., p. 67, 184; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 209. (CL. HUART)

KĪŌI. [See KĪŪY.]

KÖKBÜRI, ABŪ SA'ID MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN B. 'ALĪ B. BEGTĒGĪN, lord of Irbil, the most celebrated of the Begtēginids. Kökbūri was born in Muḥarram 549 (April 1154) and was 14 when his father died. Although he was older than his brother Yūsuf, the Atābeg Muḥjahid al-Dīn Ḳaimaz succeeded in obtaining the succession of the latter to the throne under his guardianship, whereupon Kökbūri left Irbil and went first to Baghdād and then to al-Mawṣil. Here he was welcomed by the Zangid Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Mawdūd, who took him into his service. Later Saif al-Dīn, or according to another statement, his brother and successor 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd granted him the town of Ḥarrān as a fief. As a faithful follower of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn he received from him Edessa in 578 (1182/1183) and later also Sumaisāt. In 582 (1185) he was imprisoned by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on an old charge but soon released again because the latter feared that the people of Mesopotamia would desert him, if he dealt too harshly with Kökbūri. After Yūsuf's death in 586 (Oct. 1190) Kökbūri received Irbil and Ṣhahrazūr in exchange for his former possessions, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave to his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn 'Omar. As Kökbūri left no family he willed his lands to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mustansīr. He died in Ramaḍān 630 (June 1233). See also the articles BEGTĒGĪNIDS and IRBIL.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳhallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 558, transl. by de Slane, ii. 535; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. al-Kāmil, ed. Tornberg, xi., xii., passim; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 387, 390, 399, 438, 449, 468; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 165.

(K. V. ZETTERSTĒEN)

KOKČA. [See BADAḲHSHĀN, i. 552b].

KŌMIS, a province in Persia, the *Κομισσηνὴ* of the ancients (Polybius, *Excerpta*, x. 25) between 'Irāk-'Adjamī, Khorāsān and Ṭabaristān; capital Dāmaghān; other towns Bisṭām and Biyār; the canton of Semnān is sometimes included in it. Through it passes the trade-route between Raiy (and now Ṭeherān) and Khorāsān. Muḳaddasī (p. 353) places it in the Dailam country. Industry flourished there; *kisā'* were made there, woollen blankets used both as cloaks and for beds (Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements*, p. 383) which were exported abroad, cotton handkerchiefs with embroidered designs, small and large, single or double (*sawādihidj*, *muḥashshāt*), sometimes of the value of 2,000 dirhams; muslins for hanging down on the shoulders from turbans (*tailasān*) and fine woollen robes (Muḳaddasī, p. 367). In the time of the Seleucids and Arsacids it formed one of the six divisions into which the ancient satrapy of Parthiene was divided; it included the old capital of the Parthians, Hecatompyle, identified with Dāmaghān; it was the property of the family of Mīhrān.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 203 (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.*

de la Perse, p. 464); Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie*, transl. Reinaud and de Slane, *B. G. A.*, i. p. 432; Iṣṭakhri, p. 206, 210; Ibn-Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 271; Mehren, *Cosmography*, p. 250 (Qoumish); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 364 sqq.; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 71. (CL. HUART)

ḲONAK, a Turkish word (derived from *kon*, "to settle, to establish oneself", reflexive from *ko*, "to place"), meant at first a hostelry (Meninski), a caravanserai and then by extension of meaning a relay, a stage, the distance at the end of which one stops to spend the night; later it acquired the sense of large house, hotel, palace; the term is commonly applied to the mansion of the governor of a province, or the place where the administrative offices are installed (in Eastern Arabic, *sarāya*, from the Pers. *serāy*). (CL. HUART)

KONG, the word Kong is a corruption of *Kpon*, the native name for a place in the north of the present French colony of the Ivory Coast, near the watershed between the basin of the Comoe and that of the Nzi, a tributary of the Bandama.

The town was founded at a comparatively early date by some Senufo of the tribe called Falafala, who still retain rights over the soil but except for this privilege are now of very little importance. These Senufo were and have remained pagans.

From the xvth or xvth century onwards a number of Muslims who claim to be of Sarakolle origin, known by the name of Dyula, which they say is their real name, and speaking a dialect of the Mandingo language, settled in small groups in the region of Kong where they devoted themselves mainly to commerce. According to their traditions they came from Māsina and had founded several settlements on their way, notably one where now stands the town of Boko-Dyulaso. At first these Dyula had no political influence in the country. Favourably received by the native Senufo to whom they brought an element of prosperity by their experience of the world and commercial aptitude, they gradually acquired an undisputed influence.

Towards the end of the xviiith century a chief of one of their factions called Sēku Watara seized by force the village of Kpon or Kong and made it the capital of a state which was not long in incorporating all the country between Bobo-Dyulaso in the north and the outskirts of the dense forest in the south, but did not go beyond the Comoe in the east or the Bandama in the west. The different provinces of the kingdom were governed through Dyula chiefs the majority of whom resided at Kong beside the sovereign, while others lived among the Senufo tribes who had become their vassals.

The kingdom of Kong does not seem to have played any considerable military part beyond its territorial limits, the Dyula being in general little warlike in disposition. But its influence was great both at home and abroad, not only from the political point of view but also as regards the development of civilisation. The old village of the Falafala had been transformed by Sēku Watara and his successors into a regular town, which had about 15,000 inhabitants when it was visited in 1888 by the explorer Binger. It was at once an important commercial centre and a focus of Muslim culture, the influence of which was felt in the

neighbouring provinces, especially in the south in the districts of Gimini and Dyammala. Alongside the wretched huts of the Senufo the Dyula had built houses with pylons and terraces in the style called Sudanese, resembling those of Dyenne and Timbuktu, and five mosques with double pyramidal minarets dominated the different quarters of the town. The number of literates, able to read intelligently and write Arabic correctly was relatively high. A well supplied market attracted to the town people from outside it and weaving, dyeing, and basket-making were busy industries.

The fame of Kong was wide spread in the Nigerian Sudan. Mungo Park heard of it on his first voyage in Africa revealed its existence and name to Europe and at the same time, relying on inaccurate information, gave currency to the idea of an important chain of mountains called mountains of Kong, alleged to lie near this town. In reality, the range of which he had heard is over 200 miles to the south-west of Kong and forms the extremity of the eastern branch of the massif of Fûta-Djallon.

The first European to reach Kong and bring back an accurate report on the region was the French explorer Binger. Coming from Ramako, he reached Kong on February 20, 1888 and stayed there till March 11. In December of the same year Treich-Laplène, resident de France aux Établissements de la Côte d'Or (now Colonie de Côte d'Ivoire) arrived in Kong, coming from the south via Bonduku and persuaded the king Karamoko-Ule Watara and his dignitaries to accept an agreement placing the State of Kong under a French protectorate. This treaty was signed on January 10, 1889 in the presence of M. Binger who had rejoined Treich-Laplène at Kong five days before. M. Binger at the head of a mission, which included three other Frenchmen, again visited Kong in 1892.

Two years later Captain Marchand went there and learned that the town was threatened by the conquering Samori. The latter, at war with the French, had informed the king and the notables of Kong that they had to submit to him. Karamoko-Ule had replied to this ultimatum with soft words and the despatch of a kind of tribute. Nevertheless he desired to remain faithful to the treaty concluded with France and he begged Captain Marchand to get the French government to send troops to protect his kingdom from Samori. This is how it came about that an expedition called the Kong column was concentrated at Great Bassam in August 1894 and sent under Lt. Col. Monteil from the Ivory Coast. Its advance was hampered by the hostility of the tribes of Baulé, a land south of Kong. Encountering Samori's army in March 1895, with his effectives much reduced, Lt.-Col. Monteil was obliged to retire without inflicting a decisive defeat on the enemy or being able to advance as far as Kong.

Once freed from the French offensive, Samori wished to punish Kong for having provoked it and decided on the gradual and systematic destruction of the town. The king, the notables and the greater part of the population fled to Bobo-Dyulaso, the remainder were massacred or reduced to slavery. The mosques were razed to the ground, the houses pillaged and set on fire and in 1896 there were only a few ruins left of the once great and wealthy town. The kingdom of which it had been the capital, broken up and dismembered, was annexed by Samori who had

made his capital at Dabakala in the province or Gimini, SS. E. of Kong.

In January 1898 a detachment of French troops coming from the north occupied the site of the town and built a station there. This was besieged a little later by bands of Samori's soldiers and relieved at the end of February by Commandant Caudrelier. It was then that Samori left the district to take refuge on the Bandama and later fled to the south-west. He was taken prisoner soon afterwards on September 29, 1898 near the Liberian frontier by Captains Gouraud and Gaden.

Once peace was restored to the country, the French authorities endeavoured to bring back the people of Kong to their town and to make them rebuild their houses. Karamoko-Ule had died in the meanwhile. His successor agreed to return to Kong with several Dyula families and there gradually arose on the ruins of the ancient town, beside the French station, new houses some in the Sudanese style like the old ones, others of humbler style, simple huts with thatched roofs. A market was built and a mosque. But the majority of the survivors of the old population of Kong preferred to remain at Bobo-Dyulaso or in its vicinity and although it is slowly growing, the new town or Kong had only 3,000 inhabitants in 1925. The ancient kingdom however has been gradually restored and is administered as before under the suzerainty of a prince of the Watara family through Dyula chiefs, called chiefs of districts. But it is under the authority of the French administrator; the suzerainty of the prince is only nominal and the native Senufo tribes actually enjoy an independence such as they never had under the old regime.

Bibliography: Cap. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*, Paris 1892, Chap. vi. and xiii. and end of appendix v.; M. Monnier, *France Noire*, Paris 1894, Chap. ix., x. and xi.; A. Mévil, *Samory*, Paris n.d. [1899], Chap. viii. and x.; Salvan, *Cercle de Dabakala*, p. 423—467 of *La Côte d'Ivoire*, publication of the Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Paris 1906. (MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

KONYA (the ancient Iconium), a town in Asia Minor on the railway from Baghdad, the capital of the province of the same name, in a barren plain. It is 5,000 feet above sea level; of its 44,000 inhabitants, 39,300 are Muslims, 1,500 Greeks, 3,000 Armenians, 50 Protestants, 150 Catholics. The streets are broad and unpaved. The houses are built of terre pisée, except public and special buildings, 44 mosques, 147 masjids, 5 libraries, 42 medreses, the Greek church, the Armenian church, 68 schools, 7 caravanserais and 8 baths; the exports are wheat, barley, maize, cotton and Angora wool; saltpetre and tobacco (manufactures of the state). It was formerly the capital of the Seldjûks of Rûm of whom monuments still survive. It was girt with walls by 'Alâ' al-Din Kai-Kubâd I and the stones of these walls have been used in the erection of modern buildings. Texier and von Moltke were still able to record that 108 towers of the walls were still standing. Ruins still exist of the palace of the Seldjûks and of the citadel (610 = 1213/1214). The mosque of 'Alâ' al-Din begun by 'Izz al-Din Kai-kâ'us I in 616 (1219-1220) and finished in 617 (1220-1221) by an architect of Damascus, Muḥammad b.

Khawlān; in front of it is the tomb of **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kai-Khusraw I** built by the architect **Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār** and containing a *minbar* in black wood adorned with arabesques, the work of an artist from **Akhlat**, made in (550/1155). The college of **Qaratāi** is adorned with faience (649-1251/1252); the medrese called *Indje minareli*, "with the slender minaret", has been recently destroyed by an earthquake; mausoleums of **Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn** (d. 673 = 1274), of **Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī** surnamed **Şāhib 'Atā'** (d. in 684 = 1285) who was minister of **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kai-Khusraw III**, and of **Shams al-Dīn Tabrizi**. We may also mention the *Syrān-lī medrese* "college of glass" of 640 (1242/1243) and some monuments of the time of the **Karamān** dynasty. The tomb of **Ḍjalāl al-Dīn Rūmī** [q. v.] and of all his successors, the grandmasters of the **Mawlawiya** order, down to the present day is surmounted by a cupola in the form of a pyramid in eight tiers covered with tiles in blue enamel. A few remains of the Roman period are collected in the *bezestān* or "cloth market", and lions called **Phrygian** but probably **Hittite**.

The Emperor **Frederick Barbarossa** spent a week there in the reign of **Kılıç Arslān II** (May 18-26, 1190) a fortnight before he perished in the waters of the **Calycadnus**. It was the scene of a victory of **Ibrāhīm Pasha**, son of **Muhammad 'Alī**, over the **Ottomans** (December 21, 1832). A kind of apricots called *hamar al-dīn* is grown there of which a tart called by the same name is made, as at **Damascus**; a kind of blue flower called *bāgh üzayı*, "flower of the vineyard", is used to dye cloth blue. Lime water is obtained from the springs at **Merām** one hour's journey to the west (gardens and promenades at the foot of the mountains), which improves by being matured in jars.

Bibliography: **Yāqūt**, *Mu'djam*, ed. **Wüstenfeld**, iv., 204; **Hādjdjī Khalifa** *Djihānnumā*, p. 615; 'Alī **Djāwād**, *Djoghrafiyā Lughātī*, p. 643; **Sāmī Bey**, *Kāmūs al-a'lām*, v. 3781; **Ibn Baṭṭūta**, *Rihla*, II, 281; **Texier**, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, p. 661; **V. Cuinet**, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 818; **Cl. Huart**, *Konia, la ville des derviches voyageurs*, Paris 1897, p. 132 sqq., 158, 169, 183 (drawings and photographs); **Fr. Sarre**, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, p. 28 sqq. and Pl. xvi.—xxx. (photographs). (CL. HUART)

KOPAK, a Persian and **Transoxiana** coin. *Kopaki dinārs* are mentioned in the *Sharafnāma* (the life of **Timūr**), and **Bābur** (*Memoirs*, *G. M. S.*, p. 185) speaks of 300 *tomān* *Kopaki* (see also **P. de Courteille's** transl. i. 420). **P. de la Cive**, as quoted by **Quatremère** (*N. E.*, xiv. 74, n.) says that *dinārs* *copghies* are gold ducats worth 7.10 French money. See also **Tavernier**, *Hobson-Jobson*, and **Murray's English Dict.**, s. v. **Copeck**. Though the **Transoxiana** and **Persian** *Kopak* was a gold coin, the word may still be etymologically identical with the **Russian** *Copeck*, just as *dinār* and *denarius* degenerated from being gold and became silver coins.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KÖPRÜ (in Turkish "bridge"; East. Turk. *Köp-prük*) also called **Vezir-Köprü**, "the vizier's bridge" (from the famous grandvizier **Köprülü Muḥammad Pashā**, of **Albanian** origin; see below **KÖPRÜLÜ**), capital of a *kaḏā* in the *sandjak* of **Amasia** in the province of **Siwās** on the river **Astawoluz**, a tributary on the right of the **Kızıl-Irmāk**; it has 8,600 inhabitants,

mainly **Muslims**, 17 mosques, 2 libraries, one of which is a *waḳf* founded by **Köprülü-zāde Fāḍil-pashā**, 6 medreses, numerous charitable buildings erected by **Köprülü Muḥammad Pashā**, 6 caravanserais, five baths, and three dervish monasteries. The houses are covered with red tiles and the chimney tops have a metal cap like the minarets of Turkish mosques. It contains the palace of **al-Hādjdj Yūsuf-aghā** and in the citadel, the mosque of the same; monasteries of the **Qādiriya** and **and Khalwatiya** dervishes; eleven caravanserais, two *imārets* (poor kitchens) and eight schools. The best baths are those of **Aḥmad Pashā**. The **Bezestan** (central market) was built by **Yūsuf-aghā**. The ports of the town are **Bafra** and **Sinope** on the **Black Sea**; a road suitable for vehicular traffic connects it with **Şamsūn**.

Köprü-şuya is the name of a river which rises in the **Tawshān-Dāgh** and flows into the **Kızıl-Irmāk** [q. v.] near **Vezir-Köprü**. It is also the name borne by the ancient **Eurymedon** which flows into the **Mediterranean** sea in the **Gulf of Adalia**; at its mouth is the little town of **Köprü-bāzār**.

Bibliography: 'Alī **Djāwād**, *Djoghrafiyā Lughātī*, p. 687; **Sāmī Bey**, *Kāmūs al-a'lām*, v. 3905; **Ewliyā Efendi**, *Travels*, transl. v. Hammer, ii. 217. (CL. HUART)

KÖPRÜ HİŞAR, "fortress of the bridge", a village in the province of **Khudāwandiğār** in **Asia Minor** on the **Çürük-şū** near **Yeni-Şehir**. It was the site of a **Byzantine** castle taken by **Sultān 'Othmān** in 688 (1289) after the capture of **Biledjik** where he slew his uncle **Dündār** by shooting him with an arrow.

Bibliography: **Sāmī Bey**, *Kāmūs al-a'lām*, v. 3906; **J. de Hammer**, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, transl. **Fr. de Hellert**, i. 87-89; **Cl. Huart**, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, p. 18 (view of the bridge).

(CL. HUART)

KÖPRÜLÜ, a family of **Ottoman viziers**. This celebrated family which provided the **Ottoman** empire with its most prominent statesmen at the period of its commencement of decline, was probably of **Albanian** origin. In his *Mémoires, contenant diverses relations très curieuses de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris 1684), **Sieur de la Croix** says the founder of the family was the son of a **Greek** or **Arab** priest, a statement adopted by **L. von Ranke**. It is more probable that the ancestor of the family was an **Albanian** who migrated in the xvth century from his native district to the town of **Köprü Merzifün** in **Anatolia**. **Köprü**, now usually called **Vezir Köprü**, was at this time an important settlement, which had a long history (cf. **Hādjdjī Khalifa**, *Djihānnumā*, 625, 4 infra and 628, 9 where *Kede ghara* [= *Qara kede* in **J. von Hammer**, *G. O. R.*, vi. 3] is given as the old name and also **Ewliyā**, *Seyāhetnāme*, ii. 399), and only began to lose its importance at a later date (cf. **M. Kinneir**, *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1818, p. 298). Near it lies **Taş köprü** which gave their name to the famous family of scholars, the **Taş köprüzāde**. To distinguish it from the latter **Köprü** was later renamed **Vezir Köprü** in honour of the **Köprülü** family. Here **Mehmed Köprülü**, the grandson of this **Albanian** immigrant, was born, the first to make the family name famous and widely known. The number of important men who came from this family is not small. A certain **Bahdjatī Ḥusain** (of **Raḏgrad**, d. 1094 [1683] at

Belgrade) composed a *Ta'rikh-i Sülāle-i Köprülü*, a history of this family, the original manuscript of which is in the Köprülü Library in Stambul (N^o. 212). It contains details of the ancestry of the Köprülüs. Among the most important members of the family are the following:

1. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, grandvizier of Turkey, or better, administrator of the Empire, born it is said in 991 (1583), died November 1, 1661 at Adrianople. In his youth he was a humble scullion and then cook in the Imperial palace; entering the service of the grandvizier Khosraw Pasha, he became his purse-bearer and then rose to be chief marshall in the service of the grandvizier Kara Mustafa Pasha [q.v.], a native of Merzifun. He then rose steadily up the ladder of the higher offices of state. As a pasha of two tails (*tugh*) he was appointed governor of Damascus, Jerusalem and Tripolis and in 1061 (1651) became vizier of the cupola. Soon afterwards however he was granted the unimportant *sandjak* of Küstendil and retired in chagrin to his native town. After a brief imprisonment at the hands of the rebel Wārdār 'Alī Pasha against whom he had taken the field, he was liberated by the grandvizier Ipsir Pasha and appointed by him governor of Tripolis. Before he had entered upon the duties of the office he was deprived of it and retired again to Köprü. Then the grandvizier Mehmed Pasha, "with the crooked neck" (*egri boyunu*) took him to Stambul where he was soon to become his most dangerous rival. By Dhu 'l-Hijja 3, 1066 (September 22, 1656) he had received the seal of the empire. He attacked religious zealots with great energy (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 5 sq.), had the ringleaders in previous risings executed without mercy and purified public life. In reorganising the shattered finances of the State, he was incorruptible and inexorable and in doing this made many enemies. He renewed the courage and lowered national feeling of the Ottoman people and endeavoured to revive the ancient glory of the Ottoman arms by a war with the Venetians. He fought in the Dardanelles in 1067 (1657) with Admiral L. Mocenigo, a battle which ended in the loss of the Ottoman fleet and the capture of the Venetian flagship. Mehmed Pasha endeavoured to compensate for this by the conquest of Tenedos and Lemnos; and in the following year 1068 (1657) Transylvania was conquered. He next turned his attention to Persia where he occupied the town of Yanowa, then suppressed threatening risings in Northern Syria and in Egypt, built the new fortresses on the Dardanelles (cf. the article KAL'AI SULTĀNĪA) and planned fortifications for the frontiers generally (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 86 sq.). He succeeded in considerably enriching the state treasury. Before his death on 7th Rabi' I, 1072 (October 31, 1661) he recommended on his death-bed to the Sultān his 26 year old son Aḥmad as his successor in the grandvizierate. He was interred behind the School of Tradition beside the burned pillar.

A brother-in-law of Mehmed Pasha was Kiblelī-zāde Mustafa Pasha (died 1074 = 1663; cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 397), whose son the chief marshall Kiblelī-zāde 'Alī Bey was executed in 1114 (1702) (cf. Rāshid, *Ta'rikh*, i. 261, and J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 49). From them was descended the literary historian Köprülü-zāde

Mehmed Fu'ād Bey, born 1306 = 1890 (cf. on the genealogy of 'Alī Emīri in *'Othmānī Ta'rikh we-Edebiyāt Medjmu'asi* of 30th vi. [p. 79 sq.] and 31st viii., 1334 [1918] [p. 116 sq.] and M. Hartmann, *Dichter der neuen Türkei*, Berlin 1919, p. 91 sq.).

Bibliography: the histories by Na'imā, J. v. Hammer, Zinkeisen, and especially Sir Paul Rycart and Richard Knolles, also Andrea Valiero, *Historia della guerra di Candia*, Venice 1679, 527 (where it is stated, as in G. Brusoni, *Historia dell' ultima guerra trà Veneziani e Turchi*, Venice 1673, i. 292, that Mehmed Köprülü was a renegato Perugino di casa Ferretti); the historical novel *Histoire des Grands Vizirs Mahomet Coprogli Pascha et Ahmet Coprogli Pascha, celle des trois derniers Grands Seigneurs* etc. etc., Paris 1676, is quite fictitious (where for the first time we have the oft repeated fable that Mehmed Köprülü was of French origin); M. Brosch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire*, Gotha 1899; L. v. Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die spanische Monarchie*, Leipzig 1877, p. 74 sq. (brilliant summing up of the personality of Mehmed Pasha); 'Othmān-zāde Aḥmad Tā'ib, *Hadīkat ül-Wizērā*, p. 104 sq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 173 sq.; Aḥmad Rafīk, *Köprülüler*, Stambul 1331, 1 part, 143 p. II. Köprülü-zāde Faḍil Aḥmad Pasha, son of the preceding, Ottoman grandvizier, born 1045 (1635) at Wezīr Köprü, died 26th Sha'bān 1087 (October 30, 1676) near Adrianople. Mehmed is said to have been unable to read and write, therefore he wished his son to become a scholar. The young Aḥmad, while still a child, was entrusted to the famous historian and later Shaikh al-Islām Kara Çelebi 'Abd al-'Azīz [q.v.], became his *mulāzim* and when only 16, held the office of a *muderris* in the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror. For ten years he had held this position before he decided to enter the civil service. Three years before his father's death he went as governor to Erzerum and in the following year to Damascus in the same capacity. From here he conducted a successful campaign against the Druses (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 93) but in consequence of his aged father's increasing dropsy he was recalled by the Sultān to the capital where he was given the rank of *kā'im maḥām* after an audience with the Sultān. On 7th Rabi' 1072 (October 30, 1661) he was given the imperial seal immediately his father died. He was then only 26. For fifteen years he filled the office of grandvizier with ability and strength and far surpassed his father in education and statesmanship. He undertook numerous campaigns during his tenure of office. His first was against Hungary, when he took Neuhausl (Ujvár, September 29, 1663), besieged several fortresses, razed Zerínvár to the ground and finally suffered a severe reverse at St. Gotthard on the Raab on August 1, 1664 at the hands of Count Montecuccoli. At the end of May 1667 the Cretan war was begun which he conducted in person and ended with the occupation of Candia at the beginning of October 1669. Shortly before then he had placed two of his brothers-in-law in the two most important offices in the empire: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha was made Grand Admiral (*Kapudān Pasha*, q.v.) while Kara Mustafa Pasha [q.v.] had been appointed *Kā'im-maḥām* in the imperial camp (J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 227). The

Ķapudān Pasha Saiyid Mehmed Pasha is mentioned as a third brother-in-law (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 323) whether rightly or not is uncertain.

In the summer of 1672 (1083) he turned his attention to Poland and took Kamieniec Podolski after a several days' siege, celebrated by the poet Nābī, on 3rd Djumādā I, 1083 (August 27, 1672). On the other hand the grandvizier lost the next battle, that of Chotin (Polish: Chocim, Turk.: Chotin); the fortress was lost in November 1673 (Radjab 1084); Aḥmad Pasha had to take to flight. While he was able to make up for the loss of the battle of St. Gotthard by a satisfactory peace of Vasvár (August 10, 1664), he had to prepare for a new war the next year, which ended with the recapture of Chotin and the taking of Ladyzyn. On the way to the imperial camp, Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha died after eighteen days, illness on 22nd Sha'bān 1087 (October 30, 1676) at the farmplace of Kara Biber near the bridge of Erkene (between Burghas and Adrianople). The body was brought to Stambul and he was buried beside his father. His early death is said to have been caused by over-indulgence in spirits and to dropsy caused thereby (cf. Pétis de la Croix, *État général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1695, ii. 81). As early as the siege of Candia he had been liable to epileptic fits, and already looked a tired old man, weary of life. He afterwards indulged in all kinds of vices, surrounded himself with women (he is said to have had 80 wives, including slaves) and liked to drink Polish brandy which the doctors had prescribed for him.

Aḥmad Pasha certainly surpassed his father in intellect and intelligence and still more in his love for the arts and sciences, which he encouraged even when in the field. In Stambul he founded a comprehensive library (cf. Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 488) which is still in existence, (*Catalogue*, *Defter*, 248 sqq., 4^o, n.d.) as a monument to his fame. His seal-bearer Ḥasan wrote his life under the title *Djawāhir al-Akhbār* and his campaigns were several times celebrated in verse and prose (cf. F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 211 sqq.). Contemporary European writers are unanimous in praising the sound judgment and keen penetrating intellect of this distinguished statesman.

Bibliography: the above mentioned historians and M. Brosch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire*, Gotha 1899; L. v. Ranke, *Die Osmanen* etc., Leipzig 1877, 75 sqq.; 'Othmānzāde Aḥmad Tā'ib, *Ḥadiqat ul-Wüserā*, 106 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i. 222; Aḥmad Rafīk, *Köprülüler*, ii., Stambul 1331, 156 p.; Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazione degli stati Europei*, ii. part (of which the *relazione* of the *bailo Nani* are specially important); J. Covell, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, London 1893 (C. describes him as a small bearded man with large eyes and a round face; cf. p. 195, 206, 267); J. Chardin, *Voyages*, i. 81 sq., 87 (according to whom he limped, cf. Covell, p. 206); Sir Paul Rycout, *Present state of the Ottoman Empire*, 135 sqq.; C. Magni, *Quanto di più curioso, e vago ha potuto raccorre* etc., Parma 1679, 465, 479 sqq.; Antonio Geropoldi, *Bilancia storico-politica dell' Impero Ottomano*, Venice 1686, 139 sqq. (to be used with caution).

III. Köprülü zāde Muṣṭafā Paṣhā, son of I and brother of II. He was born in 1047

(1637), the second son of Mehmed Pasha. He was appointed vizier of the cupola in Djumādā II, 1091 (July 1680) and became successively *mustahfiḡ* (commandant of a fortress) of Bender, Silistria, Baba Dagħ, the Dardanelles, Chios, etc., then in Dhu 'l-Ḥiḍḍja 1098 (October 1687) was appointed the grand vizier's deputy (*kā'imma-kām*) and ultimately received the seal of the empire on 24th Muḥarram 1101 (November 7, 1689) after once again being *mustahfiḡ* of the Dardanelles and of Candia. He was by this time 52 and was reputed to be a strict observer of the laws of Islām and an enemy of the Christians. His mind inclined more to learning than to military affairs. *Questo gran veziro*, says a contemporary Italian *relazione*, è un altro mufti astemio, nemico del vino, nemico dei Christiani, zelante della sua fede, huomo scrupoloso, scarno, bruno e brutto, stimato per un santone e dottor della sua legge, politico ma non ha nessuna pratica di guerra (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 547) which gives a very clear idea of his character and qualities. His aim was to make the grand vizier as independent as possible, wherefore he reduced the number of viziers of the cupola and dismissed officials whom he did not like. His wise measures to improve the finances of the State, such as publicly farming out the tobacco tax and regulating the currency, showed his clear insight into the needs of the kingdom. He had the superfluous silver of the imperial palace melted down and gave his own to the mint, contenting himself with pewter. In the summer of 1690, he went with the army against Serbia, recaptured Belgrade (October 18, 1690), took Essegg (Hung. Eszék) and fell on September 19, 1691 before Slankamen, near Belgrade. His body was not found. Like his brother he was called the virtuous, *Fāḍil*. He was a distinguished statesman, who clearly recognised the needs of his day and therefore introduced various innovations, the correctness of which time proved.

Bibliography: the historians mentioned and: 'Othmānzāde Aḥmad Tā'ib, *Ḥadiqat ul-Wüserā*, 116 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 406 sq.

IV. Köprülü zāde Ḥusain Pasha, nephew of I, Ottoman grandvizier, usually called 'Amūdī zāde, i. e. paternal nephew. Ḥusain Pasha was a son of *kihterī* (i. e. little) Ḥasan Agha, a brother of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and had the opportunity of being trained for public life among his cousins. He filled the offices of grand admiral (*Ķapudān Pasha*) and of governor of Chios. Entrusted with the defence of Belgrade in the summer of 1108 (1696), he attracted the attention of the Sultān Muṣṭafā II by his wise counsels and was promoted by him from the governorship of Belgrade on 1st Rabī' I 1108 (Sept. 17, 1697) to the grandvizierate (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 641 sq.). He proved an advocate of a moderate and peaceful policy and his first important act was to conclude the peace of Carlowitz on Jan. 26, 1699 with Austria, Russia, Poland and Venice. This peace restored to Austria almost all she had lost to the Porte since 1526 and formed the basis of later agreements between Austria and Turkey. Ḥusain Pasha was also the friend of learned men and poets to whom he often gave liberal and handsome gifts. Like his cousin, he tried to improve the treasury, the army and the fleet and notably to lighten the lot of the Christians by

reducing and remitting the poll-tax (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 44). He founded a large number of buildings for pious purposes, for example mosques in Stambul, Adrianople, Gradisca, and Lepanto, built schools, colleges, waterworks and wells of all kinds (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 47 sqq.). The execution of his cousin by Kiblelîzâde 'Alî Beg, because of a secret passion, it is said (cf. Rashid, *Târîkh*, i. 261; the story in Kantemir's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg 1745, p. 618 sqq., is quite absurd) affected him deeply. An incurable disease finally forced him to tender his resignation, which was accepted 12th Rabi' II, 1114 (Sept. 5, 1702). He retired to his estate on the heights of Buçuk Tepe near Adrianople and died almost immediately afterwards at his country house near Siliwri on 29th Rabi' II, 1114 (September 22, 1702). He was buried in a special tomb on the "Saddlers' market" in Stambul.

Bibliography: The historians above mentioned and: 'Othmânzâde Aḥmad Ta'ib, *Hadîkat ül-Wüserâ*, p. 124 sqq.; Râmiz Pashazâde Mehmed 'Izzet, *Khariṭa-i kapudanân-i daryâ*, Stambul 1285, 75 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, ii. 202.

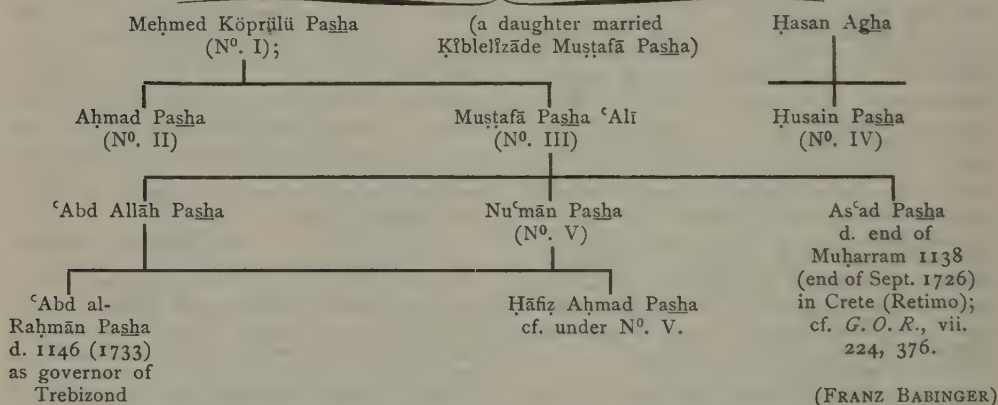
V. Köprülü-zâde Nu'mân Pasha, son of III, Ottoman grandvizier. He began his career by filling several governorships (Erzerum, Anatolia, Negroponte, Candia), became comman-

dant of the Dardanelles, then again governor of Candia, Negroponte, Bosnia and Belgrade. He married 'Ā'isha Sulṭān, daughter of Muṣṭafâ II (June 1710; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 145), and immediately afterwards was appointed grandvizier. His period of office did not in any way confirm the hopes that had been placed upon him on all sides as saviour of the empire. He opposed a war with Russia to assist the king of Sweden, was disgraced and on Aug. 18, 1710 sent back to Negroponte as governor. He later became governor in succession of Candia, Bosnia and Belgrade, Cyprus, Iç-eli, Mentesh [q. v.] and finally died after a busy life on 7th Rabi' I, 1131 (Jan. 21, 1719) after a fever in Crete. His son was the *nishāndî bashî* and later several times governor (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 115, 153, 185, 264), Hâfiz Aḥmad Pasha, the last Köprülü-zâde mentioned in Turkish history as holding a public office. He died in 1183 (1769) as governor of Cairo. On him and on his descendants see *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, i. 262 sq.

Bibliography: Dilâwerzâde 'Omar, *Dhail* on the *Hadîkat ül-Wüserâ*, p. 12 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, iv. 586 sq.

The following genealogical table may help to show the connections between the various bearers of the name Köprülü (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 623):

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KÖPRÜLÜ:



KOPUZ (т.), a musical instrument, a kind of guitar with one string which the bards of Central Asia used to accompany their songs. The body of it was made out of a gourd.

Bibliography: Köprülü-zâde, Mehmed Fu'ad, *Ilk mütasawwifler*, Constantinople 1919, p. 13; Aḥmad Wafîk Pasha, *Lehâje-i 'othmânî*, ii. 933; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. turc-français*, ii. 498, 546; Radlof, *Opît*, i. 654, 662; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk oriental*, p. 422; Sulaimân Efendi, *Lughât-i dîaghâtî*, p. 231.

(CL. HUART)

KÖR OĞHLU (т., "son of the blind man"), the hero of a popular romance in prose mingled with verse of which there are Persian and Turkish recensions. He was, it is said, a Turkoman of the Tekke tribe named Rūshān son of Mîrzâ Şarrāf who lived in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1051—1077 = 1641—1666). He was

born in the north of Khorāsān and lived there in the second half of the xviiith century of our era. In the valley of Salmās (Ādharbāidjān) are still shown the ruins of the castle of Čamli-bel built by him. He used to plunder the caravans on the road from Turkey to Persia via Erzerum and Khoi. He is the national hero of the nomad tribes of Persia of Turkoman origin. Poetical versions of the story of his exploits are sung at the festivals to the accompaniment of music. His horse Kîrāt shares his fame; the song lamenting his death is considered one of the beautiful elegies in existence. Nomadic singers called "*asli-k*", "lovers", sometimes accompanied by jugglers and rope-dancers wander through the towns, villages and encampments of Transcaucasia and Ādharbāidjān and recite this epic in sections called *maḡlis* or "seances". They are known as *kör oghlu-khwān* "reciters of Kör-oghlu". The Turkish recension puts the scene

of Kōr-oghlu's exploits in Asia Minor, locating them around Boli (the ancient Claudiopolis in the province of Kāstāmūnī).

His name is derived from the fact that the lord of the district (in the Persian version, Sultān Murād, sovereign of a part of Turkeṣtān and in the Turkish, the Dere-beyi of Boli), furious at seeing that the head of his stables, the father of our hero, sent by him to pick the best out of the horses brought to him in tribute, had chosen a thin one, had his eyes gouged out. The area of the adventures of Kōr-oghlu in the Persian version is very extensive for it includes successively Khorāsān, Ādharbāidjān, Eriwān, Nakhčewān, Anatolia, Kars, Syria, and Egypt. The Turkish version does not go beyond the district of Boli.

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, p. 3—344; L. Szamatolski, in *Aus türkischer Volks- und Kunstichtung*, Berlin 1913, p. 8—26. (CL. HUART)

KÖRĀ, an ancient decayed town, situated at 26° 7' N. and 80° 22' E. on the old royal road from Agra to Allahabad (Ilāhābād), now in the Fathpūr District of the United Provinces of British India. Under the Sultāns of Dihlī it was the capital of a province, and in Akbar's time it was the head-quarters of a *sarkār* in the *sūbah* of Allahabad.

A copper coin of Akbar is known of Kōrā mint. The place was also a mint-town of the later Mughal emperors from the time of Rafī' al-Darādjāt onwards.

Bibliography: *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad 1906, vol. xx., p. 154, 157—158, 251 *sqq.*

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KORAH. [See KĀRŪN].

KORAN, the, (*al-Kur'ān*), the sacred book of the Muḥammadans contains the collected revelations of Muḥammad in a form fixed by committal to writing.

1. Even among Muslims there is no unanimity regarding the pronunciation, derivation and meaning of the word. Some pronounced it *Kurān* without hamza and saw in it a proper noun not occurring elsewhere, like *tawrāt* and *indjil* or they derived it from *karana*, to tie together. Others rightly began with *kor'ān* with hamza and explained it either as an infinitive in the sense of a past participle or as an adjective from *karā'a*, to collect. It is really very easy to see an infinitive in it as it occurs as such in Sūra lxxv. 17 (cf. Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, s. v.). The exact meaning must be sought in the usage of the *Kur'ān* itself where the verb *karā'a* frequently occurs. In Sūra xvii. 95 it certainly stands for "to read", but the most frequent meaning is rather "to recite, to discourse", which does not necessarily pre-suppose a written text. Thus Allāh says, lxxv. 17: "Move not thy tongue too quickly with it for it behoves us to collect and recite it". Similarly the word is used of Muḥammad who recites the revelations made to him, xvi. 100; xvii. 47; vii. 203; lxxxiv. 21; cf. the 4th form in lxxxvii. 6 or of the believers when they recite the revelations at prayer, lxxiii. 20. Cf. also, "If thou mentionest thy Lord, the unique, *b'il-kur'āni* in reading aloud", xvii. 49. We thus come to the meaning, lecture, discourse, what is uttered, i.e. what Muḥammad heard from Allāh and repeated ("follow our recital", lxxv. 18;

"We enable thee to repeat so that thou mayest not forget", lxxxvii. 6), and then later uttered before men. Schwally, Wellhausen, *Z.D.M.G.*, 67, 634; Horowitz, *Der Islam*, xiii. 67, on the other hand see in it a Syriac or Hebrew loanword *ker'yānī*, *ker'yānī* (lectio, reading, or what is read) and they rightly insist that *karā'a* is not genuine Arabic with the meaning "to read". We should have to imagine that Allāh actually read to the Prophet out of the heavenly book, but even then the further use of the word is no easier explained. It is in any case quite absurd for E. Meyer to explain the *Kur'ān* as a book read by Muḥammad, somewhat after the fashion of Joseph Smith, for the heavenly book, the contents of which were communicated to him, was really a concealed book and he heard the voice of Allāh and read nothing (xcvi. 1 notwithstanding). It was rather the case that the *Kur'ān* was first made intelligible to him by Allāh making it into an Arabic *Kur'ān*, i.e. translating it into Arabic.

The word is not found in the *Kur'ān* itself in the above sense of "collected revelations in written form" because they were only collected after the death of the Prophet. It is used either for the separate revelations which were made one by one to the Prophet (e.g. x. 16; xii. 3; lxxii. 1; cf. ii. 181, the *Kur'ān* sent down in Ramaḍān) or as a general term for the divine revelation which was sent down piece by piece (xvii. 107; xx. 1; lxxvi. 23; cf. xxv. 34; lix. 21) which he received from Allāh (xxvii. 6) so that he could communicate it to men (xxviii. 85).

The term *al-Kitāb* (the scripture or the book) is used as an alternative of *Kur'ān*. They often appear to be synonymous. The "scripture" is also sent down (e.g. xl. 1; xlv. 1; in "a blessed night", xlv. 1, i.e. like the *Kur'ān* of a single revelation). It is said in xv. 1, "these are the miraculous tokens (*āyāt*) of the scripture and of a perspicuous scripture", and in xxvii. 1, "these are the miraculous tokens of the *Kur'ān* and of a perspicuous scripture". On further consideration however there is a distinction between the two expressions. When we read xii. 1, "These are the miraculous tokens of the perspicuous scripture and we have sent them down as the Arabic *Kur'ān*", cf. xx. 12, or "we have made the perspicuous scripture into an Arabic *Kur'ān*", xliii. 1 *sq.*, or, when the *Kur'ān* is called (x. 38) an exposition of the scripture of the Lord of Heaven, it is evident that *al-Kitāb* is the more comprehensive term and that it is "*Kor'ān*" in so far as its contents are revealed in a way intelligible to man. It was not the heavenly book itself that was sent down to Muḥammad, but portions of its contents in an Arabic form, and for this the word *Kur'ān* is used.

From its contents the *Kur'ān* is frequently called *Dhikr*, a word of several meanings, which in this case means admonition, warning, xxi. 24, 43; xxxviii. 87 etc. The *dhikr* also is sent down, xv. 6; xxi. 51; xxviii. 7 and is called "a noble scripture" in xli. 41; cf. "This is an admonition and a perspicuous *Kur'ān*" xxvi. 69. How the conceptions flowed into one another is seen in xxi. 7, where the "people of a scripture" (*Ahl al-Kitāb*) are called on one occasion *Ahl al-Dhikr*. *Al-Hikma* the wisdom, may be mentioned here as it is not only associated with the scripture in ii. 123, 146; iii. 158; lxii. 2, but in ii. 231; iv. 113, there is a reference to its being

sent down, and in xxxiii. 34 to its recitation. On the loanword *furkân* see that article. A term peculiar to the Korân, the origin and original meaning of which is still obscure, is *Sûra*. It is used only for the separate revelations, while *Kurân* has sometimes a more comprehensive sense and is found in the Mecca as well as the Medina sections; for further details see the article *SÛRA*.

Smaller sections of the *Kurân* were called *āyāt*, plural *āyāt*. It means properly, like the related Hebrew word *ōš*, token, token of belief (ii. 249; iii. 36; xxvi. 197); and especially a token of Allāh's existence and controlling power, xii. 105; xxxvi. 33, etc., hence often "miracle" (iii. 43; xliii. 45 *sqq.*), and gives a very instructive glimpse into Muhammad's ideas and consciousness. In Mecca the demand of his opponents that he should give proof by some miracle of his credibility as a messenger of Allāh caused him serious difficulties. The gift of performing miracles, possessed for example by Jesus, was denied him but the revelations offered him a very good substitute, of the divine origin of which he was firmly convinced (vi. 158; vii. 202; xx. 133; xxix. 49 *sq.*). They were the only convincing miracles and thus received the name *āyāt*. They were sent down from heaven (ii. 93; xxviii. 87) to the Prophet of Allāh (ii. 253; iii. 51; xlv. 5) and proclaimed by him to men (ii. 146; iii. 158; lxxv. 1) as in former times by the Prophets (xxviii. 59): "Allāh proclaims his *āyāt*" (ii. 183); "the believers recite them in the night" (iii. 109); "the unbelievers dispute them" (xxix. 46, etc.). The only noteworthy point is that Muhammad when he expresses himself more definitely does not use the word like *sûra* of the revelations but only of the smaller parts of which they consist; e.g. "a *Sûra* which we have sent down with perspicuous *āyāt*" (xxiv. 1), "a scripture which we have sent down so that they may reflect on its *āyāt*" (xxviii. 28); "these are the *āyāt* of the wise scripture" (x. 1; xii. 1; xliii. 1; xxvi. 1; xxi. 1); "these are the *āyāt* of the *Kurân* and of a perspicuous scripture" (xxviii. 1; cf. xxvi. 1); "a scripture the *āyāt* of which are firmly linked together" (xi. 1; xli. 2) and especially "in the scripture and unambiguous *āyāt* and others which have several meanings" (iii. 5); and "if we abrogate an *āya* or consign it to oblivion, we put a better or a similar one in its place" (ii. 100); "if we exchange one *āya* for another", etc. (xvi. 103). Unfortunately one cannot see from such passages how large or small these component parts of the revelations were. Later scholars took them to be verses in the technical sense but this does not agree with xxx. 58 and other passages where the reference is clearly to divisions required by the sense without it being possible to define their length more exactly.

2. From what has already been said we can see how Muhammad regarded the origin of his revelations. They came from heaven and were taken from a well-guarded tablet (lxxv. 21), a concealed book only to be touched by the pure (lvi. 76), the "mother of the scripture" (the original scripture, xliii. 3; otherwise iii. 5). The book is called "an admonition on noble, lofty, pure leaves through the hands of noble scribes" (lxxx. 11 *sqq.*; cf. lii. 2, where Muhammad swears by a scripture written on unrolled parchment, and lxi. 2: "by the reed-pen and what it writes", xcvi. 4 *sq.*:

"with the reed-pen he taught men what they did not know"). The Prophet did not become acquainted with the whole of this book but only with isolated sections of it, which were given to him in Arabic dress: "Proclaim", it is said in xviii. 26, "what is communicated to thee of Allāh's scripture; no one may alter its words", and in iv. 162; xl. 78, he says expressly that Allāh told him of some of the Prophets but not of all. Nevertheless, we can obtain from the revelations given by Muhammad an idea of the heavenly scripture, from which they are taken, for it is apparent that it contained a similar mixture of instruction dealing with the being of Allāh, the creation of the world and especially of man, good and evil spirits, the coming judgment, paradise and hell and the experiences of the older prophets, and in addition all sorts of regulations regarding the worship of Allāh, and the life of the community, including quite special laws (iv. 104, 126, 139; xxxiii. 6). The field of cosmology is touched on in the reference to the twelve months (ix. 36), the temptation of man by Satan in xxii. 4. But further perspectives are opened up when it is said that the heavenly book comprises all that has happened in the universe and will happen (x. 62; xxii. 69; xxvii. 77; xxxiv. 3; vi. 38, 59; xi. 8; cf. xx. 53 *sq.*; lv. 57; xxxv. 12; xvii. 60, etc.); even if the Muslims had remained in their houses at the battle of Uhud, those who were destined to die would have been attracted to the places where they were to fall (iii. 148); (cf. my essay in the *Haupt-Festschrift*). The *Kurân* contains only a few and very obscure hints regarding the process of communication of the revelations; it is wrapped in a secrecy which Muhammad either could not or would not illuminate. It is not from the *Kurân* but from reliable *hadīths* that we learn something about the half diseased ecstatic conditions, with which he was overcome (cf. the article MUHAMMAD); the revelation lxxiii. 1; lxxiv. 1, at most might contain only a slight reference to them. The main thing was however, as already observed, not what he saw but what he heard, which is also emphasised in the descriptions of the visions (liii. 10; lxxxi. 19) that he had visions is evident from liii. 5 *sqq.*; lxxxi. 23 *sqq.* It was the voice of Allāh that with a few exceptions talked to him in the stereotyped "we" and stamped even what the Prophet had to say by a prefixed *kul* "say!" as a divine utterance. But he did not hear this divine voice directly — for this his conception of Allāh's superiority was too great — but through the intermediary of the "spirit" or of an angel, according to the later passage ii. 91, Gabriel. "The trustworthy spirit brought the revelation down into the heart of Muhammad (xxvi. 192 *sq.*); "the spirit of holiness brought it down from Muhammad's Lord with truth" (xvi. 104); "Allāh sends the angel down with the spirit of (? *min*) his word to whom He will" (xvi. 2); "The Lord of the throne sends the spirit of his word to whom he will of his servants so that he may admonish" (xl. 15); "We have revealed to thee a spirit of our word" (xlii. 52), — all somewhat obscure expressions, which are not made any clearer by the fact that the spirit is in other passages (lxx. 4; lxxviii. 38; xcvi. 4) associated with the angels, but which at least show that the Prophet had formed some idea for himself of the

"How?" of the revelation. It is also certain that one particular revelation must have had decisive importance for him, without doubt the one by which a prophetic mission was imposed upon him. Ramaḍān was later chosen as the month of the fast because the Qur'ān was sent down in it (ii. 181); "the perspicuous scripture was sent down in a blessed night" (xliv. 2 *sqq.*), namely in the "night of all-power" in which the angels and the spirit at their Lord's command descended on account of every matter (to be settled) (xcvii. 1 *sqq.*) (Schaade proposes to read *tunazzilū* — they bring down commands of all kinds) — apparently a late offshoot of the old Babylonian idea of a day on which the events of the year were settled. That Muḥammad was able to distinguish the words heard by him from his own thoughts is evident from xx. 113; lxxv. 16 *sqq.*; lxix. 44 *sqq.*; x. 16 *sq.*; vii. 202, just as it is in general certain that he was firmly convinced of the reality and truth of his revelations (see MUḤAMMAD). Like the earlier prophets (xx. 51) he had to fight with the whisperings of Satan (viii. 199; xxiii. 99; xli. 36) and that these sometimes endeavoured to mingle with the revelations seems to be indicated by xvi. 100. To protect himself from these he sought protection with Allāh, but a reliable tradition reports that at least once he allowed himself to be tempted by Satan to recognise the Meccan goddesses al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and al-Manāt to some extent. But he afterwards discovered his error, whereupon the revelation is said to have received the form now found in liii. 19 *sqq.*

It would certainly be wrong to identify those inspirations received under these mysterious conditions with what we now read in the Qur'ān. Even the oldest short Sūras which might have been heard by him in their present form very probably received their present form with rhymes etc., in a later recasting. At any rate this is evident in the later long sections, like the histories of the prophets or the reproductions of dialogues between Muḥammad and his opponents, where of course his answers can only be based on inspirations. An exact distinction between the auditions of the Prophet and their later formulation is however an impossibility, although it may be assumed that the former consisted essentially of fundamental ideas and suggestions which the Prophet afterwards developed.

3. A special feature of the revelations which much occupied Muḥammad himself and his opponents, was that they were communicated piecemeal, although they existed complete in the heavenly book (xvii. 107; lxxvi. 23): "The unbelievers say, why was the Qur'ān not sent down to him as a whole? We wished to strengthen thy heart thereby and we arranged it in this way" (xxv. 34). That the breaking up of the Qur'ān into small parts was in reality connected with the fact that the separate revelations were provoked in Mecca by the attacks of the opponents, in Medina by political and other conditions, was a fact Muḥammad did not clearly realise and yet this circumstance had a decisive influence on the form and contents of the Qur'ān. Its striking incompleteness is connected with this. Nowhere do we find an exhaustive treatment of the principles of belief or of laws but the Prophet as a rule goes quickly from one subject to another according as conditions demand. In the Qur'ān we thus find for

example only a few scattered indications regarding the great pilgrimage so that it would not be possible to reconstruct the whole ceremony from the Qur'ān without the help of ḥadīths. In such cases one must always consider the possibility that ḥadīths antedate all sorts of later customs; and that this actually happened we see from the instructive example of the settling of the times of daily prayers. According to tradition, the angel Gabriel taught them to the Prophets but the Qur'ān talks only of two obligatory periods of prayer, to which ii. 239 adds the afternoon prayer (cf. ṢALĀT); when there is mention of the five times of prayer in Muḥammad's letter to 'Amr b. Ḥaṣm (Ibn Hishām 962), this is probably an indication of a later recasting of the text (cf. thereon Ibn Sa'd, iv., i. 159). That Muḥammad knew quite well that the full contents of the heavenly book had not been communicated to him is evident from the passages mentioned above, according to which Allāh had told him of some of the Prophets but not of others.

Of special significance for Muḥammad's own conception of the revelations is the distinction which he makes between them. Thus it is said in iii. 5 of the Qur'ān: "In it are unambiguous *āyāt* which are the mother of the scripture (its firm foundation, otherwise in lxiii. 3) and others which are ambiguous; those in whose hearts there is a tendency to err adhere to the ambiguous because they seek vexation and (arbitrary) exposition; yet no one knows the exposition except Allāh; but those who are strengthened in knowledge say we believe in it, everything comes from our Lord". The obscure passages which to the pain of the Prophet produced criticism and quarrelling, are ascribed to divine inspiration equally with the clear passages. But there are cases where the divine revelation not only abrogated principles of the earlier religions of revelation but even regulations which Muḥammad himself had proclaimed. How he reconciled this with the idea of an original scripture in heaven, the contents of which were revealed to him, is not easy to see, if he ever really reflected on the point at all; but in any case the idea itself that Allāh revoked and altered the announcements of His will caused him no difficulty. This is the doctrine, later thoroughly discussed by the theologians, of *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*, the abrogating and abrogated. There were special works on the subject, e.g. by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. Salāma (d. 410 = 1019) and 'Abd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir (d. 429 = 1038). The terminology goes back to ii. 100 where it is said with reference to the alteration of the direction at prayer, "if we abrogate an *āya* or consign it to oblivion, we offer something better than it or something of equal value"; cf. also xvi. 103: "if we put one *āya* in the place of another — and Allāh surely knows best what He sends down — they say "thou art simply romancing"', but this verse may also refer to unintentional variations in the repetition of earlier pronouncements.

If Muḥammad did not have quite a clear conception of these points of view, he was all the more sensitive when the Meccans pointed out that his wisdom was communicated to him by mortal teachers, some of them foreigners (xvi. 105; xxv. 5 *sq.*; xliv. 13). His defence on this point is very weak and he really concedes the justice of the charge. What he learned in this way was probably

transformed into indubitable divine words when it re-echoed in his fits of obscured mentality.

4. Among the most far-reaching of Muḥammad's conceptions is the idea that not only his mission but also the revelations of the earlier Prophets and the holy scriptures of the Jews and Christians were based on the original heavenly scripture so that they coincided in part with what he himself taught. The Qur'ān "was sent down in perspicuous Arabic language and it is in the scriptures of the ancients; is it not a sign that the learned men of the Jews knew it?" (xxvi. 195 sq.). The Qur'ān thus confirms what was earlier revealed (iii. 75; vi. 92; xxxv. 28; xlvii. 11, etc.). The law is given to Moses, the Gospel to Jesus, and in addition there is the Psalter which David received (iv. 161; xvii. 57). They all came out of the heavenly book and therefore the Jews and Christians are called *Ahl al-Kitāb*, the people of the (original) scripture. From such statements alone it can be seen that Muḥammad had no idea of the real contents of these books and that he can never have read them, so that it is labour lost to try to ascertain what is meant by the "leaves of Abraham", which are mentioned alongside of the leaves of Moses (liii. 37 sqq.; lxxxvii. 18 sq.), or the books which the Prophets brought according to xxxv. 23. The Qur'ān expressly confirms this position of the Prophet by the word *ummī* (from *umma*, like *laikos* from *laos*; according to Wensinck, *Acta Orientalia*, ii. 191, rather *ethnikos*, cf. however, ii. 73), i. e. a layman, who could not read the holy scriptures of the earlier religions of a revelation (ii. 73; iii. 19, 69). "Allāh has sent amongst the uninstructed a messenger from their midst, who proclaims his *āyāt* to them and teaches them the scripture and wisdom" (lxii. 2); "Thou didst not know what scripture or belief was" (xlii. 52; cf. xxix. 47). This idea of the essential identity of his teaching with the earlier books of revelation, is found all through the Meccan period and in Medina also he still adheres to it although with some modifications. He now regards the older religions in a more critical spirit and emphasises their differences from his own. The Jews only received a part of the "scripture" (iii. 22; iv. 47) and, what is more important, there are in their laws regulations which have only a limited validity like the observance of the Sabbath which is only binding on them (ii. 61; iv. 50, 153) or the forbidden foods which were intended as a punishment for the Jews (iv. 158; vi. 147; no doubt a medical interpolation; otherwise in v. 7). The main point however is that he defends himself against Jewish criticism by the assertion that in their scripture the Jews had forgotten (v. 16) or concealed (ii. 169), or actually corrupted all sorts of things. "They have perverted the words from their places" (iv. 48; v. 16, 45), and a similar charge is raised against the Christians because they worship Jesus as God and have introduced monasticism.

5. Although Muḥammad owed not only his general religious and moral ideas but certainly also the idea of God's revelation through prophets sent by Him to contact with Jews and Christians, or probably more correctly with the numerous sectarian offshoots of these religions settled in Arabia — his series of prophets, strange to Judaism proper, in which the regular prophets of the scrip-

tures are lacking, recalls somewhat the Clementine writings for example — his teaching developed in the early period, not according to Biblical models but in the style of the pagan Arab soothsayers with their oracles, formulae for blessings and curses, etc. In the introductions to the oldest sūras, he swears by the most remarkable things, by the fig- and olive-tree and by Mount Sinai (xcv. 1), by the heavens and the signs of the Zodiac, by the dawn and by the ten nights, by the double and the single (lxxxix. 1 sq.) etc. He also uses a form found with these soothsayers which gives the older parts of the Qur'ān a distinctive character. While he rejects with indignation the assertion of his opponents that he is a poet (xxi. 5; xxxvii. 35; lii. 30; lxix. 41; cf. also the verdict of the poets xxvi. 224 sqq.) and his discourses really have nothing in common with the productions of Arabic poetry of the time, highly developed as regards language and rhythm, he used after the fashion of the soothsayers, rhymed prose, *sadq*, which consists in two or more short sections of the utterance being linked together by a rhyme. In view of the constant suffix forms and endings and wealth of the vocabulary of Arabic, such sentences can be formed without much trouble especially as the finer rules of the rhymes of poetry do not apply to *sadq*. Muḥammad also used the *sadq* form with great freedom, frequently repeated the same rhyming word and used "false" rhymes. In his later revelations he became still more negligent in their application (cf. the material collected by Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, 1905, p. 15 sqq.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i. 36 sqq.) so that Muslim scholars assert, not quite without justice, that the Qur'ān is not composed in proper *sadq*. Nevertheless this form may be used with caution for critical excisions (e.g. lxxiv. 31—34; lxxxv. 10 sq.) or emendations (e.g. lxxiv. 43, *djahim* for *saḥar*). Rhymed prose was of importance for the style of the Qur'ān as it enabled Muḥammad to use peculiar (e.g. xxxvii. 130; xcv. 2) or rare words (e.g. lxxxiii. 18 sq.) or even had a definite influence on the contents (e.g. the nineteen angels lxxix. 30, the eight, lxix. 17, the dual form, lv. 46 sqq. etc.). Among other artifices Muḥammad occasionally uses the refrain (e.g. sūra liv. and especially lv.) without however actually reaching a regular strophe formation. Among the rhetorical artifices may also be mentioned the frequent similes, as Muḥammad attributed a special value to them and reflects on Allāh's use of them (xiv. 30; xxiv. 35; xxix. 42; lix. 21; and notably ii. 24). The *amthāl* are as a rule simple comparisons which are not infrequently very effective and much to the point (e.g. xliii. 15, 18; xxiv. 39). In so far as they are taken from nature, it is made to appear in vii. 56; xliii. 18, as if Allāh had so formed the processes of nature as to express a moral lesson. In other cases the *amthāl* are taken from history, as warnings or inspirations (xiv. 47; xliii. 57; lxvi. 10 sq.); a remarkable simile is found in the "Light-Verse" (xxiv. 35) which is practically isolated in its strongly mystical colouring. On one occasion a simile is spun out into a regular parable (xviii. 31 sqq.), but it is rather spoiled by the confusion of the picture and the truth to be illustrated by it. That Muḥammad at any rate later heard something of the parables in the

Gospels is shown by xlvi. 29, from which however it can once more be seen that he possessed no real knowledge of the New Testament.

6. The language in which Muḥammad delivered his revelations was, according to the most natural assumption the Ḥidjāz dialect of the people of Mecca. The view put forward by Vollers that it was a purely popular speech, distinct from literary Arabic with its strict grammatical rules, so that the present text only came into existence as the result of a later revision, has been rightly refuted by R. Geyer and Nöldeke, as there is no support for it either in the oldest traditions nor in the evidence of language, although the inadequate reproduction in an alphabet of consonants does not exclude the possibility that the pronunciation on the lips of the Prophet may have offered all sorts of shades of variation. It might rather be asked whether Muḥammad may not have used the language in general use among poets; but this could only be settled if we had other specimens of language for comparison from the Mecca of the day. The style is quite different in the earlier and later parts of the Qurʾān, although it bears everywhere undeniably the stamp of the same individual. To Muslims the absolute perfection of the language of the Qurʾān is an impregnable dogma, the acknowledgment of which is not however easy to a reader with some stylistic training and a certain amount of taste. In the earliest revelations one is carried away by the wild fancy and grotesque presentation, sometimes also by a warmer feeling, so that it would be pedantic to lay much weight on faults in language or logic. In the later sections also higher flights are not lacking, for example when the Prophet expresses his admiration for the wonders of creation and of life; but as a rule his imagination soon exhausted itself and gave place to a prosaicism in which the slips in reasoning and style, a comprehensive catalogue of which has been made by Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 5 sqq., make quite a bad impression. The Prophet becomes fond of wearisome repetitions of long stories interspersed with religious and moral platitudes which have an unpleasing effect (cf. for example, "the most beautiful tale", Sūra xii.) or crude psychological explanations, or polemics which prove little to those who do not share his premisses. As an example, the naive argumentation iii. 39 may be quoted, in which he sees in the fact that he was not present, when the events narrated took place, a proof that it must have been communicated to him by revelation. We should however not forget that the really effective element in his preaching lay not in his speeches but in the unusually suggestive power of his personality and also that many weaknesses in his style may be explained by the fact that (like the Alexandrine translators of the Old Testament) he had first to create a language for ideas new and remote to his countrymen, a task for which he had apparently no special gift.

7. What was the exact state of the Qurʾān at the death of Muḥammad is a question that cannot be answered with absolute certainty. One thing only is certain and is openly recognised by tradition (al-Suyūṭī, *Itkān*, i. 71) namely, that there was not in existence any collection of revelations in final form, because, so long as he was alive, new revelations were continually being

added to the earlier ones. But, on the other hand, everything points to the fact that even then much of the later Qurʾān must have already been written down. In the early period of his mission his discourses were probably preserved as a rule in the memories of his hearers, after he had repeatedly delivered them, and, as the lasting importance of his words probably only gradually dawned on them, we must probably consider the possibility that a good deal has been lost, of the earliest revelations in particular. Passages like lxxvii. 6 sq.: "We will enable thee to discourse and thou shalt only forget what Allāh wishes", or ii. 100: "If we make thee forget an āya" (the reading *nan-sa'uhā* is of course a dogmatic correction), clearly suggest that the discourses in question were not written down. But it cannot have been long till they felt obliged to secure the revelations from Allāh by writing them down, and it is easy to understand that the material readiest to hand, like shoulder-blades, palm-leaves, stones, etc. were used, as we are told in the stories of the later collection of the Qurʾān. What we are told of the knowledge of the art of writing in Mecca and Medina (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 471, 473; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 110), is not of much value, although the story is not without interest that among the wives of the Prophet, Hafṣa and Umm Kulthum could write and ʿĀ'isha and Umm Salama could read but not write. There can be however no doubt that in a commercial city of the importance of Mecca with its international connections not a few were able to write more or less well — according to al-ʿAzrakī, *History and Description of Mecca*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 102, 3, etc., documents and bills were prepared there before Islām — and there were certainly not lacking either there or later in Medina people who wrote down Muḥammad's revelations. Whether the Prophet himself could read or write is therefore of minor importance, however eagerly this question has been discussed by Muslims, but only from dogmatic points of view and as a rule with an erroneous application of the term *ummi* already mentioned. From the Meccan passage xxix. 47, it might be concluded that he only learned late in life, but the expression is obscure and probably only refers to the reading of sacred texts. All the more important therefore is the passage xxv. 6, where his opponents say, "These are nothing but old fables which he writes down (or causes to be written down?) and they are dictated to him morning and evening". But such remarks refer rather to the matter collected by the Prophet, than directly to his discourses themselves. But when Muḥammad (xi. 16) challenges his opponents to produce ten sūras like his own, this undoubtedly presupposes that sūras were available for comparison in writing. This is still more clearly shown by the already mentioned formal abrogation of earlier utterances, which would not have been necessary if these had only been orally transmitted. In the story of ʿOmar's conversion (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 226 sq.) there is a reference to a page of writing, but not much stress can be laid on such details in tradition. When ruling in Medina, Muḥammad made several of his followers prepare a number of documents, several of which were preserved with a note of the writer (cf. also Wākidi, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 35, on the Nakhla letter), and it is obvious that the same was the case with

the later revelations especially with such as refer to legal regulations. The traditions (Balādhurī, p. 472 sq.; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1782) give the names of Meccans and Anṣār who helped him as secretaries, including two in particular, Ubaiy b. Ka'b and Zaid b. Thābit. According to a curious story, 'Othmān's foster-brother, 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarh [q.v.] often acted as Qur'ān-writer to him and he had the honour of having an enthusiastic exclamation of his on listening to the dictation of Sūra xxiii. adopted in it (Balādhurī, p. 473 and the commentators). According to other stories (cf. Wākidi, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 55), he boasted before the Quraysh that he had often induced the Prophet to alter the wording of the revelations, whence it ultimately came to be said that he had falsified the Qur'ān (Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 35). Finally we may call attention to important evidence in a poem by Muḥammad's laureate Ḥassān b. Thābit after the battle of Badr (*Dirwān*, ed. Hirschfeld, p. 15, 1), in which he speaks of a *ḥaḥḥ al-wahy* on smooth page, which here must almost certainly mean the writing of a revelation (see Nöldeke, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1900 on Labid, *Mu'allafā*, verse 2). What was officially written down in this way formed with the earlier private notes and what people had retained in their memories the Qur'ān in an embryonic state. The conflict of this state of affairs with some traditions (principal, Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 113 sqq.) according to which various people already collected the Qur'ān in Muḥammad's life-time is only apparent. The explanation is that *ḍjama'a* here, as usual elsewhere (e. g. *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, p. 275; cf. *Itkām*, i. 72) means "to learn by heart and know". The same is true of a tradition, later popular among the Shi'is, to the effect that 'Alī wished to avoid paying homage to Abū Bakr until he *ḍjama'a* the Qur'ān (Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 101, 17 sqq.; al-*Ikḍ al-farīd*, ii. 176) which originally meant simply "had learned by heart", but was later misunderstood. Lastly a passage may be mentioned which would be of the greatest importance for the history of the Qur'ān in the time of Muḥammad if it could be trusted. In the Prophet's letter of instruction to 'Amr b. Ḥazm (Ibn Hishām 961; cf. Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muḥammeds an die Stämme Arabiens, Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient. Sprachen zu Berlin*, vol. xix. 2, 83) it is laid down among other things that no one may touch the Qur'ān except in a state of purification; but Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 1, 319, note 1, is undoubtedly right in thinking that the regulations laid down in this document were in many cases formulated from a point of view of later date (cf. above, p. 1065b).

8. With the death of the Prophet the position was radically altered. The source of revelations ceased to flow, and the believers in cases of doubt had no one whom they might consult, as no one had inherited Muḥammad's prophetic gift. The discourses left by him thus acquired increased importance, for in them spoke the Prophet or rather God through him to his community, if they were able to interpret his words correctly. The task therefore naturally presented itself of collecting his valuable legacy in as complete and accurate a form as possible and preserving it from destruction. This obvious development is also confirmed by the traditions but unfortunately in a way

which leaves much obscure. The most popular view (see Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 11 sq.) finds the stimulus to the first collection of revelations in the circumstance that many who knew the Qur'ān (*ḥurrā*, reciters; on the later meaning "pious ascetics", see Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 189) had perished in the battle with the false prophet Musailima. This aroused in 'Omar the fear that all knowledge of the revelations might be lost wherefore he, although with some difficulty, induced the caliph Abū Bakr to begin the collection of the scattered discourses. The work was entrusted to the already mentioned secretary of Muḥammad, Zaid b. Thābit. He collected everything that was written on different, often primitive (cf. above), materials, and what people retained in their breasts (i. e. memories) and wrote it on separate leaves (*ṣuḥuf*, pl. of *ṣaḥifa*, written leaf), which he gave to Abū Bakr. After the latter's death, this book passed into the possession of 'Omar who bequeathed it to his daughter Ḥafṣa, the widow of Muḥammad. In this story the first thing that strikes one is that there is no reference to the official transcripts made by order of the Prophet himself, although they would at any rate have reduced the danger threatened by the death of the *ḥurrā*. Caetani moreover (*Annali dell' Islām*, ii/i., p. 713 infra) has called attention to the fact that those who fell in the battle with Musailima were, according to the lists, which have been handed down, mainly new converts, none of whom could be expected to have an extensive knowledge of the Qur'ān. If the whole story is thereby rendered uncertain, it becomes more important to note that there are other traditions, according to which it was 'Omar himself who ordered and supervised the collection (*Itkām*, i. 73) and indeed we are even told (Ibn Sa'd, iii/i. 212, 4) that 'Omar died before the task was completed. As it is easier to understand how such a pious work could have been antedated than that it could have been transferred from Abū Bakr to his successor, the second story is perhaps somewhat more probable, although the mechanical way in which 'Omar is said to have tested the genuineness of the separate parts (if they were known to two authorities) does not sound very trustworthy. Zaid's participation in the work remains the one thing certain in the stories and on the other hand the realistic feature that the *ṣuḥuf* came into the possession of Ḥafṣa. But this very point raises other difficulties. If the *ṣuḥuf* was to be an authorised standard codex it is difficult to understand why it was given to a woman. G. Weil thinks that Ḥafṣa was to take care of it but this could have been more safely done in other ways; and if it was to be a standard MS. from which copies could be made, it was quite inconvenient to leave it with Ḥafṣa, as not every one had access to the widow of the Prophet. There is never any reference to any authorisation. The whole business was done in a spirit of great freedom, as we hear of several variant versions of the Qur'ān from the pre-'Othmānic period. The only solution of the difficulty may be in the hypothesis suggested in the next section, that a distinction should be made between the simple material collection of the *ṣuḥuf* and a regular arrangement and editing by Zaid of the sūras contained in them. If this is so, the "leaves" would lose any real importance and it is not

difficult to believe that they might be given to 'Omar's daughter as a gift of honour.

9. The men to whom particular editions are ascribed were the already mentioned Ubaiy b. Ka'b (Ibn Sa'd, II/ii. 103; III/ii. 59—62), 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (see IBN MAS'UD), Abū Mūsa 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī (see AL-ASH'ARĪ) who became famous in the story of 'Alī, and Miqdād b. 'Amr (see Ibn Sa'd, III/i. 114—116). All these recensions gradually disappeared after the authorisation of 'Othmān's Qur'an; but several very valuable items of information regarding the first two are given in the *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 26 sq. and in *al-Itkān*, i. 80—82, which throw some light on the oldest phase of the history of the Qur'an. They had the same sūras as 'Othmān's Qur'an but in a somewhat different order and with the important difference that Ubaiy had two additional sūras (prayers recalling Sūra i.) while in Ibn Mas'ūd, Sūra cxiii. and cxiv. and probably also Sūra i. were not given. Besides these recensions there was a further one, on which 'Othmān's edition was later based, and which is associated with the Zaid already mentioned. If, as Schwally does, we tried to identify Zaid's edition with the *ṣuḥuf*, it would be difficult to understand the divergencies of the other recensions in view of the former's prestige. Besides, the name "the leaves" suggests rather a loose collection of separate leaves, and not a definite arrangement of the portions. This is definitely expressed in another tradition, according to which Zaid collected the sūras with much difficulty in no particular order (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, p. 195). These difficulties are not easily disposed of by the assumption that Zaid after collecting the *ṣuḥuf* prepared an edition of his own with a definite order of the Sūras, which added a fifth to the already mentioned four editions, one by which the others did not feel themselves bound. The Sūras in it were, as in Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubaiy, arranged on the principle of decreasing length; but it was only a general principle (taken from Jewish examples?) the details of which were left to the individual. Zaid's version later received authoritative importance, when it was used as the basis for 'Othmān's Qur'an. A further light might be thrown by a phenomenon which, although in itself exceedingly obscure, seems to permit some significant deductions. We refer to the mysterious letters, discussed more fully below, which are found at the beginning of about a quarter of the Sūras. In this connection Nöldeke and following him H. Hirschfeld and more recently especially H. Bauer, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxv. 1 sqq., have called attention to the fact that some of these letters are repeated before several sūras and that these sūras form little consecutive series. Thus HM is found before xl.—xlvi. (according to Bauer originally before xxxix. also; before xlii. with following 'SK), 'LR before x.—xv. (before xiii., 'LMR), 'TSM before xxvi.—xxviii. (before xxvii. however without M), 'LM seems to be an exception, as it is found not only before xxix.—xxx. but also before ii.—iii.; but we can easily see that the reason is that the order in this case is upset by the principle of decreasing length, by which the sūras already mentioned are placed at the head of the collection while the others being shorter are placed later. This remarkable phenomenon can have only one explanation, namely that these groups formed

little separate collections, which Zaid found already formed and would not break up. Bauer has also called attention to the interesting fact that Ibn Mas'ūd did not feel himself bound by them but inserted the separate components approximately where they belonged from their length, with the exception however of the HM group which he left together, although in a different order. It seems therefore to have had a particular significance for him which is also indicated by the fact that he called this group *Dibādī al-Qur'an* (see *Itkān*, i. 71; cf. the article *Dibādī*, in Lane, s.v.); Ubaiy on the other hand paid no attention to the small series but arranged all the sūras according to their length, although in a very inexact fashion. We see then that there were links between the separate scattered sūras and the *ṣuḥuf*, small collections probably of a purely private character. This gives us definite evidence that the collection in its present form cannot go back to the Prophet himself.

10. On the other hand, it is a very difficult question whether the sūras which Zaid found were given the form in which we know them by the Prophet himself or whether other hands intervened. That the oldest, quite short, revelations are original units is generally recognised. This is also true of several longer ones, especially xii. which forms a connected story or of Sūra lv. with its refrains. Nöldeke moreover rightly utters a warning against assuming that whenever the thread of continuity appears to break, we have the work of a later hand, as abruptness and lack of co-ordination is really characteristic of Muḥammad's style. There are also certainly small pieces of later periods which the Prophet himself may have inserted for some reason in older pieces. In other cases, however, we have the impression that various accidents, which we can no longer know of, may have played their part in the shaping of the Sūras, among them perhaps the circumstance that several short discourses might have been written on the same piece of material, which would simply explain, for example, the transitions from xcvi. 5 to v. 6, or from lxxiv. 10 to v. 11. The most difficult thing is undoubtedly to suppose that Muḥammad himself composed the unusually long second Sūra in which we find in the middle of speeches of the second year A.H., without any explanation, pieces from the Meccan period (v. 19—37, 158—166) and also of the later Medīna period. That the beginnings of the Sūras (with perhaps the exception of xlvi., lxxi., xcvi., cviii. which begin with *innā*) regularly coincide with the actual beginnings of the revelations is proved by the introductory conjurations or formulae like "These are the *āyāt* of the Book" or "This is the Book", or "See, a Sūra, which we have sent down, etc.". But the next question is whether such exordiums refer to the whole Sūra or only to what immediately follows, to which the rest may have been later joined; cf. e.g. the introduction xix. 1, which only fits the story of Zakariyā and Maria while, on the other hand, the formula v. 16 is adopted in v. 42, 52, 55 and 57. In brief we are here unfortunately usually confronted with questions which cannot be answered with certainty, however important the correct answer would be for an understanding of the Qur'an.

11. With the reign of 'Othmān we enter upon more solid ground. According to a statement of Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, iii. 86) the four

recensions mentioned above found acceptance, each in a particular region: Ubaiy's in Damascus, Miḡdād's in Ḥims, Ibn Mas'ūd's in Kūfa and al-Ash'ari's in Baṣra; support is given to this statement by the fact that the two last named held offices in the provinces mentioned. That the existence of several divergent versions would produce uncertainty is easily understood. We are told in a widely disseminated tradition that the general Hudhaifa thought that the quarrels among his followers about the correct form of the sacred book, while on a campaign in Armenia and Aḡhar-bāiḡdjan, were dangerous and asked the Caliph 'Othmān to try to abolish this unfortunate state of affairs, so that believers might not quarrel like Jews and Christians over their scriptures. The Caliph recognised the justice of the request and asked Ḥaṣṣa to let him have the *ṣuḡuf* for a time so that copies might be made of them (*nasakhūhā fi 'l-maṣāḡif*). Ḥaṣṣa agreed and the Caliph entrusted the task to a commission consisting of Zaid, already mentioned, 'Abd Allāh b. Zubair [q. v.], Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Sa'īd, v. 19—24) and 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. al-Ḥārith (*ibid.*, v. 1 sqq.). Other individuals are also named but the usual tradition appears the most reliable and in any case it may be considered practically certain that Zaid, on account of his previous services, shared in the work. From the attitude which 'Abd Allāh and his father al-Zubair soon afterwards took up towards the Caliph, one might perhaps suppose that the members were chosen, not so much by the Caliph in person, as by a wider circle. Besides it is not easy to see clearly what their work really was. If they had only to make copies of a standard text, reliable scribes would have sufficed so that the men named would at most exercise some sort of supervision over the work. According to the tradition, they were to retain the Kuraishī dialect in cases of doubt, but this probably only reflects a later notion of the dialect of the Qur'ān. Further they could not have made clear fine distinctions of pronunciation with the imperfect Arabic alphabet. At any rate the most important point is that the version of 'Othmān was based on the *ṣuḡuf* or as just explained on Zaid's edition of them, so that we can in this way gain some idea of the contents and form of this basic manuscript. We are next told that of the copies then made, one was kept in Mecca, while three were sent as standard texts to Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus, that is practically to the regions in which the four differing versions above mentioned were current. Mecca however is added and other authorities give a large number (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 112 sq.). The authorised edition was readily accepted everywhere; the people of Kūfa alone are said to have refused to give up their Ibn Mas'ūd. Against the accuracy of the whole story, it might perhaps be urged that a knowledge of the Qur'ān and interest in its correct form must really have been much too slight among Muslim soldiers in this period of the great wars of conquest to give rise to dissensions in the army. But on the other hand, it may be recalled that in the fighting which soon afterwards broke out between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, there is mention of Qur'ān-readers (*ḡurra'*), not only among 'Alī's troops but also among the Syrians (al-Dinawari, ed. Guirgass, p. 175, 204; cf. the article *ṢIFFIN*); the very fact that there were different versions of

the Qur'ān in Syria and in al-ʿIrāḡ must have given rise to comparisons and disputes. Whether the Caliph, as we are told in the different traditions, had the extant differing versions burned, torn up or obliterated, has been doubted by Schwally and not without reason, especially as such steps would have been quite ineffectual against the Qur'ān-reciters who carried the sacred texts in their memories. In any case the alleged destruction cannot have been completely carried out, for according to al-Muṭarrizī (in Lane, s. v.), Sulaimān al-A'mash could recite the whole of the Qur'ān (cf. KHATM) according to both 'Othmān's and Ibn Mas'ūd's versions and the author of the *Fihrist* even asserts that he had seen a two hundred year old copy of the Qur'ān according to Ibn Mas'ūd (cf. the obscure statements in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qur'āns*, 1st ed., p. 276 sq.). Even without any such drastic measures, the new version must have gradually driven out the variants because of its official authority and the general desire for uniformity. It was in this way that there came into being the authorised Qur'ān, which has remained generally authoritative to the present day and in spite of all vicissitudes has formed, with the Sunna, the solid foundation for Muslim life and thought. It differed from Ubaiy's Qur'ān by the omission of the two sūras only found in his version, while it was a little larger than Ibn Mas'ūd's Qur'ān, which omitted Sūra cxiii. and cxiv. and probably also Sūra i. (see Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 39 sqq.). While its order generally, with the already mentioned exceptions was based on the principle of decreasing length, the first sūra, the celebrated *fātiḡa*, stands outside of this arrangement, apparently because it was intended to serve as an introductory benediction and prayer. It is specially noteworthy because of its lack of any distinctively Muslim thought and the presence of Jewish and Christian terminology. Sūra cxiii. and cxiv. are not the shortest and are thus not in their proper place, but it is hardly necessary to lay much stress on this point. Although they are made into utterances of Allāh by the prefixed *ḡul*, these formulae for protection against evil powers (cf. xvi. 100; xli. 36) are very different in character from the rest of the Qur'ān. In these circumstances the omission of the three sūras in Ibn Mas'ūd becomes significant and the question arises whether they do not represent a secondary arrangement of the sūras about the origin of which nothing definite can be said, whether the work of the Prophet himself or others.

12. This leads to a further and very important question, whether all the revelations in the authorised Qur'ān come from Muḡammad himself or whether foreign matter has been added or passages forged for propagandist purposes. As a matter of fact, there has been no lack of such assertions, in the Muslim world and by modern scholars. The arguments brought forward on this point, within Islām, are however of no real importance as they are based on purely dogmatic premisses. For example, some of the puritanically-minded Khāriḡjis are said to have rejected Sūra xii. as a love-story unworthy of the Qur'ān (al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 95 sq.). But it so undeniably bears the stamp of the Prophet's style that the forger must have had an astonishing power of imitation: forgery is all the more improbable as

the Sūra was found in Ibn Mas'ūd and in Ubaiy and must therefore have been very old. The fact, that some reject as false passages those in which Muḥammad curses his opponents is due to the more refined religious ideas of the Mu'tazila and perhaps to Christian influence. But in general it is the Shi'is who have pronounced against the integrity of the 'Oṭhmānic Qur'an. This however was only a result of the fact that they missed very much in it pronouncements on the prominent position of 'Alī and his family and their claims to sovereignty and to the coming forth of the hidden Imām at the end of the world; and they roundly insisted that all this had been most maliciously suppressed by the godless 'Oṭhmān. In support of this assertion, they very cleverly point to the undeniable lack of coherence in several sūras, but the situation is not improved by filling the gaps with references to 'Alī. But not only are odd verses said to have been suppressed but whole sūras, which glorified 'Alī, only two of which have been published, the sūras *al-Nūrāin* and *al-Walāya* (see Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 102 sq.; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-anslegung*, p. 271). As there is no agreement among the Shi'is themselves regarding the genuine form of the book of revelations, the attempts made by them to produce the complete text have regularly failed, and they have therefore retired to the safe position, that the authentic form is secretly transmitted by each imām to his successor, to be communicated with the true exposition to the believers ultimately on the coming forth of the hidden imām. Till then, *faute de mieux*, they use the 'Oṭhmānic Qur'an and make shift with an exegesis which enables new interpolations to be made unrestrictedly, and arbitrary alterations in the text, which however they refrain from in all passages used liturgically.

Several modern scholars have endeavoured in a different fashion to prove the occurrence of passages in the Qur'an which are not genuine. Thus de Sacy (*Journ. des Savants*, 1832, p. 535) suggested that 'Omar's doubt about the death of Muḥammad would have been impossible if the verse quoted against it (iii. 138) by Abū Bakr were genuine, so that it must have originated with Abū Bakr. G. Weil agrees but, as a logical result, he rejects a series of verses of similar content (iii. 182; xxi. 35 sq.; xxix. 57; xxxix. 31 sq.). But it is just this increase in the number of passages attacked (which even yet is not sufficient, cf. e. g. vi. 163 and notably xxxiii. 53) which makes criticism unreliable and what is to be deleted is in perfect keeping with what Muḥammad says out of his purely human nature. The question is usually attacked from the wrong side, for the fault is not in the Qur'an but in the tendentious tradition, which in reality is attacking the belief that crops up in a disappearance off and return of the Prophet; cf. especially the antitheses between the worship of Allāh and of Muḥammad. Weil's doubt regarding xvii. 1 and xlv. 14 is no better founded, nor are H. Hirschfeld's objections to v. 73, 101; lxi. 6 and all passages in which the name of Muḥammad occurs. When Weil in particular asserted that 'Oṭhmān falsified the Qur'an by all sorts of omissions, this is refuted, like the Shi'a charges before mentioned, by the simple fact that nowhere in the oldest records is there any hint of such a thing although

his opponents collected a long list of charges against him.

13. Another question is raised by the additional sūras in Ubaiy's recension, which, according to *Itḥān*, i. 82, are also found in Abū Mūsā's version and in the Qur'an of Ibn 'Abbās: do we really have in the authorised Qur'an all the revelations in existence at the death of Muḥammad? Although by the completion of the collection, the utterances that came from the heavenly book and Muḥammad's own words were rigidly limited there are references in the traditions to several utterances which really belonged to the Qur'an but were not included for various reasons, including some that are said to have been in the Qur'ans of Ubaiy and Abū Mūsā; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i. 234—261; ii. 44 sq. and thereon al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1627, 10, and the glossary under *ḥ'*. We need not reject this statement off-hand. It would really not be surprising if the difference between the two kinds of pronouncements was at first not rigid, especially in so far as they were only preserved by memory. But nowhere is the genuineness of the revelations said not to have been accepted conclusively proved; of some the falsity is much more probable and it must be further remembered that they would not contribute any real addition to the Qur'an. The best known is the so-called "verse of the stoning" (*āyat al-radīm*) according to which incontinence in women not virgins can be punished by stoning. As regards matter it might well belong to Sūra xxiv.; but it is in direct contradiction to its second verse and on the other hand it cannot be included among those abrogated, as, according to the traditions, 'Omar punished this crime in this drastic fashion. It seems therefore to be a secondary verse intended to authorise the more severe punishment.

If a critical examination of the Qur'an on these lines leads to a satisfactory result, it must not be taken to mean that the canonical Qur'an gives an absolutely true and faultless reproduction of the utterances of the Prophet. On the contrary it undoubtedly contains not a few explanatory additions (cf. e. g. the probably secondary *ḥabir*, ii. 216) and harmless interpolations (cf. e. g. A. Fischer in the *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, 1906, p. 33 sqq. whose arguments however are hardly cogent). Transferences of sentences may also have taken place, cf. the striking example quoted by Goldziher, xxiv. 60a, which breaks up the context. But this is something quite different from a deliberate and tendentious falsification of the revelations, against which protests would certainly have been raised at once.

14. The Sūras were originally separated from one another by the *basmala* ("in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate") placed at the beginning of each (see vol. i., p. 672). It is only lacking in Sūra ix., probably because Sūra viii. was originally joined to it. In the text itself, the formula is found in xxvii. 30 at the head of a letter from Solomon to the queen of Saba, a proof that the Prophet regarded it as a regular form of introduction. In keeping with this, is the fact that it often occurs in his despatches (Ibn Sa'd, ii. 23—37 *passim*) and according to Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 341, at the beginning of the ordinance of the community. But he also used the older formula: "in Thy name",

Allāhumma (Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 19, 14; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 747 on the treaty of Hudaibiya). It therefore doubtless opened the sūras which the Prophet himself had caused to be written down and was then placed at the beginning of all the sūras. The order of the sūras in 'Othmān's Qur'ān was probably already the present one. That there were variations however is evident from the story of the revolution against 'Othmān (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2963) in which we find the tenth Sūra quoted as the seventh, which agreed with the order in Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy. According to the *Itkān*, i. 79, Ibn 'Abbās also described the tenth Sūra as the last of the seven "long ones", but this perhaps refers not to its position in the Qur'ān but in relation to the actual long sūras. In any case al-Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr* (see *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 598) quotes a tradition going back to the Prophet himself, according to which the Qur'ān was divided as follows: the seven longest sūras, iii.—vii. and x., the *mī'ūna* (sūras of about 100 verses), the *mathānī* and *al-mufaṣṣal*, the short sūras which begin with xlix. The name *al-mathānī* apparently goes back to the very variously explained "seven *mathānī*" of xv. 87 in which Geiger and Nöldeke see the Aramaic *matnā*, Hebrew *mishnā*.

15. Immediately following the *hasmala* we have in 29 sūras the mysterious letters already mentioned (*al-fawātiḥ*) which have challenged the ingenuity of Muslim and modern European scholars alike. The sūras in which they occur belong with the exception of sūras ii. and iii. to the later Meccan period. There are 14 letters in all that occur, sometimes singly, sometimes from 2 to 5 together; some occur only once, others are repeated, before two, five or six sūras. All recollection of their real significance had been lost as the great variety of explanations proffered shows (see *Itkān*, ii. 10 *sqq.*; *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv. 603 *sqq.*). Some Muslims see in them simply letters of the alphabet, intended to call the Prophet's attention to the approach of a revelation, while others tried to explain them from the old numerical value of the letters (cf. vol. i., p. 68 *sq.*); or they were read with the names of the letters *yā, sīn, kā*, etc., and all kinds of mystical names were found. The most popular explanation was that they were abbreviations which had to be expanded, thus for example *khy'ṣ* would stand for *karīm, hūdī, ḥakīm, 'alīm* and *ṣādīq*. But this offered such a wealth of possibilities that the attempts to solve the problem degenerated into a kind of game, which became all the more varied when some proposed to place the letters from different sūras together and read for example: *ṣl, ḥm* and *n* as *al-Rahmān*. It is no wonder then that in the end some, like al-Suyūṭī saw in the letters a mystery, the solution of which Allāh kept a secret to himself. Modern scholars have in part repeated these old suggestions. Nöldeke, abandoning his earlier view, suggested that the Prophet attached no special significance to these letters, but only intended to give a mystic reference to the heavenly original text. But in this case they should have been found before all the revelations and not only before a smaller part of them. The most popular theory more recently has been that of abbreviation, but this has developed into the same kind of guesswork as among the Muslims, and rarely convinces anyone except the ingenious inventor. Quite recently H. Bauer in the essay al-

ready mentioned has sought a safer basis for interpretation, starting from the fact that some sūras take their name from the introductory letters, viz. xx., xxxvi., xxxviii., l., xlii. and lxviii., the two latter however with variants. Now as the names of the sūras are catchwords taken from the sūras concerned (see below), he supposes that these letters are something similar. But this conclusion is by no means certain and his ingenious attempts to find the passages concerned in the sūras are, as a rule, not very convincing and it should be remembered also that he cannot apply this explanation to the letters that occur before several sūras, but has to be content with seeking an internal or external relation between these sūras and the letters. The same may be said against Gossen's attempt in *Der Islām*, xiii. 191 *sqq.* H. Hirschfeld revived Nöldeke's earlier explanation that the letters were originally marks put on by the owners of some of the manuscript copies made by Zaid to show they were their own property, except that he regards the group of letters not as single names (e.g. *ṭh* for Ṭalḥa) but names of several owners (e.g. *ṭh* for Ṭalḥa and Abū Huraira). In comparison with earlier suggestions, this strikes one as very moderate and un fanciful. Nor is it refuted by Nöldeke's argument that such abbreviations are not to be expected in the beginnings of written Arabic literature; for it is not at all improbable that the people of Mecca with their highly developed trade may have marked, e.g. in the annual trading-caravans the goods of individual citizens taking part in them in some such way, and that this custom was adopted in another branch of life, where it was necessary to guarantee the genuineness of a document or some such thing. It might also be possible that there was an imitation of the Jewish practice, cf. the article "Abbreviations" in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. In any case this hypothesis would agree very well with the above discussed connection of the letters with small private collections of copies of the revelations. But even this view does not lead to any final result, as the expansion of the letters to names offers so many possibilities.

16. Among the secondary elements in the Qur'ān are the names of the Sūras. These are catchwords which refer either to the beginning of the sūras (e.g. lxxiii.—cxii.) or to some subject dealt with in them (e.g. "The Cow" in ii. 63 *sqq.*; "The House of 'Imrān" in iii. 30; "Hūd" in xi. 52 etc.). That they were generally known in the first half of the eighth century is certain, as some of them are mentioned by John of Damascus (in Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, xciv. 769, 772); viz. "the Cow" (Sūra ii.), "the Women" (Sūra iv.), "the Table" (Sūra v.) and in addition a name no longer found, "the Camel", which might refer to vii. 71—75, xi. 67 *sq.* or xxvi. 155 *sqq.* This however does not prove that they were already adopted in the manuscripts at this time; and that they do not all come from Muḥammad himself, as John says, is evident from their varying (Sūra ix. for example is also called *al-Ṭawba*: cf. *Itkān*, i. 66 *sq.* and the above notes on Sūra xlii. and lxviii.). Besides, they originally ran "the sūra in which the cow is mentioned" etc. and appeared in the manuscripts not as super but as subscriptions (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, p. 320). The two non-canonical sūras of Ubayy had similar names, *Sūrat al-Khāl* and *Sūrat al-Hafd*.

The sūras were divided into "verses", which were called *āyāt*, following the linguistic practice of the Qur'ān already mentioned. They are generally arranged according to the rhymes, but as the divisions were originally not marked in the manuscripts, there is a difference of opinion about their divisions and numbering (see *Itkān*, i. 83 sq.; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, p. 300).

17. Although the 'Othmānic Qur'ān prevailed over its rivals, it did not provide for the Muslim world a real *textus receptus*, and yet one would think that, if ever one were necessary, it would be for such a book as the Qur'ān, as Allāh speaks in it everywhere. Even 'Othmān himself, according to one story (al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, iv. 24), did not adhere to the text authorised by him, but read Sūra iii. 100 with an addition not now found in it; and if this is correct, it is no wonder that others took still greater liberties. Various circumstances contributed to the continual variations in the form of the text. First there was the carelessness of the few trained copyists; even the copies of the Medīna standard codex (al-Imām) sent to the provinces are said not always to have been identical with it, and lists are given of Medīna, Damascus, Baṣra and Kūfa readings, to which a few from Mecca are added. These refer however only to minor points, which are of interest for the history of the language and orthography, but not for the matter. The cause of variation in the text was of greater importance, namely, the different readings which the *Kurra* retained in their memories and would not always abandon, even when they had a written Qur'ān before them. These are primarily readings which were found in the rival versions and had thus gained currency. Finally there was a third factor, the deficiencies of the Arabic script. It lacked not only signs for the short and to some extent for the long vowels, the pronunciation of which was left to the reader (which meant, for example, also the choice between active and passive) and for double consonants, but different consonantal sounds were expressed by one character, e.g. *d* and *dh*, *h* and *kh*, etc., and in the degenerate Arabic script, very different letters had come to assume the same form, so that for example *r* and *z*, *b*, *t* and *th* and at the beginning or in the middle of a word *n* and *y* also were indistinguishable. In any case the sense was little affected by such however possibilities, e.g. xxxii. 9, where it was a matter of indifference whether one read *ḡalilnā* or *ḡalīlnā*; but in other cases a different pronunciation was a matter of moment, e.g., v. 8, where the alteration of a case-ending modifies the rule about ablution before prayer. Such possibilities afforded a means by which perplexed spirits could get rid of various passages that offended them, e.g. xii. 10 where in place of the troublesome *kuḏhabū*, *kuḏhibū* or *kuḏhdhibū* could be read. In this way there arose a perplexing confusion of readings and in place of the striving for uniformity that one would have expected, people became accustomed to unlimited liberty in these matters, so that they did not hesitate to substitute for particular words, their synonyms or to insert short explanatory additions. This freedom was all the more unbridled in its development, as the Umayyad caliphs had little feeling on such questions and preferred to take care that passions were not aroused by state interference in such matters.

18. Gradually however, the situation came to arouse misgivings. As by this time the state of affairs just described had developed to such an extent that the preparation of a canonical text was not to be thought of, and there was, besides, no authority who could enforce the adoption of one, the endeavour was made to eliminate the worst defects by more general principles. Not every variant was allowed, but only those which were based on recognised authorities, preferably such men as had received their reading from the successors of the companions of the Prophet. At the same time the overwhelming mass of small details led the art of reading the Qur'ān, hitherto transmitted orally, to be replaced by critical writings. The first book of this kind is said to have been written by a Jewish convert to Islām Hārūn b. Mūsā (d. c. 800 A.D.). Of later works dealing with variant readings, special mention may be made of that of Abū 'Uḃaid al-Kāsim (d. 837 A.D.; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 106, 189) and of the celebrated Ṭabari's *al-Djāmi'*. The measures taken were however too indefinite to be really effective and the attempt was therefore made to limit the number of authorities, for example by emphasising the importance of ten recognised teachers. The number seven however was especially popular in this connection and support was found in it in an alleged saying of the Prophet regarding the seven *aḥruf* in which the Qur'ān is revealed and which all possess divine authority. Although "seven" in this tradition is probably only a round number meaning "several" and it was quite uncertain what the word *aḥruf* really meant, the number was taken literally and *aḥruf* was given the unauthorised meaning of variant readings. The complete historical inaccuracy of this assertion was sharply criticised by several scholars, but it found wide acceptance, especially after Abū Bakr b. Muḏjahid (d. 936 A.D.) had chosen seven from among well known teachers and declared them authoritative Qur'ān-readers, and with each of them two men were associated as transmitters (*ruwāt*). The seven were Nāfi', Ibn Kaṭhīr [q.v.], Abū 'Amr al-'Alā', [q.v.], Ibn 'Amir, Abū Bakr 'Āsim, Ḥamza and the famous philologist al-Kisā'ī. The selection was quite an arbitrary one, but the method used elsewhere by Muslims, e.g. in the four *maḏhāhib*, of declaring several rivals authoritative and equally trustworthy had decided practical advantages as it averted endless and passionate disputes. There was of course no lack of protest by prominent scholars who rightly objected to the unjustifiable exclusion of other equally authoritative teachers. In the xth century A.D. however, the exclusive authority of the seven canonical teachers began to prevail and their readings were specially dealt with by several authors, among them Abū 'Amr 'Othmān al-Dānī (d. 1053 A.D.) whose *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* displaced Ibn Muḏjahid's work, in Abū 'l-Kāsim Kāsim al-Shāṭibī's (d. 1194 A.D.) versification. But a number of scholars with critical ability did not hesitate to take into consideration readings of other readers not included among the celebrated ten, especially those of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī. What degree of liberty in selecting readings was claimed by the abler critics is seen from the rule laid down by Muḥammad al-Djazarī (d. 1429; cf. Brockelmann, ii. 201) who is followed by al-Suyūṭī (*Itkān*, i. 94), "every reading which is in consonance

with the Arabic language — although only in some respect — and with the 'Othmānic manuscripts of the Qur'ān — although only as a possibility — and whose chain of tradition is faultless, is considered a correct reading and must not be rejected but belongs to the seven *ahruf*, in which the Qur'ān is revealed, whether it comes from the seven or the ten or from other recognised Imāms; but if it does not fulfil one of these three conditions it is to be branded as weak, arbitrary or false, whether it comes from the seven or from any one who is older than they". But this freedom was only exercised in learned works; in all public readings before the people the readings of the seven canonical readers were observed. At the present day only two methods of reading are in general use, that of Ḥafs, rāwī of 'Āṣim and in Africa, except Egypt, that of Nāfi'. This is the extent to which Muslim textual criticism has prevailed. A proper critical edition of the Qur'ān making use of all available material is a task which still awaits modern scholarship.

19. This work on the text was considerably facilitated by the introduction of different means of restricting the ambiguity of the old script. Diacritical points were introduced to distinguish letters of the same form, marks indicating the pronunciation of the vowels, nunation, the feminine ending *-at*, the consonantal pronunciation of *alif*, and the sign for the doubling of a consonant. As is usual in such cases, all recollection of the period of their introduction had been lost among the Arabs. It is certain that they are based on an imitation of the Syrian practice and recent finds of coins, inscriptions and particularly of papyri have thrown some light on the question. These show that at the beginning of the viiith century the diacritical points were in use, at any rate to some extent; but they were certainly older and had perhaps been already introduced in the pre-Muḥammadan period. The vowel signs were originally dots in varying positions and were only replaced after the middle of the viiith century by the signs now in use, modelled on the semivowels, *ʾ*, *w* and *y* (for further details see i., p. 384; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qurāns*, p. 305 sqq.). In some the use of these signs in the manuscripts of the Qur'ān aroused misgivings. According to the *Itkān*, ii. 202, the Medinese Malik b. Anas (d. 795 A. D.), for example, only permitted their use in copies intended for students and did not permit them in the large manuscripts used in public worship. Others, on the other hand, permitted their use without hesitation, as the signs from their form could not be regarded as a component part of the sacred book. To make the distinction clear, the vowel signs were originally distinguished by another colour, while the diacritical points were written in black as parts of the letters. On the incorporation of the names of sūras into the Qur'ān, see above; on the different marks for separating the verses, especially for every 5 and 10 verses, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qurāns*, p. 324; see *ibid.* on the *sajda*, the mark for the passages in the text where one should prostrate oneself.

20. In editing the Qur'ān, no attention at all was, as we have seen, paid to chronological order, a result of the composite character of many sūras, which also made an arrangement according to their contents impossible. Instead, the sūras were

arranged, although only approximately, according to their length, which however only led to the inconvenient result that the very earliest sūras, being the shortest, were put at the end. But as chronological arrangement is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the text, the commentators were faced with a task, the necessity of which had already been recognised by the Muslims. The main thing was to establish whether the sūras arose in the Mecca or Medina period, or whether they were composed of pieces from both periods. This problem has on the whole been solved, although views differed on many points of detail (cf. *Itkān*, i. 15 sqq.). In practice this question can be satisfactorily answered in most cases, if a series of criteria are used, some of which may be outlined here.

When Muḥammad disputes with his countrymen about the resurrection of the dead or the oneness of God, when he refutes the assertion that he is a magician, a poet or one possessed, when he fights against the custom of burying newly born girls alive, we know that we are in Mecca. The difficulties only begin, when we try to arrange the separate pieces of this group in their chronological order, for there is an entire lack of distinct references to definite events; and even if there were any, it would help very little as the chronological statements in the old traditions of Muḥammad's life in the Meccan period are quite unreliable. A rare exception is formed by Sūra xxx. with the mention of the defeat of the Byzantines by the Persians, probably in the year 614 A. D. More uncertain, although not improbable is the connecting of Sūra liii. with the emigration of some of the Prophet's followers to Abyssinia. There is the further difficulty that Muḥammad, not unintentionally, delivered his orations in a kind of chiaroscuro and it is exceedingly rarely that personal names are mentioned (cxi. 1; xxx. 37). The traditions however are everywhere able to tell us exactly who the anonymous individuals that appear in the Qur'ān were, but these identifications are certainly due to horror of a vacuum and are often definitely wrong. We have therefore to rely essentially on internal criteria. G. Weil laid the foundations for a classification of the Meccan Sūras by dividing them into three classes. He was followed by Nöldeke, who in turn is followed by H. Grimme, although with certain variations in the order which are not of great importance, and show that generally accepted results are not to be obtained in this field. The most certainly recognisable is the first group, a series of short addresses full of excited passion, glowing imagination and no little poetic power. These are such distinct features that it is certainly a mistake when Lamens, *Faṭima*, p. 64, wants to transfer Sūras xciii. and xciv. to the latest Medina period. Characteristic of the group are also the already mentioned conjuration formulae; and the peculiar phrase occurring thirteen times *mā adrāka*, "thou surely knowest not"; *mā yudrika*, xlii. 16, lxxx. 3, also belongs here, in which case xxxiii. 63 is perhaps a verse that has been separated from its context. Lastly Snouck Hurgronje, *De Gids*, 1886, ii. 259 sq.; iii. 109 called attention to the very important point that Muḥammad did not from the very first proclaim strict monotheism as the principal thing but the approach of the Last Judgment, from which he was to save his countrymen. The assertion

that there is no god but Allāh appears sporadically from lxxiii. 9 onwards: and it must certainly have taken some time before there was a definite breach with the idolators (Sūra cix.) and before he met them with the declaration of the oneness of God (Sūra cxii.). It is not till the second group that everything centres round monotheism and for this reason the polemical passages lli. 25 *sqq.* and liii. 19 *sqq.* directed against the daughters of Allāh are probably a little later than the adjacent verses. Starting with the assumption that the *Qur'ān* gives a complete picture of Muḥammad's preaching, the Muslims have discussed the question which Sūra is the oldest, probably containing his call to be a Prophet (see above). The majority decided for Sūra xcvi. 1—5 (see *Iḥkām*, i. 29) and many modern critics have followed them in this. Properly understood, the passage really does fit this view very well; but it is not absolutely certain and, as already mentioned, we must deal with the possibility that it is just of the earliest revelations that much may have been lost before people began to learn them by heart or record them in writing.

Of the next two classes, the third is probably the easiest to define. It is the weakest part of the *Qur'ān*, in which Muḥammad's imagination apparently became exhausted, and he was content with tiresome repetitions of his earlier ideas and especially with the tales of the prophets. The form becomes discursive, and more prosaic, in which this group resembles the following ones. The passages belonging to it show clearly that Muḥammad would have become intellectually bankrupt if the migration to Medina had not aroused him to a new effort. The transition to this group is formed by the second. The opening enthusiasm gives place to calm and the Prophet's aim is to influence his hearers by proofs, which to tell the truth are often not very convincing, such as descriptions of phenomena of nature and in the life of man, in which occasionally we have a flash of the old poetic fire. Considerable space is occupied by the stories of the experiences of earlier prophets, which were intended to warn his enemies and to encourage himself, because he constructed them with great daring on the model of his own experiences. The introductory conjuration formulae become rarer and rarer and completely disappear in the third group. To the second group belongs the remarkable episode in which Muḥammad is fond of using for Allāh the name al-Raḥmān, unknown to the Meccans. In the Sūras of the first group it is found once only, in Sūra lv. 1, rarely in the third and nowhere in the Medina sections.

Instead of this simple grouping, which excellently characterises the Meccan sūras, H. Hirschfeld has proposed another, quite artificial, system, in which the sūras following xcvi. 1—5, are arranged under the following heads: declamatory, narrative, descriptive and legislative. The result is not so very different from Nöldeke's, but the system is mechanical and often arbitrary in its application, e. g. when xciii. 9 *sqq.*, where the change of rhyme alone proves nothing, is cut off and added to the legislative series.

21. In the revelations of the Medina period, the question is much easier to settle. Everywhere that we find Muḥammad attacking the Jews or the *munāfikūn* [q. v.], that he summons to the holy

war ("on the path of Allāh") or where he lays down criminal or civil legislation, we are in Medina, whether we are dealing with whole sūras or small sections or single verses, e. g. vi. 147 *sqq.*; xxix. 1—10; lxxiii. 31—34a. The references to events known to us from the *Sira* in the Medina period, the battles in Muḥammad's wars, his discourses etc., afford us a particularly safe means of arranging the sūras chronologically. There are also all kinds of details in which an investigation of the pertinent passages reveals at least their relative order, e. g. his opinions on wine and his varying utterances on the attitude to other religions and on the holy war. Such details are very suitable for the subjects of special studies and very often yield very important results. Snouck Hurgronje has clearly revealed one point of fundamental importance in *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 33 *sqq.* In the Meccan sūras it is often said that no prophetic admonisher had been sent to the Arabs before Muḥammad as to other peoples (xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 43; xxxvi. 5). Abraham occupies a prominent position among the prophets (xix. 42); he is however only a prophet like the others and has nothing to do with the Arabs. When he is called *ḥanif* [q. v.], this is in contrast to the polytheists, just as Muḥammad himself is called a *ḥanif*; and when there is a reference to the *millat Ibrāhīm* (vi. 162; xvi. 124), it may also be understood of monotheism, cf. the words of Joseph in xii. 38. Abraham on the other hand gains quite another significance in Medina, after the definite breach with the Jews had been made. In direct contrast to the previous neglect of the Arabs, we are now told that Abraham lived in Mecca and founded the sanctuary of the Black Stone with his son Ishmael: ii. 119—123; iii. 89—91, a legend (? invented by Arabian Jews?) which had never been heard of in Mecca (xxviii. 57; xxix. 67). When Abraham is now called a *ḥanif*, the word is used not only in contrast to the polytheists but also to the Jews and Christians: iii. 60; iv. 124; cf. ii. 129; and the *millat Ibrāhīm* is now the original pure religion, which Muḥammad wishes to introduce (ii. 124, 129; iii. 89; iv. 124), for Thora and Gospel were only sent down after Abraham (iii. 58) and the Jews and Christians corrupted the original religion (see above). This certainly shows that passages like xiv. 30—40; xxii. 27, 77, could not have arisen in Mecca, but only later in Medina, which may perhaps also be true of vi. 162, and xvi. 124 above mentioned. Less certain is another criterion of criticism pointed out by the same Dutch scholar (*De Gids*, 1886, ii. 460). He sees in Muḥammad's polemics against the Christians a result of the breach with the Jews and therefore thinks that all passages in which they occur must be Medinese. In the great majority of cases this dating is certainly right, but there is at least one such passage which can only be Meccan. In one of the frequent verbal duels between the Prophet and his polytheistic countrymen xliii. 57 *sqq.* the latter endeavour to involve him in the difficulty that Jesus, whom he himself takes as a model, is actually worshipped as God by the Christians; and Muḥammad sharply repudiates this view for "Jesus was and only professed to be a man". Muḥammad was however in the Meccan period always convinced of the full agreement of his teaching with that of the Jews and Christians; but we must remember that,

as already mentioned, the main thing with him at first was not monotheism but the proclamation of the imminent judgment, an idea which he certainly adopted from the Christians; what they thought about Christ was quite subordinate to this and it is also possible that the very Christians with whom he was in contact at this time had heretical views with regard to ecclesiastical Christology. He would soon learn that there were differences on various questions among the "peoples of a scripture" (xxiii. 55; xxvii. 48; xlii. 18) and as strict monotheism had become to him the central element in religion, he had at once to reject orthodox Christology as a degeneration of pure Christianity. Passages like xix. 35—41 may thus have already originated in Mecca.

Just as the first revelation received by Muḥammad was sought among the Meccan sūras, so did the Muslims seek the last among the Medīnese, especially as this question was of some importance for possible abrogations. But the Muslim statements vary rather much: cf. *Itkān*, i. 33 sq. Sūra v. or ix. or cx. is given as the last sūra; ii. 278 resp. 281 or iv. 175 as the last verse, while others say v. 5 or ix. 29 sq. The last is connected with a tradition which says that Zaid in collecting the Qurʾān found these two verses last. Much more attractive is the view that v. 5 is the last, which is probably rightly connected with the farewell pilgrimage (cf. the emphasised "to-day"); as regards contents, it would be very suitable as a final verse, although the meaning is not that Muḥammad's mission was completed but that Allāh's cause had been victorious. The claims of the other verses suggested as the last verse are not capable of any further proof.

22. For the Muḥammadans, the Qurʾān is not the sacred book in the usual sense but something of much greater significance. It is, as already mentioned, the faithful reproduction of the original scriptures in heaven. This sounds rather strange, when we remember that this heavenly book, according to the passages above quoted, only became by Allāh's grace an "Arabic" Qurʾān, intelligible to Muḥammad and his people, as the scriptures of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* were closed to them; but this distinction gradually disappeared for the religious consciousness. After the conception of eternity and the uncreatedness of the word of God had become known to Muslim theologians through the polemics of Christian theologians (cf. C. H. Becker, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xxvi. 186 sqq.), it was applied by them to the copy in heaven and then finally by the strictly orthodox school to the Arabic copies of the Qurʾān and expressed, epigrammatically in the sentence, "What lies between the two covers, is the word of God". The Muʿtazilis and the more free-thinking theologians raised a protest, it is true, but after al-Ashʿari himself, in the last version of his dogmatics, had championed the view that the written or recited Qurʾān is identical in being and reality with the uncreated and eternal word of God, the victory was won by the orthodox school.

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(F. BUHL)

KORDOFĀN is a province in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān which lies roughly between Latitudes N. 16 and 10 and Longitudes E. 32 and 27.

The word Kordofān or Kordofāl, as it is often pronounced locally and written in old documents, does not occur, we think, in any Arabic historian or geographer of the middle ages. It is generally supposed to be derived from a small hill of the same name some ten miles S.E. of al-ʿObeid (Lat. N. 13° 11', Long. E. 30° 14'), but the meaning of the word, the language from which it is drawn, and the territorial limits to which it was applied before the last century, are all uncertain. In the

Tabakāt wad Daifulla (1805) the name occurs in the lives of three holy men of the seventeenth century: one of them, called al-Kordofālī, came from Kurun which is south of Tekāli and another from Zalaṭa which is west of Nahūd. Burckhardt, whose knowledge of it was mainly obtained from merchants in Shendi (1814), refers to Kordofān frequently as if it were a region comparable to Dārūr or Sennār. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it seems, therefore, to have included a broad corridor running between the southern Nūba mountains and Dār Kabābīsh; to this day Arabs north of Lat. N. 14° 30' speak of "going to Kordofān". After the Egyptian conquest in 1821 the name was applied to one of the greater administrative areas into which the Sūdān was divided and for the next sixty years it covered a region reaching from or near the White Nile westwards to Dārūr, and from Dongola province south to the line formed by the Baḥr al-Ḥazāl and the Baḥr al-'Arab. After the Egyptian defeat in 1899 the province was re-constituted for a few years on the old lines but it has since been reduced by the formation, first, of the White Nile province and, later, of the Nūba Mountains province. As at present defined, Kordofān province covers an area of about 119,000 square miles with a population estimated in 1925 at less than half a million. Al-'Obeid is the capital and the chief local centres are at Bāra and Sōderi (north), Umm Ruāba and Rahad (east) and Nahūd, Abū Zabād, al-Qaiya and Muglad (west). The capital of the Nūba Mountains province is at Talōdi.

In this vast area there is considerable variety of soil, rainfall, fauna, and flora, and the inhabitants are perhaps still more diverse, the region in these respects being typical of a series of African territories between the same parallels of latitude, though unlike some of these Kordofān has never formed the centre of an independent native state. The middle zone through which a railway passes to al-'Obeid, is and has long been the most important economically and as a pilgrim route from Central and Western Africa. Before the Egyptian conquest the Dārūr slave-trade, a trade then chiefly in small children, passed through this zone, and during the Egyptian rule it was the centre from which slaves were recruited for the army from the Nūba mountains. Gum, ivory, ostrich feathers and a little gold have also been traded through this region for many centuries, but only the first of these commodities is still of importance: to-day large quantities of the finest gum are exported from Kordofān to the world markets, also cattle to Egypt from the Baḳḳāra districts in the south-west, and from the eastern district grain (*dukkh*) to Arabia. The opening of the railway, the sinking of deep wells, and the clearing of motor roads have given a great impetus to the development of this country. North of this zone the rainfall is light, semi-desert conditions prevail over large areas, and the country is divided between various camel-owning tribes except for a few hills still occupied by much reduced communities of sedentary Nūba and a few oases, like Bāra, where gardens can be cultivated. In the southern third, on the other hand, and particularly in the Nūba mountains, natural conditions are much more favourable to the production of crops like cotton and the breeding of cattle and horses: this part of the country has now been tranquil

for some years and is steadily increasing in wealth as communications improve.

The population is formed of the most diverse elements. In the north and centre Arabic is universally spoken and Islām of the usual African type is the religion of the people: in the south, Arabic is now spreading along the trade-routes, but most of the people on the hills have still kept their own languages and forms of religion. Most of the Arabic-speaking people whose conversion to Islām is not very recent, claim Arab pedigrees but it is impossible to say what amount of Arab blood is still flowing in any particular district here or elsewhere in the Sūdān. The Arabs filtered into the land in small bands and intermarried freely with the natives, Libyan, Nubian, Beja or what not, according to their own traditions which are confirmed by their customs and appearance. The Kabābīsh, for example, in the north of Kordofān, who are counted, probably with right, one of the most 'Arabian' of the tribes, infibulate their women according to the Sūdān 'Pharaonic' rite and observe the marriage customs which are characteristic from Dongola to Sennār, and the tribe is a recent amalgam of heterogeneous elements, different sections speaking different dialects of Arabic. The Baḳḳāra tribes, on the other hand, are, or until recently were, strongly opposed to infibulation and the more characteristic wedding customs of their Muslim neighbours, yet they can hardly be considered more Arab than the Kabābīsh. It is obvious that the term Arab when used in the Sūdān as an ethnic term must be understood with a difference. This difference must be still further accentuated in the case of the more mixed communities in the centre of Kordofān and on the more advanced Nūba hills where Arabic is spoken and Islām practiced as it is understood on the Nile. When one turns from these to the naked Pagans on the hills, one enters a sphere which is quite as heterogeneous as the sphere one has left: the term Nūba which is applied by the Arabs here to any black pagans suggests a relationship which has no existence in fact. In a recent study Meinhof has enumerated 27 languages spoken on the Nūba hills and has traced them to three distinct African language groups which reach back to remote prehistoric days. It may be added that Meinhof's list is probably incomplete and that the inhabitants of different hills also differ profoundly from one another in physical type and in the acquired knowledge and dexterity observable in primitive crafts and pursuits.

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B. Z. Seligman in *Harvard African Studies*, 1918, in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Ethics* etc., s.v. Nuba, in *J. R. A. I.* for 1910 and in the *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, 1910, and to various notes by MacMichael, Newbold, Davies, Hillelson, the Seligmans and others in *Sudan Notes and Records* from 1918 onwards.

(J. W. CROWFOOT)

KORKÜD, eldest son of the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazid II, was appointed to the governorship of the province of Teke in Asia Minor; incurring the enmity of the grand vizier 'Alī Pasha, who preferred his brother Aḥmad Sultān to him, he decided to quit his father's territory after the grand vizier had seized certain estates in his province; obtaining sanction to set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, he embarked in Muḥarram 915 (April 1509) with 87 persons in his train on five ships commanded by Ra'īs Akbāsh; after a voyage of five days, he landed at Alexandria and was accorded a magnificent reception in Cairo by the Mamlūk Sultān but the latter refused him passage through his territory for fear of displeasing the Ottoman Sultān; Korkūd thereupon resolved to come to terms with his father's vizier and was restored to his governorship. While he was on his way back to Cilicia his flotilla was attacked and defeated by the Knights of Rhodes; the prince was forced to land on the nearest coast. In passing through the province of Teke, he had his baggage plundered in the vicinity of Elmalu by brigands commanded by Kara-biyik, called *Shāh Kūli* (cf. *Der Islām*, xi. 88 sqq.). Suspecting intrigues on the part of his brothers, he went in disguise to Constantinople and stayed at the mosque of the Janissaries, but the latter took the side of Selīm and distrusted Korkūd's incapacity. The forced abdication of Bāyazid made him abandon all hope of succeeding him (8th Šafar 918 = April 25, 1512). After the massacre of the imperial princes, Korkūd was in terror of his life; Selīm, setting out unexpectedly from Brussa under a pretext of going hunting, arrived five days later in front of Magnesia the capital of the province of *Šārūkhān* [q.v.] of which his brother was governor. Korkūd fled from his palace by a back-door accompanied by Piyāle, whom alone he trusted. After hiding for twenty days in a cave, they took refuge in the province of Teke in disguise but were betrayed to the governor Kāsim Beg by the Turkomans, who were surprised at the handsome trappings of the horse lent by Piyāle to one of them who was sent to procure them provisions. Korkūd, taken prisoner and separated from his companion, was strangled during the night by *Kāpydībāshi* Sinān's men by order of Selīm (Nov. 1512).

Korkūd was a poet and musician. He assumed the poetic surname (*makhlas*) of *Ḥarīmī* and composed melodies, one of which is still famous under the name *Ghazālī Rūh* "food of the spirit". He surrounded himself with men of letters and scholars and was the patron of musicians in whose company he delighted. At his court he had the poet *Ghazālī* of Brussa, called *Deli Birāder* "the mad brother" on account of his whimsical gaiety, who later wrote a funeral elegy on his patron (von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii. 201); this did not prevent him also mixing in legal circles and preparing a collection of *fetwās* entitled *Korkūdiya*. — His name means in Turkish "terrifying".

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KORKUD DEDE, the legendary councillor of Oghuz Khān and reputed author of the book of *Dede Korkud*. Korkud Dede is said to have been the sage adviser of the eponym of the tribe and first ruler of the group of peoples, to which the Anatolian Turks at first belonged, Oghuz Khān, for whom he composed a book in the simplest antique style with wise sayings and admonitions, intermingled with all kinds of traditions and counsels. Whether Korkud Dede was a historical personage or not can no longer be ascertained. A. Diwajew in the article discussed by W. Barthold in the *M. S. O. S.*, i. (1898), Pt. 2, p. 154 and iv. (1901), Pt. 2, p. 183, has dealt with the tomb of the saint Khorkhut Ata (*ata* = *dede*, "father") in the Russian district of Kazalinsk not far from the mouth of the Sīr-Daryā. There is perhaps some connection here. The book, usually called simply *Kitāb-i Dede Korkud*, is regarded as a part of the epic of Oghuz, the *Oghuz-nāme* and in its present form is believed to be barely older than the xvth century. It can be shown to have arisen in Eastern Anatolia. The *Kitāb-i Dede Korkud* was published in 1332 in Stambul (172 p.) from a modern Dresden copy taken from an older Berlin MS. (cf. W. Pertsch, *Katal. der Türk. HSS.*, No. 203, p. 227 sqq.). On the contents cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vostochnago otdeleniya imperat. russk. archeolog. obščestva*, viii., 1893/1894, 203—218; xi., 1897/1898, 175—194; xii., 1899, 937—958; xv., 1902/1903, 139 sqq.; cf. also 'Abd al-Qādir in the *Türkiyāt Medjmu'asi*, 1, Stambul 1925, 213 sqq.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

KÖSE MIKHÂL (T., "Michael the beardless"), an Ottoman general, a Greek renegade, was lord of *Kharman-Kaya*, a fortified town situated at the foot of Mount Olympus in Mysia, to the east of Edrenos, when he was made prisoner by prince 'Othmān, the future Sultān, during a raid made by the Lord of In-Önü (698 = 1299). When 'Othmān had succeeded his father Er-Togrul, he became the intimate friend of the sultān, who on his advice seized Lefke, Yeñidje, Ak-Ḥisār, Geiwe, Tekfūr-būnār, Modreni, Biledjik (699 = 1300). Converted to Islām (706 = 1306) he was entrusted with the direction of the campaigns of Orkhān, was a member of the council of war which accompanied

the young prince, and negotiated the surrender of Brussa (726 = 1326).

His descendants called Mikhâl-oghlu (sons of Michael) for a long time held from father to son, the command of the *âkındji* (scouts). One of his sons had taken the side of Prince Sulaimân, son of Bâyezid I; later he left him to offer his services to Muḥammad.

Yakhshi-Beg, his second son, supported Muḥammad against Mūsā and commanded his vanguard. Another Mikhâl-oghlu, Muḥammad Beg, nephew of Yakhshi-Beg, was on the contrary among the party of Mūsā in the quality of beyler-bey of Rumelia and, after the defeat of that prince, was imprisoned at Tokât. Lastly a descendant of the same name was sent to ravage Transylvania at the time of Sulaimân I's expedition against the Hungarians in 927 (1521).

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KÖSEM WÂLIDE also called MÂHPEIKER, the wife of the Ottoman Sultân Aḥmad I [q. v.] and mother of the Sultâns Murâd IV and Ibrâhîm I. — Kösem (lit.: "bell-wether", "courageous") or Mâhpeiker was a Greek by birth. In 1637 she was about 45, so must have been born about 1592. Contemporary accounts describe her as a woman, still beautiful even at an advanced age, with fine features, vigorous looking, with an expression of benevolence and superior intelligence. For nearly thirty years this statesmanlike princess exercised a great influence on the government of the country. While, even in the lifetime of her husband Aḥmad I, she took an active part in public affairs and through her beauty and intelligence was able to share in the government, at a later period she had firm control of the reins of government, when her minor son Murâd IV ascended the throne. For five years she ruled as his guardian. On his death in 1049 (1640), when the weak and effeminate Ibrâhîm I (1640—1648) came to the throne, she was active in warding off trouble at home, began a war with Crete which dragged on and increased popular feeling against the incapable Sultân. Kösem Wâlide strove in vain to prevent his deposition, although she had been thrust aside by him, as previously by Murâd IV. Ibrâhîm was deposed on August 8, 1648 (18th Radjab 1058) and executed a few days later. Three years afterwards however, when the minor Mehmed IV had ascended the throne and a rivalry arose between the old Wâlide Kösem and Ibrâhîm's widow, Tarkhân Khadidja, in the course of which Kösem was accused of trying to murder Mehmed IV in order to put his brother Sulaimân in his place, she met a miserable end in a mutiny of the Janissaries in the palace on 16th Ramaḍân 1061 (September 2, 1651); she was strangled with a curtain-string. She was buried beside her husband. Kösem Wâlide is still celebrated and honoured among the Turks on account of the numerous foundations which perpetuate her name. She was a noble, magnanimous, truly queenly woman of great intelligence and a good heart but of strong character. She devoted the annual income from five royal domains belonging to her entirely to building (1646) a house of rest

called after her (*Wâlide Khân*, collapsed on the morning of March 21, 1926), a Friday mosque bearing her name in Scutari and a mosque begun by her but finished by the younger Wâlide in Stambul (*Wâlide Djami'i*) and to the carrying out of waterworks in Egypt, to the support of the poor in Mecca, to providing for debtors who had no means of payment, and to supporting widows and orphans (Na'ima, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 298, 310; J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 547, where details are given to show her benevolent disposition).

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

KOŞER. [See KUSAIR].

KÖSHK (Ottoman Turkish pronunciation of the Persian *kūshk*; the Arabic derivative *djawsak*, pre-supposes an unattested form **gōshak*, *gōsha*, "corner"), isolated pavilion in a park, kiosk. This name was given to the country houses of the caliphs (as opposed to their house in the town), such as the Djawsak al-Khākāni of Sāmarrā, the plan of which has been given by Ernst Herzfeld (*Mitteilung über die Arbeiten der zweiten Kampagne von Samarra, Isl.*, 1914, v. 203). There were in Cairo a certain number of these pavilions, also called *kaşr* (pl. *kaşūr*), at the cemetery of Karāfa (Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭat*, ii. 452); these two expressions are synonyms, as is shown by a passage in Ibn Battūta, iii. 212.

(CL. HUART)

KOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic 'arūd [q. v.]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turki to the Western Turki *koşma* is *koşuk* or *koşugh*.

In the oldest sources e. g. in the *Kutadghu Bilik* (composed in 1069/1070) *koşuk* still has the quite general meaning of "poem, verse", e. g. in Radloff's edition, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 1, l. 2 from below: *bu kitâbni koşuknî aimîsh* "has composed this book, this poem"; *ibid.*, p. 5, l. 4, *bu türkâ koşuklar tûrâtım saña* "I have polished (i. e. composed) these Turkish verses for thee". In Maḥmūd al-Ķāshghari also, *Diwān Luḡāt al-Turk* (1073/1074), i. 314, *koşugh* is equated to the Arabic *sh'r*, *raḡja* and *kaş'id*. The Persian musician and scholar 'Abd al-Ķādir of Marāgha (xiv—xvth century, cf. E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, index, s. v.), in his work entitled *Maḳāsid al-Alḥān* does not yet discriminate between *koşuk* and the quantitative quatrain *tuyugh* (see Ra'ûf Vektâ, *Eski Türk musikîsine dâir tetebü'ler Millî tetebü'ler medîmû'asî*, i. 461). On the other hand in a verse by 'Alî Shēr Nawâ'î (d. 1501; q. v.) quoted in Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, p. 432 s. v. and in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, ii. col. 640 the *koşuk* is definitely contrasted with the *tuyuk*.

Later we find poems and songs composed according to the rules of Turkish popular poetry expressly called *koşma*, *koşuk*. The characteristic

features of this poetry are the following: 1. Strophic structure. The strophes are usually quatrains. The *koşma* poems contain at least two strophes. 2. Syllabic or accented syllable rhythm, i.e. the lines of the strophe have the same number of syllables and the value of the syllables as regards stress is either a matter of indifference or stronger and weaker syllables follow one another in definite order which is repeated. In the latter case after a definite number of syllables, we always have of necessity a caesura in the middle of the line. In the later *koşma* strophes the most popular lines are hendecasyllabic divided into 6-5 with one caesura or 4-4-3 (with two caesuras). 3. There is rhyme or assonance of at least two endings in the strophe. The rhyme is usually grammatical and may extend to several final syllables according to its nature. It usually arises as a result of strict parallelism in the syntactical structure of the two halves of the verse. The rhyming in the *koşma* strophe is usually *abcb* or *aaba*. 4. Alliteration of the initial syllables of the lines is not maintained among all Turkish people (cf. T. Kowalski, *Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs, Mémoires de la Comm. Orient. de l'Acad. Polonaise*, No. 5, Cracow 1922; in Polish with a French résumé, p. 157 sqq.).

In earlier times the *koşma* songs were usually sung by the bards (*uzan*) to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially the *koşun* [q.v.] beloved of the Turks, at court festivities or in the camp of the army. The *koşma* poetry was always industriously cultivated among the people, in spite of the increasing popularity of the classical quantitative poetry. The popular forms like *kaya bışi*, *deyışi*, *ezgi*, *ır*, *türkü*, *varsaglı*, *türkmâni*, some cultivated among the *Âdharbâidjân* and some among the Ottoman Turks all belong to the *koşma*. The songs of popular mystics called *ilâhî* and *nefes* from the time of Yûnus Emre (xiii.-xiv. century) are composed according to the rules of the *koşma* (see Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'ad, *Türk edebiyâtında ilk müteşavvirler*, Constantinople 1918, p. 334—335). The *koşma* popular poetry, which sometimes produces really beautiful lyrics, was mainly cultivated by wandering singers (*âşîk*, also called *sân şâiri* or *öyürcü*). Many of them like 'Âşîk Ömer, 'Âşîk Kerem, 'Âşîk Çharib, Derdli, Djewheri, attained great fame and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'ad, *Türk edebiyâtında 'Âşîk Tarâinîn Menshe' we-Tekâmülü in Milli tettebbü'ler Medjmu'ası*, i.; do., *'Âşîk Djewheriye 'âid iki vethika* in the periodical *Yeni Medjmu'a*, No. 84; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 17—18). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, *Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii., p. 33—175.

The term *koşma* (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use and if the modern *Âdharbâidjân* poet Djawâd who died recently called his collection of songs *Koşma*, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaïcising popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form *kozoñ* (*koşoñ*) among the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai *kozoñ* (on them cf. W. Radloff, *Über die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den altaischen*

Tataren, *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, iv., 1866, p. 85—114 and Kowalski, *Études etc.*, p. 140—151) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words *koşma*, *koşuk*, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that *kozoñ* from *koş-* "to join together", *kozo* "two and two" etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The *koşma* poetry was not without influence on literature. The modern Turkish poets for example took many of their forms from popular poetry.

Bibliography: (dealing particularly with *koşma*): Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'ad, *Koşma Tarzı*, a comprehensive article in the periodical *Yeni Medjmu'a*, No. 78 (with references to the literature); do., *Türkiya Târikhi*, Constantinople, 1923, i. 51—52; do., *Türk edebiyâtı Târikhi*, Constantinople 1920, i. 93; Kowalski in the above quoted *Études etc.*, p. 140. — On the rhythmic structure of Turkish popular poetry cf. Th. Korš, *Drewniejšij narodnyj stich tureckich plemion in Zap. Wost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obschtschestwa*, xix., ii.—iii., p. 139—167, St. Petersburg 1909. (T. KOWALSKI)

KOŞOWA (from the Yugo-Slav *kosovo polje* — "plain of the blackbirds", from *kos* "blackbird" in Old Slav, Bulgar and Czech; the Turkish *kūs owa* "plain of the kettle-drums", Sa'd al-Din, i. 117 is a literary invention), the name of a plateau in Upper Macedonia (Old Serbia) of an average height of 1,500 to 2,000 feet, surrounded by high mountains which form the watershed; it sends some streams to the east to the Adriatic by the Drina, to the south to the Aegean Sea by the Vardar, to the north to the Danube by the Ibar, a tributary of the Morawa. It was here that the Ottoman army under the command of Sultân Murâd I Khudâwendigâr defeated the Serbs in a great battle, which resulted in the ruin of the Serbian empire and the conquest of the country in 791 (June 15, 1389). The kral of Serbia, Lazar, had appealed to his allies in Bosnia and Albania; the Sultân on his side had brought from Asia the forces of his two sons Bâyezid (from Kutâhiya) and Ya'kûb (from Karasi) and those of the vassal princes of Şârûkhân, Monteshe, Âidin and Hamîd. At dawn a Serb, Miloş Obilić, arrived in the Ottoman camp, professing to have deserted and begged the honour of being admitted to the presence of the Sultân; after prostrating himself, he suddenly jumped up and plunged his dagger in Murâd's breast; he then fled, but was caught just as he was mounting his horse and cut to pieces by the Janissaries. The popular ballads of Christian origin, an echo of which is found in Coluccio Salutati's letter of congratulation to King Wladko, speak of twelve brave young men, bound together by an oath, who fought their way right through to the Sultân's tent and stabbed him twice with the dagger, one wound being on the neck and the other on the lower part of the body. The Turks attacked, furious with rage to avenge the death of their Sultân. The kral Lazar, abandoned by Wladko and the Bosnians, seized with panic, fell into the hands

of the Turks and was decapitated with the nobles who accompanied him by order of the dying Sultān. Three monoliths erected on the battlefield mark the places where Milosh twice escaped from the Janissaries and where he was killed (Şolakh-zāde). A mausoleum was built on the spot where Murād died; the body of the Sultān was however taken away and buried at Brussa. — In Sha'bān 852 (October 17, 1448, Eve of St. Luke) a Hungarian army, commanded by John Hunyadi and including also Wallachians and German and Bohemian arquebusiers, met at Košowa an Ottoman army commanded by Sultān Murād II: the battle at first indecisive, turned in favour of the latter as a result of the treachery of the Wallachians and the flight of Hunyadi; it ended on the 19th with the glorious but fruitless defence of the German and Czech auxiliaries behind a barricade formed of waggons and artillery.

The name Košowa was given to a wilāyet formed after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877: it was bounded on the east by Bulgaria, in the west by Montenegro, Bosnia and the wilāyet of Scutari in Albania, in the north by Serbia and in the south by the wilāyets of Monastir and Salonika. It was divided into six sandjaks: Ūsküb (capital of the province), Prishtina, Prizrend, Yeñi-Bāzār (Novi-Bazar), Tashlidja (Plevlie) and Ipek; at a later date the sandjak of Yeñi-Bāzār was changed into a *kaşā* and a new sandjak made called Senidje (Sienitz) with Kōlashin as a *kaşā* (Sālnāme, 1325, p. 932). This territory was ceded to the Serbs by the Treaty of London (May 30, 1913); it is now part of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Bibliography: Sa'd al-Din, *Tādji al-Tawārikh*, i. 117 sqq., p. 392 sqq.; 'Alī Djawād, *Djoghrafyā lughātī*, p. 635 sqq.; *Sālnāme* 1325, p. 926 sqq.; Munadjjim-Bashī, iii. 303—304; Ferā'i-zāde, *Gulsheni me'arif*, i. 451—457; Kara-Čelebi-zāde 'Abd al-'Aziz, *Rauḍat al-Abrār*, p. 350; J. v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, i. 281 sqq.; ii. 334 sqq.; T. G. Djuvara, *Cent projets de partage de la Turquie*, Paris 1914, p. 450; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. 262—264, 451; Stojan Novakovitch, *Kosova, Srbske narodne Pjesme* (popular ballads), Belgrade 1871—1876; A. d'Avril, *La bataille de Kossowa*, Paris 1868; A. Pavitch, *Narodne Pjesme* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences et arts d'Agram*, 1877); H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 174 sqq.

(CL. HUART)

KOŠTĀ B. LŪKĀ, AL-BA'ALBAKKĪ. Our authorities for his life are Ya'qūb al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, p. 295), Ibn Abī Ūṣaib'ā (i. 244, who quotes a very large number of works, mainly medical), Ibn al-Kifī (p. 292), Abu 'l-Farāj (text, p. 274; transl., p. 197). These give as their sources Sulaimān b. al-Ḥassān, Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Djibril and others not mentioned by name. There are also references in other passages of the Arabic biographical and bibliographical works mentioned above. For those which we have utilised below, see the indexes.

Koštā b. Lūkā belonged to Ba'albak (the Heliopolis of the Greeks) in Syria; he was of Greek descent and a Melkite i.e. an orthodox Christian. In this capacity for example he disputed with a Nestorian cleric regarding the duality of the natures

in Christ (cf. G. Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur*, in *Strassburger Theolog. Studien*, vol. VII/i., 1905, p. 38 sq.). We know the years of birth and death of many Arab mathematicians but not of Koštā b. Lūkā. We have however the following chronological data for his life. For the Caliph Muṣṭa'in (862—866) he translated the work "On the lifting of heavy burdens" (*Barulcus*) of Heron and the *Spherica* of Theodosius; he wrote an introduction to geometry for Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī b. Yahyā who belonged to al-Mutawakkil's (847—861) court and died in 888—889. To Ismā'il b. Bulbul, Mu'tamid's vizier (870/892) he dedicated his work on the use of the sphere with an axe. He was still alive in the reign of al-Muktadir (908—932), for he was on terms of intimacy with the latter's contemporary Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir (*The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, *Oriental. Transl. Fund.*, 2nd ser., xxvii. and xxviii., text, p. 131, transl., p. 144). Suter supposes that Koštā b. Lūkā died about 912; as he can hardly have begun to translate before he was 25 years old, it would result from the above data that he was born about 820 and lived to be 70 or 80.

Koštā b. Lūkā was regarded as a talented and very brilliant physician and a sound scholar in many branches of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and music. It was impossible to find him lacking in any aspect of his knowledge. According to the *Fihrist*, it was the general opinion that Koštā b. Lūkā ranked higher than the celebrated physician and translator Ḥunain b. Ishāk (d. 873). But, according to the same source, there were others who held the view that Ḥunain was the better. In any case both were brilliant scholars. Modern opinion ranks Koštā below Ḥunain. Koštā b. Lūkā could write Greek, Syriac and Arabic; he had a perfect knowledge of Greek and was an excellent translator, especially of medical works; this was natural as he was a physician. His Arabic style is famed as well as the way in which he arranged his works; his concise presentation is justly praised; its lack makes difficult the study of the works of others, notably those of Ibn al-Haiṭham.

Koštā b. Lūkā left his native district in the 'Abbāsid period and went to Asia Minor, the land of Rūm; here he acquired a number of Greek writings and returned with them to Syria. He was summoned to 'Irāk, probably by one of the Caliphs, to translate works there. At the same time he revised many existing translations; Koštā b. Lūkā thus rendered great services to the East in making accessible classical learning. The Muslims therefore say that the reason that many branches of philosophy are studied in Muslim lands is that Koštā b. Lūkā introduced them on his return from this journey. Towards the end of his life Sanharib, an Armenian prince took Koštā b. Lūkā to his land, where he lived till his death. The Armenian Patriarch Abu 'l-Ḥaṭṭrif was a learned and distinguished man for whom Koštā b. Lūkā prepared many excellent works on the most different subjects. It is evidence of the great prestige enjoyed by Koštā that a cupola was erected in his honour over his tomb, as was only done for princes and high religious officials.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ celebrated Koštā's merits in verse (Ibn Abī Ūṣaib'ā, ii. 166).

Of his relations to his contemporaries,

we know that he wrote medical works for some of them or translated medical books, for example even for Christian officials. Among such were Abū 'l-Ḡhaṭrif al-Baṭriḳ, al-Baṭriḳ al-Fatan, al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, the secretary of the Chief Patriarch, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, the chief Qāḍī, Abū 'Alī b. Banān b. Ḥārith. It is probable that Koṣṭā b. Luḳā also met the philosopher al-Kindī at the Caliph's court, as Ibn al-Kiṭṭī specially mentions that the two had met. Of a certain Abū 'Isā b. al-Munadjjim (astronomer or astrologer), we unfortunately know nothing; Koṣṭā b. Luḳā sent him a letter from Armenia on the subject of Muḥammad as a prophet (for his relations with other men see the sources).

The literary activity of Koṣṭā b. Luḳā covered the most varied fields, as in the case of the Banū Mūsā, Ishāḳ b. Hunain and Thābit b. Qurra; it does not seem however to have been quite so comprehensive as in the case of the two latter; but it should be remembered that we are extremely well informed about the latter. Ishāḳ b. Hunain, for example, himself prepared a list of his translations from Galen (G. Bergsträsser, *Hunain Ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-übersetzungen*, in *Abh. zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xvii., N^o. 2, and a record of Thābit's works was made by a relative.

A list of translations of Greek works was made by M. Steinschneider in *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. 1., 1896; see the index of names under Koṣṭā b. Luḳā as the order is that of the Greek authors. The titles of a series of very valuable medical treatises are given by Wüstenfeld and Leclerc (*op. cit.*). Only a few of these seem to have survived, for example that on the treatment of the body in jaundice (*K. fi Tadbīr al-Abdān fi 'l-Safar* etc.), on phlegm (*K. fi 'l-Balgham*), insomnia (*K. fi 'l-Sahar*). None of these writings has so far been utilised. He also dealt with problems of hygiene, for example, baths (*K. al-Ḥammān*) and the standards for foods (*K. Kawānin al-Aghdiya*).

In addition to these and similar works on philosophy, science and mathematics, Koṣṭā b. Luḳā also wrote on dyes and colours: *K. fi Khidāb* (on the staining of *khaish*, a coarse linen, and its alteration by sprinkling, *K. al-'Illa fi Iswīdād al-Khaish wa-Taghayyurihi min al-Rashsh*). Other works dealt with fans and the causes of wind (*K. fi 'l-Mirwaha wa-Asbāb al-Rih*), and on date wine and the drinking of it at feasts (*K. fi 'l-Nabid wa-Sharbihi fi 'l-Walā'im*) and how to avert poisoning (*K. fi Daf' al-Sumūn*).

According to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, vol. v., p. 132, Koṣṭā b. Luḳā is also the translator of the work on Byzantine agriculture (*Kitāb al-Falāḥa al-Rūmiya*) by Kostus son of Askūrāskinā; a translation by Sergius b. Heliā is said to be better (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, vol. v., N^o. 10377; cf. thereon M. Steinschneider, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. 1., p. 382, 1896 and A. Baumstark, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, ii. 21).

In the field of philosophy his principal work deals with the distinction between soul and spirit, pneuma (*al-farḳ* or *al-faṣl bain al-nafs wa 'l-rūh*). The genuineness of the work has been disputed. The difference between soul and pneuma lies 1) in their nature: the soul is corporeal, the pneuma incorporeal; 2) in their qualities: the soul occupies no space, the pneuma does; the former cannot be

but latter can be enclosed by the body; 3) in the condition after death: the soul is immortal and the pneuma mortal; 4) the pneuma is the instrument of the soul for communicating the functions of life to the body and for sensual perception. It controls most processes of the body, such as breathing, the pulse, sensation and movement. The pneuma goes to the eye in the hollow nerves. In its finest form, it is active in the higher processes of the mind, imagination, memory and reason. It is of special interest to explain, as Koṣṭā b. Luḳā endeavoured to do, the physiological processes; here he shows his medical knowledge.

The work had a far-reaching influence. It is for example much used by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl in his great book on nature. — Johannes Hispanus translated it into Latin. The text was published by Gabrieli as: *La Risalah di Qusta ben Luqa sulla differenza tra lo spirito e l'anima. Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 1910, xix., p. 622. It has been very fully discussed in connection with this edition by M. Horten in *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*², 1912, p. 179—189. Cf. also the edition by C. S. Barach, *Bibl. philos. mediae aetatis*, 1878, ii., p. 117 (cf. Baeumker, *Jahresbericht in Stein. Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1892, v., p. 557). G. Graf, *Psychologische Definitionen aus dem grossen Buch der Natur von 'Abd Allah, Beitr. zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Supplement 1913, p. 74.

Koṣṭā b. Luḳā dealt very fully with occult subjects; his most important work in this field, which survives in a Latin translation, is "On natural affinities" or more fully "Letters on incantations, conjurations and appendages for the neck (amulets)", in which he assumes such things to be facts and discusses them more fully (cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*); he interprets them however by autosuggestion and in the case of amulets thinks they have effect because they have an encouraging and strengthening influence on the spirit. It was probably through such studies that he came to deal with the subject of sand-figures in his *K. fi 'Amal al-Āla allati tursamu 'alaihā al-Djāwāmi' wa-tu'malu minhā al-Natā'idj*, "On the use of the instrument on which the *djāwāmi'* are marked and with which the *natā'idj* are obtained".

In mathematics Koṣṭā b. Luḳā, like many others, dealt with the difficult and obscure passages in Greek works. His treatise on the proof of the wellknown rule of the two errors (*Kitāb fi 'l-Burhān 'alā 'Amal Ḥisāb al-Khaṭa'ain*), is pure algebra, that on numerical problems (*K. Istikhrādj al-Masā'il al-'adadiya*) on the *al-Talāḳī* calculation (coincidence) are on the way to algebra, *K. fi Ḥisāb al-Talāḳī 'alā Djihat al-Djabr wa 'l-Muḳābala*. From a treatise by Ibn al-Haiṭham (*Fi Masā'il al-Talāḳī*, "On the problem of coincidences; cf. on this method of calculation, E. Wiedemann in *S. B. P. M. S.*, *Erl.*, 1927; St. Petersburg. Rosen, *Catalogue*, N^o. 192, 7^o) we see that it dealt with problems like the following: two men A and B came to the market and wished to buy an article. Neither has sufficient money: A says to B, give me $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of what you have then I can buy the article. No, says B to A, give me $\frac{1}{4}$ of what you have then I can buy it. — From the title in Koṣṭā b. Luḳā it is evident that he solved the problem with equations, while Ibn al-Haiṭham took a more roundabout way. We know practically

nothing of any geometrical work by Koştā b. Lūkā. He wrote an introduction to geometry in the form of questions and answers (*K. Mudkhal ilā 'ilm al-Handasa 'alā al-Masū'il wa 'l-Djawāb*); he also dealt with cones and spheres etc. To this part of his work probably belonged the treatise, on the part which cannot be divided (like the point) (*K. fi 'l-Djus' alladhi tā jutadjazzu*). We know more however of his astronomical work. He wrote a treatise (Oxford, Uri, 879, N^o. 2), "On the form (structure) of the spheres (*K. Haiyat al-Aflāk*)". It must have been composed at the same time as, or very little later than, the famous *Astronomy* of al-Farghānī (d. 861); from the scientific point of view it is on a much higher level than the latter and goes more into details; excellent diagrams make the subject clearer. It also deals with problems not in al-Farghānī, for example the measurement of the degrees between Tadmor and al-Rakka and a method hitherto ascribed to al-Bīrūnī of measuring the circumference of the earth. Koştā b. Lūkā's work seems to me to have been used as a foundation by numerous later writers.

Koştā b. Lūkā devoted a good deal of attention to the construction of astronomical instruments; the first work to be mentioned in this connection is his *K. fi 'l-'Amal bi 'l-Kura dhāt al-Kursi*, "On the use of the sphere with an axe" (cf. KURA). It survives in several manuscripts some complete, others incomplete, and has also been copied or utilised in other works. Another astronomical work is "On the use of the great astronomical cones", *K. al-'Amal bi 'l-Kura al-kabira al-nudjūmiya*. Whether works dealing with other instruments e.g. on a ball-shaped astrolabe, *K. fi 'Amal al-Aşturlāb al-kurī*, are by Koştā b. Lūkā need not be discussed here (cf. H. Seemann and Th. Mittelberger, *Das kugelförmige Astrolab*, *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturw.*, part viii., 1925, p. 46). In keeping with the spirit of his age Koştā b. Lūkā also wrote an introduction to astrology (*K. al-Mudkhal fi 'ilm al-Nudjūm*). The "Paradise of History", *K. al-Firdaws fi 'l-Ta'rikh*, composed in Armenia perhaps was similar in nature.

Of writings on physics may be mentioned those on the burning glass (*al-Marāya al-muhriqa*) and on the *Karastūn* [q.v.] and the book on weights and measures (*al-Awzān wa 'l-Makāyil*) which was certainly used by the Archbishop Eliyā for his book of the same name (cf. Th. Ibel, *Über die Wage* etc., Inaug. Diss. Erlangen 1906, p. 97). Of special importance is the translation of Hero's βαρυμετρος (*Kitāb fi Raf' al-Ashyā' al-thakila*, "On the raising of heavy bodies"); it has been edited with French translations by Carra de Vaux, *J. A.*, ix., 1893, i. 386—472 and ii. 152—269, 420—514 and German by L. Nix and W. Schmidt in *Heronis Opera omnia*, 11/i.; further bibliographical references were given in these editions and also in C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 204. Not the least important point about this work by Koştā b. Lūkā is the insight into Greek mechanics that it gives us.

Bibliography: For the Arabic sources see at the beginning of Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte*, N^o. 100; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i. 1870, p. 157; H. Suter, *Das Mathematiker-Verzeichnis im Fihrist* etc., *Abh. zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissenschaften*, vi. 1892, p. 43; do., *Die Mathematiker* etc.,

ibid., x., 1900, p. 40 and appendix, xiv., 1902; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 204; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, i., 1923, p. 652 sq. (E. WIEDEMANN)

KÖTEL (from the Armenian *kōthal*, "wall, side"; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 223) in Persian means a mountain pass, a neck between two peaks. This word, which does not appear in any Persian dictionary, is borrowed from Eastern Turkish, which took it from the Armenian; it is found in the *Babür-nāma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 99, l. 23; p. 100, l. 1; p. 172, l. 18; p. 166, l. 22; cf. Radlof, *Opht.*, ii., col. 1277; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-oriental*, p. 463. (CL. HUART)

KÖY, the word used in western Turkish for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian *gūy* (cf. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxlii., N^o. 3, p. 103) or perhaps more correctly *kūy* (Vullers, *Lexicon; Burhān-i Kātib*, p. 759) meaning originally path, street. In the geographical nomenclature of the Ottoman empire we find many place-names compounded with *kūy*, like Boghāz Kūy, Ermeni Kūy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Seldjūk period. Kūy in the sense of an open village is opposed to *kaşaba* meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish place-names we always find the word *kend* used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by *kūy* (cf. e.g. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 221 sqq.: Kađi Kend, near al-Mawsil, becomes Kađi Kūy). (J. H. KRAMERS)

KÖYÜN BABA, lit. "father of sheep", a Turkish saint. He is thought to have been a contemporary of Hādjdji Bektash [q.v.] and is said to have received his name from the fact that he did not speak, but only bleated like a sheep five times a day at the periods for prayer. Sulţān Bāyazid II, called *Walī*, built a splendid tomb and dervish monastery on the site of his alleged grave at 'Othmāndjīk (near Amasia, in Anatolia) which was one of the finest and richest in the Ottoman empire. Ewliyā Çelebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāhetnāme*, ii. 180 sq.) describes very fully the great Bektashī monastery there, at which he was cured of a malady of the eye and was initiated into the order. Cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 608, on Ewliyā's pilgrimage to the tomb of Köyün Baba. Nothing is known regarding the life of this remarkable saint not even whether he really existed. That he is represented as a disciple and contemporary of Hādjdji Bektash means nothing, as almost all early Ottoman saints are credited with having enjoyed this privilege. The sanctuary itself does not seem to have been examined; but see Maercker in *Z. G. E.*, xxxiv., 1899, p. 376.

Bibliography: Hādjdji Khalifa, *Djīhānumā*, p. 625, 24 (brief mention of the tomb); Ewliyā, *Seyāhetnāme*, ii. 180 sqq.; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 230 and 608 (extracts from Ewliyā). (FRANZ BABINGER)

KÖYUNDJİK, a little village, which was built on the great group of artificial mounds, that cover the ruins of the royal palaces of Nineveh, opposite the town of al-Mawsil, to the east of the Tigris. The name of this village is not found in the middle ages nor in the Turkish authors of the xviith century; it has been thought, however, that the name is connected with the dynasty of the Kara Köyunli, which reigned in this region

in the xvth century (von Oppenheim). After being for the most part destroyed by Kurds in 1836, the village was moved to the alluvial plain between the mounds and the Tigris, after archaeological excavations had begun in 1845.

The Arab authors of the middle ages, from Ibn Khordādhbih, know the site of Nineveh under the name of Ninawā (the vocalisation of Yāqūt, iv. 780; nowadays it is also pronounced Nainawā) and connect the place with the story of the prophet Yūnus b. Mattai. Al-Maḳḍisī also calls it Nūnawā (Niebuhr likewise speaks of Kal'a Nunia; perhaps the name was changed under the influence of the Arabic word meaning the fish of Yūnus) and he mentions near it the mound of Tell al-Tawba, on the top of which was a mosque surrounded by houses of *mudjāwirūn*. This last place is the present village of Nabī Yūnus, to the south of Kōyundjīk and also within the bounds of the ancient Nineveh. This village is separated from the ruins by the little stream of Khawṣar (the name is already found in al-Maḳḍisī) and was called Nunia in the time of Niebuhr. Ibn Djbair (ed. Wright-de Goeje, p. 236) says that the ancient walls and the gateways can still be distinctly seen and Ibn Baṭṭūta says the same thing in almost identical words. In the xiiith century Ninawā was inhabited by Christians (Abu 'l-Faradj Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Šāliḥani, p. 393). The mounds of Ninawā have always been an inexhaustible quarry for building materials for the inhabitants of al-Mawṣil.

Excavations were begun in 1842 by the French consul Botta, already famous for his work at Khorsābād. A. H. (afterwards Sir Henry) Layard then took in hand the excavations, first from 1845 to 1847 and again from 1849 to 1851, employing Arab and Nestorian workmen. A great many of the objects discovered were taken to London. Since then excavation has definitely ceased, all the trenches have been filled up so that now the ruins present the same appearance as before the discoveries.

Bibliography: Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djīhānumā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 433; C. Ritter, *Erkunde*, Berlin 1844, xi., p. 176, 221 sqq.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 89; P. E. Botta, *Lettres sur ses découvertes à Ninivé*, ed. by J. Mohl, Paris 1843; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*², London 1849; do., *Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 182 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KRĀN, a modern Persian silver coin, now worth about fourpence. When Fath 'Alī Shāh (1211—1250 = 1797—1834) of Persia reorganised the currency at the close of the 30th year of his reign, he instituted a new silver unit, the *krān* (from *ḵarn*, a century, decade, any period of years, in this case thirty) to take the place of the old silver rīāls, 'abbāsīs and ṣanārs which ceased to be coined; 1 tūmān = 10 *krāns* = 200 *shāhīs*.

The *krān* at first weighed two *mithkāl*s (9,2 grammes = 142 grains) but was soon reduced by Fath 'Alī Shāh to 1½ *mithkāl*s (6,9 grammes = 106,5 grains) and again by Muḥammad Shāh to 30 *nakhods* (5,75 grammes = 88,7 grains). At the beginning of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign, the *krān* was further

reduced to 28 *nakhods* (5,37 grammes = 83 grains) and in order to check the export of Persian silver to Russia and India it was again reduced to 26 *nakhods* (4,983 grammes = 77 grains) in 1857. The standard of fineness was normally .960, but both weight and fineness varied considerably at the different provincial mints with the probity of the provincial authorities. In 1877 (1294) the provincial mints were abolished and all the coins were henceforth struck at Ṭeherān with modern European machinery under the supervision of an Austrian mintmaster, Bergrath von Pechan. Since this date the two-*krān* piece (*do hazār dīnār*) has been the common silver coin; the one *krān* is not uncommon. Five *krān* pieces, half and quarter *krāns* have also been occasionally struck but are rarely seen in currency. The weight of the *krān* continued to be reduced (in 1327 = 1909, it was 4,54 grammes = 71 grains, just half its original weight) and the fineness has also suffered. On the coins the denomination is as a rule expressed in multiples of the *dīnār* (1 *krān* = 1,000 *dīnārs*) except that the quarter *krān* is called a *rabī'*. On a few 2 *krān* pieces of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, on those of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1324—1327 = 1907—1909) and of the first two years of Aḥmad Shāh (1327—1345 = 1909—1926) however the name *krān* is found on the coins.

Bibliography: Carl Ernst, *Die Münzreform in Persien, in Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna 1878, p. 403—421; *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. lxiv.—lxvi.; J. Rabino, *Banking in Persia in Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, London 1892, p. 1—56; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i., p. 411—413; H. L. Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs of Persia in Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1911, p. 182—196. (J. ALLAN)

KRĪM (the Crimea), a peninsula on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The name (of uncertain origin) was at first given in the xiiith century to the town of Solghat or Solkḥad, now called Starīy Krīm ("Old Krīm"), then the residence of the Mongol governor, in the interior of the country south-west of Kafa [q. v.] and north-east of Sūdak. Towards the end of the xivth or beginning of the xvth century, the old name was driven out by the new one as is shown by the words of al-Kāḷkashandī (*madīnat Solghāt — wa-ḵad ghalaba 'alaiḥa ismū 'l-Krīm*, quoted by Tiesenhausen, *Shornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordī*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 401). The old name, the origin of which is likewise unknown (cf. the very artificial Turkish etymology in Muḥ. Riḍā, *al-Sab' al-Saiyār*, ed. Kazem-Bey, Kazan 1832, p. 78) and which must be presumed to have been in existence before the Mongol period, cannot be found before the xiiith century. In Greek legends of saints and lists of bishoprics, we find the fortress of Fulla or Fullai mentioned, the residence of the Khazar governor of the eastern part of the peninsula along with Sugdaia (Sudak); it is assumed that the position of this fortress corresponded to the site of Solghat.

There are only scanty references in the Arab geographers to the peninsula; Idrīsī's statements (transl. Jaubert, ii. 400) about the harbours are, as the forms of the names show, probably taken from the reports of Italian sailors; apparently the trading relations of the Italian cities even then

extended to the northern shore of the Black Sea. The first Muḥammadan campaign to the Crimea was undertaken shortly before the Mongol conquest by the Turks of Asia Minor under Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn Kaikubād (616—634 = 1219—1236) (*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoukides*, ed. Houtsma, iii. 328 sqq.). In the reign of the Khān of the Golden Horde, Berke, about 1265, 'Izz al-Dīn Kai Kāwus, who had been driven out of Asia Minor and liberated from Byzantine imprisonment by Berke, was given the towns of Solkḥad and Sutaḳ (Sudak) as a fief (*Recueil*, etc., iv. 298; cf. above, i., p. 708); in the rule over these towns he was followed by his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd (*Recueil*, iv. 335). Tatar coins were struck in Kırım, as the town is always called on the coins, from 686 (1287/1288). In Arabic sources of the Mongol period the name is always written al-Kırım and is vocalised by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, ii. 359) as "Kīram". In the report of the first Egyptian embassy to the court of Berke (text in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, etc., p. 54), Kırım is described as a "village" (*karya*) inhabited by different peoples (Kıpçak, Russians and Alans); on the other hand Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls it a "large and beautiful town". In 686 (1287/1288) an architect and 2,000 dinārs were sent from Egypt to build a mosque in Kırım to bear the name of the Egyptian Sulṭān (Maḳrīzī, text in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, p. 423); among the ruins of Old Kırım there have actually survived ruins of a mosque built in the Egyptian style. The mosque built by Khān Uzbeḡ in 714 (1314/1315) is in quite a different style of architecture.

Even the earliest rulers of the house of Girāy (cf. above, ii., p. 171 but better perhaps Girei) lived in the town of Kırım and struck coins there. During the civil troubles of the second half of the ixth (xvth) century under Mengli-Girei, the town is said to have been completely destroyed; but we find coins struck in Kırım as late as 923 (1517) in the reign of Muḥammad Girei (O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 71). On the ruins of Old Kırım, which have been several times explored and described but have suffered severely from depredations, cf. especially P. Köppen, *Krimskiy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, p. 340 sqq.; W. Smirnow, in *Zap.*, i. 278 sqq. Excavations were begun there in 1925 under the auspices of the *Association for Oriental Studies* and continued in 1926.

Under Ottoman suzerainty (from 880/1475) the name of the former capital was extended to the whole peninsula and its population (*Kırım Khalkı*, *Kırım Tatarları*: cf. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii. 745). The peninsula with its population of different stocks (this was the only place where remnants of the Goths had survived) and its monuments of ancient and early Christian culture became in this period almost completely influenced by Islām and Turkish culture. For the history of the Crimea in this period and the pertinent literature see the articles BAGHÇE SARAI and GIRAY.

After the final incorporation of the Crimea in Russia (1783), the Muslim population was expressly guaranteed complete religious liberty. The text of the edicts then published was later incorporated in the articles of the Russian code relating to religious liberty. A special office of

Muṭli for the Crimea was created, completely independent of the Muṭli of the Volga area in Ufi, and as in Ufi a "spiritual authority" was appointed. On the other hand under the influence of Greek ideas then favoured by the government, Greek culture was encouraged at the expense of Turkish. The kingdom of the former Tatar Khāns was now called the "Tauric territory" (1784, abolished 1797), later (from 1802) "Tauric gouvernement". The capital of the gouvernement was Aḳ Mečet, which had been burned by the Russians in 1736 and now received the name of Simferopol; other towns arose on other sites with Greek names, notably the naval base of Sebastopol. Old Kırım was now called Leukopolis (Lewkopol) but this name never became popular. Russian and Greek immigration and the migration of a large part of the Tatar population to Turkey has wrought a complete change in the character of the population. The Muslims (according to the census of 1913, *M. I.*, 1913, p. 761 only 206,113) are now small in numbers compared with the Christians (less than one third of the total population).

After the revolution of 1917 the Muḥammadan population, as everywhere in Russia, endeavoured without particular success to constitute themselves into an independent community on a religious basis, acting independently of the authority of the state. The territory north of the isthmus of Perekop was later separated from the former "Tauric gouvernement" and joined to the Ukraine republic. The peninsula now forms the "Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Kırım".

Even before the Revolution, the educated "Kırım Tatars" disclaimed this name given them by the Turks; (the name of "Tatars" also occurs in native documents). They wished to be known simply as Turks and their language to be called Turkish (it is really very much influenced by the literary language of the Ottoman empire). At the present day the language of the literature, produced mainly in Simferopol, is called "Turkish", even officially, in contrast to the "Tatar" literary language of the Volga territory.

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KROYA, a town and fortress in Albania, once the headquarters of Skanderbeg [q. v.]. Kroya (Turk. Aḳ-Ḥiṣār) sometimes also called Aḳçe Ḥiṣār or Aḳ Serāy has had a stirring history. It is believed to be built on the site of the ancient Euriboea. Its history in the middle ages has still to be investigated. It is said to have been founded by the Neapolitan noble Carlo Thopia, whose ancestors held the land between Tirana and Durazzo about the middle of the xvth century. The remains of the ancient defences seem to be of Italian origin. Kroya only acquired renown when the Albanian patriot George Kastrioti,

called Skanderbeg (d. January 17, 1468), made it his headquarters, after escaping from imprisonment among the Turks and becoming a Christian again. It was from Kroya that Skanderbeg in 1443 issued his call to a war for the liberation of Albania which he waged with skill and success for many years. When in 1450 Kroya was surrounded by Murād II, Skanderbeg forced the Sultān to abandon the siege. He was also able to hold out against Mehmed II and after his death Kroya was stormed by the Turks on July 14/15, 1478, after the neighbourhood had been cruelly devastated. The town became completely Muslim and is now the capital of a district mainly inhabited by Mir-dites; the population can barely be over 10,000. Kroya is noteworthy as a centre of the Bektashis who had a monastery there. The saint Şarî Şaltîk Dede [q.v.] has one of his graves there and indeed the number of graves of Bektashi saints around Kroya is considerable. Their origin have not yet been studied. The people pay special reverence to the tombs of Hādījī Hamza Baba and of Baba 'Alī (with a monastery, *tekke*). The number of tombs is given as 366, of course quite an arbitrary figure. The Bektashi order is said not to have been introduced, till the end of the xviiith century by a certain Shaiikh Memi but was suppressed by 'Alī Pasha of Janina, a statement which is unreliable (cf. Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71 sqq.). The fact is that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants still profess the Bektashi system.

Bibliography: The details of the taking of Kroya by the Ottomans are very differently given by the contemporary chronicler Benedetto Dei (extract given in *Della decima e della altre gravezze, della moneta, e della mercatura de' Fiorentini fino al secolo XVI*, ii., Lisbon and Lucca 1765, p. 270 sq.) so that they require critical examination; Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71 sqq.; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vii. 60; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 215 sqq. (with pictures); F. W. Hasluck, *Geographical distribution of the Bektashi in Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1915, xxi., p. 121 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KUBĀ'. [See AL-MADĪNA].

KUBAN (called in Noghai Turkish, KUMAN, in Čerkes, PSHIZ), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kura, Terek and Kuban). It is about 450 miles long. It rises near Elburz at a height of 13,930 feet. Its three constituents (Khurzuk, Ulu-Kam, Uč-Kulan) join together before reaching the defile through which the Kuban enters the plains (at a height of 1075 feet). The Kuban at first runs through the wooded outer spurs of the mountains and then, taking a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are Da'ut, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urup, Laba, Bēlaia, Pshish, Psekups, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Protoka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the xvth century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov. The Kuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Kuban — before 1918 the province (*oblast'*) of the Kuban Cossacks — also included the valleys, further north, of the Baisugh, Čelbası, Sasıka and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this great province, which is divided into 7 arrondissements (Yeya, Temrük, Kawkazski, Ekaterinodar, Maikop [in Turkish: "much oil"], Laba, Baṭṭāl-pashinsk), was estimated at about 32,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, p. 89, estimated the tribes of the Kuban at about 100,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population about 1861 was 200,000 men (?) but as a result of expatriations en masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 about 1883. Russian colonisation which was begun by the Cossacks about 1861 had reached 1,500,000 by 1894. In 1916, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnīs" included in this total had also increased and reached 139,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms which lack precision, included the remainder of the Čerkes and Abaz tribes [q.v.] (related to the Abkhāz, q.v.) and Turks of Kara-Čai. The latter (about 15,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (*a'ul*) of Kart-Djurt, Uč-Kulan and Khurzuk, etc. in the upper waters of the Kuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Noghai). They were at one time under the Čerkes princes of Kabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Kuban was reorganised on an ethnic basis; besides the *Kabarda-Balkar* region (on the Terek) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Kuban: 1. *Kara-Čai-Čerkes*, east of Urup with its capital Baṭṭāl-pashinsk; it has about 150,000 inhabitants of whom 45% are Turks, 25% Čerkes and 13% Cossacks; 2. *Adıghe*, a strip of territory along the Kuban and Laba; its capital is Tokhtamukai and it contains about 70,000 Čerkes. The new divisions do not correspond to old administrative divisions.

The basin of the Kuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maikop go back to the second (according to Rostovtzeff, to the third) millenium B. C. Scythian tombs of the fourth-fifth centuries B. C. are very numerous (Kelermes, Voronežskaia) and Sarmatian tombs from the second century B. C. to the first A. D. The Greeks called the Kuban Hypanis, Vardanes, Anticitēs. In Byzantine authors we find Κοῦφης, Κῶφης (Marquart, *Osteurop. Streifzüge*, p. 32). The spread of Christianity among the Adıghe (Čerkes) according to local legends dates from the emperor Justinian (527—565); cf. Shora Nogmow, *Istoria adıgheiskago naroda*, Tiflis 1861, p. 43.

The Arabs were not well acquainted with the district. According to a bold conjecture of Marquart (*ibid.*), p. 37, 161, 164, Kuban is to be read for Dübā (*Kübā), which according to Gardizi (quoting Djaihanī, c. 301 = 914) formed the southern boundary of the Madjār (Madyars) and to the south of which (on the left bank) lived (Ibn Rusta, p. 139) the Ṭwās, probably an Alān

tribe [q. v.] (cf. the southern Ossete tribe of Tual-tā and the name of the Alāns: Ās). On the other hand Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii., p. 45—46) says that the immediate neighbours of the Alān were the Kašak living between the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Kašak (a parallel form is al-Kāsakiya, Mas'ūdī, *Kit. al-Tanbih*, p. 157) are the Čerkes, whom the Russian chronicles call Kasogī and with whom the Russian principality of Tmutarakan (on the peninsula of Taman in the xi.—xiith century) had continuous relations.

The later history of the territory of Ḳuban is at first the story of the struggle between the Russians and Ottomans and more particularly the Ḳhāns of the Crimea for the possession of the fertile plains southeast of the Sea of Azov and later of the struggle of the Russians with the warlike tribes of the left bank of the Ḳuban.

In the xvth century, Moscow's interest in the northern Caucasus was stimulated by the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with the Ḳabardian princess, Maria Temrükovna (in 1561). Soon afterwards Sultān Selim II sent Ḳāsim paša to Astrakhan and Dewlet-girai of the Crimea invaded Ḳabarda.

In 1589 the Cossacks appeared before Azov, a former Venetian and Genoese colony which the Ottomans had taken in 880 (1475). A long series of struggles began for the possession of Azov (cf. AZAḲ) and the Čerkes principality of Ḳabarda (to the east of the Ḳuban on both sides of the middle course of the Terek). Down to the beginning of the xviiith century the Ḳhāns of the Crimea had the upper hand and by about 1717 the Čerkes had been converted to Islām (Nogmow). By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1739 the two Ḳabarda were proclaimed independent to constitute a buffer state between the two powers. By article 21 of the treaty Küçük-Ḳainardjī [q. v.], 1774, Great and Little Ḳabarda were placed under the suzerainty of the Ḳhān of the Crimea whose independence was recognised (art. 3). In 1782 the Turks occupied Taman but by the edict of April 8, 1783, Catherine II proclaimed the annexation by Russia of the Crimea, Taman and the "Tātārs of Ḳuban". On Dec. 28, 1783, the Porte recognised the course of the Ḳuban as the frontier. Between 1787 and 1791, the movement in the western Caucasus led by the religious leader Shaiḫ Maṣṣūr caused the Russians considerable trouble but the Russo-Turkish treaty of Yassi (a town which owes its name to the Ās = Alān; cf. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa², i. 1282—1284) confirmed the frontier of 1783. The treaty of 1829 (art. 4) moved it southwards to the roadstead of St. Nicolas (between Poti and Batum) but the territory within these bounds was only effectively occupied 32 years later after a stubborn and heroic resistance of the tribes of the Ḳuban.

The line of defences of the Caucasus had been planned under the Empress Anna (1730—1740). In 1777 the line started from Azov and went by Stavropol, Georgiewsk to Ekaterinograd (on the Terek). In 1792 it began at Bughaz (north of Anapa) and following the Ḳuban for a while, left it to go to Georgiewsk (1794) and then 1798 to Ekaterinograd (cf. the map in the *Aklī kawḫ. arḫeogr. komissii*, Tiflis 1868, i.). In 1834 General Weliaminow established a military cordon on the left bank of the Ḳuban as far as Gelendjik (on the Black Sea). In 1838 Noworossisk (Tsems)

was founded on the site of the old Turkish fortress of Sudjuk-Ḳal'a. After risings provoked by the operations of the allies in the Crimean War, General Yewdokimow in 1861 carried out an enveloping manoeuvre with the object of making the highlanders descend into the plains and of driving the rebels towards the coast to force them to migrate to Turkey. According to native sources (H. Bammate, in the *Revue Politique Internationale*, Nov.—Dec. 1918), 75,000 (?) refugees left the Caucasus in 1864; Russian sources give the number of emigrants at 13,586 from 1871—1884. In 1864, the Russians reached the passes of the chain of the Western Caucasus.

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ḲUBBA (now Ḳuba), a district in the eastern Caucasus between Bākū and Derbend [q. v.]. The district of Ḳubba with an area of 2,800 square miles is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samūr, which flows into the Caspian, on the west by the "district" of Samūr which belongs to Dāghistān [q. v.], on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks: Shāh-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Bābā Dagh 11,900) which separate Ḳubba from Shamāḫha (cf. the article SHĪRWĀN), on the S. E. by the district of Bākū and on the east by the Caspian. The area between the mountains and the flat coast land is called Djāf (Vullers, i. 499: *djāf*, "ad venerationem principis destinatum nemus"). The plain between the rivers Yalama and Belbele is called Muskūr; Shābarān lies further south (cf. SHĪRWĀN). The other cantons are Barmak (so-called after a member of the Barmecide family, who sought refuge here in the reign of Hārūn

al-Rashid), Shishpāra, Tip, Khinalugh, Budugh, Yuhari-bash, Sirt, Anakh-dara, and (sometimes) Kābistān (*Akl*, iv. 650).

The population in 1896 was 175,000, 36,70/0 Tāt [q. v.] speaking the Iranian dialect of *Tāti*, 25,50/0 of Ādharbāidjāni Turks, 24/0 of highlanders of the Kürā group (the Kūrines) and 80/0 highlanders of the group (S. E. Dāghistān group) formed of Khinalugh, Djek, Křiz and Budugh, to whom the Udi of Shekki [q. v.] seem to be related. Muslims form 94/0 of the population (76,5 Sunnis, and 17,5 Shī'is). Jews, Russians and Armenians together number several thousands. The town of Kūbba (16,300 inhabitants), only founded about 1750, lies on the right bank of the river Kūdial; on the left bank is the Jewish quarter of the town. Near the mouth of the Kūdial is the roadstead of Nisābād (called Nizowia by the Russians) which played an important part in Russian military operations in Transcaucasia.

The history of the district of Kūbba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shīrwān; Shābarān (now a ruined site on the river Kūlhan, Russian Gilkin) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Muḳaddasī, p. 376) before Shamākha became the capital of Shīrwān. On the banks of the river Kūlhan may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bābā Dagħ. Near the town of Kūbba is the tomb of Shīrwān-shāh Kā'ūs b. Kaiḳubād (d. 774 = 1373).

It was only in the xviiith century that Kūbba enjoyed a period in independence. In the time of Shāh Sulaimān Šafawī [q. v.] a member of the family of the *ūsūmī* of Kaitak (cf. DĀGHISTĀN) called Husain Khān arrived at the court of Isfahān. He became a Shī'ī and gained the favour of the Shāh who appointed him Khān of Kūbba and of Sāliyān (at the mouth of the Kura). Husain Khān built the castle of Khudād. His grandson Husain 'Alī b. Ahmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the *ūsūmī* but his position was threatened by the alliance of Surkhai, prince of the Kāzi-Kumūkh, with Hādjī Dā'ūd, religious chief of Muskūr, who with the help of Turkey played a considerable part in Dāghistān from 1712. Nādir Shāh restored Sāliyān to Husain 'Alī. After the death of Nādir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Husain 'Alī moved his capital from Khudād to Kūbba where he built a town and annexed Shābarān and Kūlhan. He died in 1171 (1758). His son Fath 'Alī Khān who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189 (1775) sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academician Gmelin, who had died on June 27, 1774 in captivity with the *ūsūmī* of Kaitak. With the help of the Russians, Fath 'Alī reestablished his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Dāghistān, Kūbba, Sāliyān). He also took Shīrwān and the Khān of Bākū appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fath 'Alī Khān gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1193 (1778) he sent 9,000 men to Gilān to restore Hidayat Khān, who had been driven out by the Kādjars [q. v.]. In 1202 (1788) he seized Ardabil whereupon the Shāh-sewān [q. v.] recognised his authority. The Khāns of Kara-Dagħ and of Tabriz sought his support. Fath 'Alī is credited with ambitious designs on Ādharbāidjān. To recon- cile

his plans with those of the king Irakli of Georgia, Fath 'Alī met the latter at Shamkūr (Shamkhor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1203 (1789).

The political and military work of Fath 'Alī Khān crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shaikh 'Alī Āghā (from 1791) had a very adventurous career. This young Khān relied on the support of the Kādjars but Count Zubow took Derbend on May 4, 1796 and entrusted the government to his sister Perī-Djahān Khānum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shaikh 'Alī Āghā escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shaikh 'Alī returned to Derbend. In 1801 he and the other Khāns sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1805 we again find Shaikh 'Alī rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1226 (1811). The khānate of Kūbba was occupied by the Russians in 1806 and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Kūbba formed a "gouvernement" of Shīrwān (later of Bākū). Since 1919 Kūbba has been part of the republic of Ādharbāidjān, at first independent and then Soviet; this is not to be confused with the Persian province of the name [q. v.].

Bibliography: cf. the articles DĀGHISTĀN, DERBEND, SHEKKI and SHIRWĀN. See especially the work of the local historian 'Abbās Kulī Āghā Baki-Khānow (a descendant of the Khāns of Bākū, who were related to Fath 'Alī Khān), the *Gūlistān-i Iram* of which a Russian version was published by the author himself (1794—1846) was published at Bākū in 1926 (*Travaux de la société scientifique de l'Azerbaïdjan*, part 4). The principal documents are in the collection by *Akl Kavkazskoi Arkheograficheskoi Komissii*, publ. by A. Bergé, Tiflis 1866 *sqq.*, i.—xii., index under Derbend-Kūbba. (V. MINORSKY)

KUBBAT AL-ŠAKHRA, the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, often erroneously designated the Mosque of 'Omar. In the first place, it is not a mosque but a shrine or oratory erected above the sacred rock (*ṣakhra*) and similar to the other domed edifices scattered over the *ḥarām* area; in the second place, it was not built by 'Omar but by the fifth Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Jew, Christian and Muslim alike revere the sacred rock which they regard as the *omphalos* of the world. It is even said to be 18 miles nearer heaven than any other spot. Muslims set it next to the Ka'ba in order of sanctity.

Although there is no specific mention of the *ṣakhra* in the O. T. it is referred to nevertheless in the Talmud and Targums. Here Melchizedek set up his altar; here Abraham sacrificed; here was the Bethel of Jacob; here was the threshing-floor of Arawna the Jebusite (II Sam., xxiv. 16 *sqq.*); here David worshipped; and here were the altars of Solomon, Zerubbabel and Herod. But Muḥammadan tradition has greatly magnified all this legendary material. Angels visited the Rock 2,000 years before Adam was created, and Noah's ark rested here after the Deluge. It is said to be actually one of the rocks of Paradise, and that here on the Resurrection Day the Angel of Death, Israfil, will blow the last trumpet. Previous to this the Ka'ba will come from Makka as a bride unto the *Ṣakhra*. They assert that it rests on a

palm-tree beneath whose shade Āsiya, Pharaoh's wife, and Miriam, Moses' sister, will give the faithful a cooling draught from one of the rivers of the Garden. All the sweet waters on the earth are believed to originate somewhere beneath it. The Rock itself is, by others, reported to be miraculously hung between heaven and earth, but since this wonder was too remarkable for human eyes to behold, it has been purposely hidden by the surrounding building. Beneath the Rock is a cave (*maghāra*) the floor of which when stamped upon by the foot emits a hollow sound pointing to the presence of a cavern beneath, perhaps a well, the so-called "Well of the Spirits" (*bi'r al-arwāḥ*) where the souls of the departed are believed to assemble twice weekly. This hollowness of walls and floor has no doubt given rise to the legend of its being suspended in mid-air. Tradition states that all the prophets of God up to the time of Muḥammad have come to pray here at the Rock which is daily surrounded by a body-guard of 70,000 angels (Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii. 220). God is said to have ordered Moses to institute the ṣakhra as the qibla, and Muḥammad intended doing likewise only he was told by God to take the Ka'ba at Makka as the qibla. The change took place in Radjab A. H. 2.

When 'Umar conquered Jerusalem he (guided by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, the converted Jew) found the ṣakhra scandalously covered with filth. This he ordered to be removed by the Nabataeans, and after three showers of heavy rain had cleansed the Rock, he instituted prayers there (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, p. 139 sqq.). In the years 69—72 (688—691), 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān built the Dome of the Rock. The political situation at the time was the immediate cause of this undertaking. The rival claimant to the Caliphate, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, was favoured by the inhabitants of the Haramain (Makka and Madina). Fearing lest his Palestinian subjects who visited the Ka'ba on pilgrimage should return infected with the spirit of revolt, 'Abd al-Malik determined on a plan to divert the Makkan pilgrims from the seditious area and lead them instead to Jerusalem. After sending out feelers in the shape of circulars stating his intentions, and after receiving warm support, he proceeded with his project, the embellishment of Jerusalem (de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, p. 75). Then he declared to his people: "This Rock (Ṣakhra) shall be unto you in the place of the Ka'ba" (Ya'qūbī, ii. p. 311). For the expenses of the building he is said to have set apart a sum equal to the revenue from Egypt for seven years, and as a treasure-house for this money he commanded to be built after his own design the edifice in the neighbourhood that is now known as the *Ḳubbat al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain). This building is said to have pleased him so much that he ordered the Dome of the Rock to be modelled after it. The Ṣakhra was surrounded by a latticed screen of ebony and curtains of brocade. At this time also a precious pearl, the horn of Abraham's ram, and the crown of Khosraw were suspended to the chain which hung in the centre of the Dome, but with the coming of the 'Abbāsids these were transferred to the Ka'ba (Palmer, *Jerusalem*, p. 86). In those days the building was so full of incense that a person who had been there was known at once by the odour which clung to him. Another reason why 'Abd

al-Malik built the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra is given by al-Mukaddasī, who says that the Caliph "noting the greatness of the Dome of the Ḳumāma [the Christian Church of the Anastasis (*ḥiyāma* corrupted to *Ḥumāma* ordure)] and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected, above the Rock, the Dome which now is seen there" (Le Strange, *Pal. Explor. Fund's Q*; 1887, viii., p. 103). For long, controversy has been waged regarding the true founder and builder of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra. It seemed too wonderful an achievement for the Arabs. Ferguson argued that it was the work of Byzantine architects under Constantine and that it marked the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Conder was the chief opponent of this view. No doubt 'Abd al-Malik employed Greek architects in the construction, and there was abundance of Greek columns and capitals at hand among the ruins of the churches destroyed by the Persians, which could easily be incorporated into the structure. Ferguson's argument, besides being fallacious, is contrary to the evidence of Arab historians.

That the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra was erected by 'Abd al-Malik is indicated by the famous Kūfic inscription in yellow and blue tiles above the cornice round the base of the Dome: "Hath built this dome the servant of Allāh, 'Abd al-Malik, commander of the Faithful, in the year two and seventy — Allāh accept him". When the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Ma'mūn repaired the place in 831 A. D. and built the octagonal wall, some of the tiles were removed and others containing this Caliph's name inserted in place of 'Abd al-Malik's. But the forgery is easily detected, the tiles are of a darker blue while the letters of the name are closer together (a chromo-lithographic facsimile is to be found in de Vogüé, *ibid.*, pl. xxi.).

In the year 846 A. D. on the night of the great earthquake, the keepers of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra testified that the Dome was cleft in twain so that they could see the stars and feel the rain on their faces. Then a still small voice said: "Put it back again"; and soon the dome resumed its former position. During another earthquake in 407 (1016), the dome fell down on the Ṣakhra (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix. 209). Six years later it was restored by Ḥākim (see de Vogüé, *ibid.*, pl. xxxvii.). There is a fragmentary inscription (pl. xxiii.) inside on the tile-work dated 418 A. H. (1027 A. D.) marking further repairs. The author of the *Muthīr al-Ghīyām* ("The exciter of desire", i. e. to visit Jerusalem) says: "In the year 452 (1060) the Great Lantern (*tanūr*) that hung in the Dome of the Rock fell down and there were in this lantern five hundred lamps". This was taken as a bad augury (Le Strange, *ibid.*, p. 130). In 1099 the Crusaders entered Jerusalem and the building, endowed by Baldwin II, became the *Templum Domini*, the Church of the Knights Templars. It was redecorated inside and outside with Christian paintings and images of the saints. A marble altar was set up on the Ṣakhra, and a large golden cross on the summit of the dome. A large iron screen of French workmanship with four gates was erected between the pillars of the inner ring. The cave beneath was transformed into a Chapel. They believed it to be the Holy of Holies, and called it the Confessio (Joannes Phocas, *P. P. T. S.*, p. 20). The building thus became the type of "Temple" Churches built

in Europe. The dome was the symbol of the order and appeared on the Grand Master's seal. A polygonal type of building reminiscent of the Dome of the Rock appears in Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* as the Jewish Temple (de Vogüé, *ibid.*, p. 78, note).

In 1187 Saladin captured the Holy City. The Golden Cross on the dome was knocked down amid the cheers of the Muslims and all impurities, such as the marble casing on the Rock, removed. In the cave below, prayers were made in his presence, led by the *kāḍī* of Damascus. (For a contemporary account see Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *ibid.*). The lengthy inscriptions copied down by John of Wurzburg must have been destroyed at this period since no trace of them now remains. Instead there can now be seen inside the Cupola the inscription set up by Saladin to record his restoration (text in de Vogüé, *ibid.*, p. 91 *sq.*). There have been other restorations since. In 1447 part of the roof was destroyed by fire, caused it is said by certain young noblemen hunting there for pigeons with a lighted candle. A complete renovation took place under Sulaimān the Magnificent (1520-1566). Until recent years little was done to remedy the ravages of time (*Ordinance Survey of Jerusalem*, 1865, p. 32). Nowadays the authorities are anxious to maintain the building in a condition worthy of its past splendour.

The building itself is of harmonious proportions and stands, along with some minor edifices, on an irregular platform, 10 feet in height, paved with limestone slabs. The Şakhra is almost on a level with this pavement, the highest point being only five feet above it (or c. 2,440 feet above the Mediterranean). Six flights of steps leading up to the platform end in elegant columns or arcades called *Mawāzīn*, or "Balances", because here on the Resurrection Morn all things will be duly weighed in the balances of Justice. The building is in the shape of a regular octagon, with side 66 feet in length. The diameter within is 152 feet; that of the dome at its base being 66 feet. The dome, 99 feet high, is wooden, covered outside with lead, and inside with stucco, beautifully gilded and richly ornamented. The exterior of the building was formerly covered with marble but this has partly been displaced by the *Kāshāni* porcelain tiles added by Sulaimān the Magnificent in 1561. Indeed during the xvth century, the whole edifice was restored and embellished so that the external incrustation of the walls, the beautiful stained glass windows, and numerous other decorative effects throughout are characteristically Turkish. Qur'ānic passages wonderfully inscribed in interwoven characters form a frieze round the building. There is a perfect harmony in the colour scheme. The fenestration is remarkably fine, especially in the case of one window near the Western Doorway. In the interior four massive piers and twelve columns surround the Şakhra in the centre. The dome rests on these. Another series of supports consists of an octagonal screen composed of eight piers and sixteen columns, two columns occurring between each pair of the six-sided piers. In this way the interior is divided into three concentric parts. The outer octagonal aisle is 13, the inner, 40 feet wide. The doors face the four cardinal points: North, *Bāb al-Djanna* (Gate of Paradise); South, *Bāb al-Qibla* (South Gate); East, *Bāb al-Nabī Dāūd* (Gate of the Prophet David) or *Bāb al-Silsila*

(Gate of the Chain); West, *Bāb al-Gharb* (West Gate). The teak (*sāḍī*) doors have very artistic old locks and are covered with bronze plates stamped with a Kūfic inscription (dated 216 A.H.). The building consists of basement (16 feet high) with the aforementioned doors; a storey of plain masonry (20 feet high) with seven round arches on each side, 38 of which are pierced for windows, the rest being blind; and, lastly, the wonderfully proportioned dome above. The pavement is laid with marble mosaic fastened down by clamps run in with lead.

The Rock, about 56 feet long by 42 feet wide, is almost semicircular in form, the curved sloping side lying to the East, and the higher straight side to the West. Geologically it forms a portion of one of the harder grey beds of the Jerusalem plateau, and has been left practically in its rough unheaven state throughout the ages. In visiting this sacred spot the devout pilgrim has to be careful to keep the Şakhra on his right hand, so that he performs the circumambulation of the holy relic in the opposite direction from the circuit of the Ka'ba. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (in his *ʿIqd al-Farid*, transl. in part by Le Strange in *Pal. Quart. Stat.*, 1887, p. 99) states: "Now when thou enterest the Şakhra make thy prayer in the three corners thereof, and also pray on the slab which rivals the Rock itself in its glory for it lies over a gate of the gates of Paradise". This slab is a portion of the marble pavement near by the *Bāb al-Djanna* and is supposed by some to mark the place where the prophet Elias knelt in prayer. Others believe it covers the Tomb of Solomon (*Kabr Sulaimān*). All, however, assert that it was originally part of Paradise, and is generally termed the Flagstone of Paradise (*Balāṭ al-Djanna*). A tradition has it that Muḥammad drove into this slab nineteen golden nails which are destined to drop out periodically. When all have fallen through, the end of the world has come. The Devil almost succeeded in removing them but the angel Gabriel intervened in the nick of time. Nowadays three nails remain in place, while one has sunk a little. It is with humble step and slow, therefore, that the pious pilgrim treads this holy place lest by dislodging one of the nails he should hasten the day of judgment.

On a detached piece of a marble column on the S.W. of the Şakhra, covered by a rude shrine which also contains hairs from the prophet's beard, is to be seen the *Qadam Muḥammad* (or Footprint) which he left behind him on the night of his ascension to heaven on his steed *al-Burāk*. During the Crusades when the Christians occupied the Kubbāt al-Şakhra this was known as the Footprint of Jesus. The round hole in the middle of the Rock was where the prophet's body pierced its way upwards. And near by is shown the very Saddle of al-Burāk in the shape of several marble fragments. There is also pointed out on the West side of the Rock the impression of the Handprint of Gabriel (*Kaff Sayidnā Djibril*) where he held down the Rock when it was about to rise with Muḥammad. Directly opposite are preserved the banners of Muḥammad and 'Umar, and the buckler of Ḥamza. The cases containing these relics are dust-covered. Once a year this dust is carefully gathered and sold in minute quantities as a panacea of miraculous power. A slight depression in the pavement on the East side of the Rock is pointed

out as the Footprint of Idris. In the N. E. corner is the recess known as the Prophets' Kibla (*Kiblat al-Anbiyā'*). There are also several ancient Kur'āns and a dwarf screen known as Taqlid Saif 'Alī (the imitation of the sword of 'Alī).

The entrance to the cavern beneath is by means of the Bāb al-Maghāra, at the S. E. corner of the Rock, the pilgrim humbly descending the eleven steps with the following prayer on his lips, known as the "Prayer of Solomon": "O God, pardon the sinners who come here, and relieve the injured". The average height of the cave is six feet, and on the roof may be seen the impress of Muḥammad's head. The floor is paved with marble and the sides are whitewashed. It is said to be able to hold 62 persons (Ibn al-Faḥīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 100). A projecting piece of rock known as the Tongue of the Rock (*Lisān al-Şakhra*) is so-called because it greeted 'Omar on one occasion. There is also to be seen the slender column supposed to uphold the Rock. The guide points out on the right the Mihrāb Sulaimān (Solomon's prayer-niche); on the left, the Maḥām al-Khalil (Abraham); on the N. corner, the Maḥām al-Khiḍr with the Mihrāb Dā'ūd opposite.

On the S. E. of the Şakhra a staircase leads upwards to the gallery of the dome whence the crescent on the summit may be reached. The eulogy pronounced on it by Muḥaddasī (*P. P. T. S.*, iv., p. 46) still holds good at the present day: "At dawn when the light of the sun first strikes on the Cupola, and the Drum catches the rays; then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, and one such that in all Islām I have never seen its equal".

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(J. WALKER)

QUBILAI (usually written Qubilāi but also "Qublāi"), Mongol emperor (1260—1294), brother and successor of Khān Möngke. He was probably born in 1214; when Čingiz Khān returned in 1225 to Mongolia from his campaign in Western Asia, Qubilai, who was then eleven years old, had just gained his first trophy of the chase; after the Mongol fashion, Čingiz Khān himself smeared his thumb with flesh and fat (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trud' Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obsch.*, xv. 141, text). In the reign of his brother he was governor of China from 1251 and devoted himself to the conquest of the kingdom of the Sung dynasty, which was only completed in his own reign (in 1279), whereby the whole of China, for the first time since the tenth century, was again united under one ruler. After a victory over his brother Arigh-Buga who was proclaimed Emperor in Mongolia (cf. the article **BERKE**), Qubilai remained in China and transferred the capital of the Mongol empire to Peking (Khānbaliq, q. v.). In spite of great achievements at home (Imperial Canal, new code of criminal law, Academy) and abroad (great, although unsuccessful campaigns at sea against Japan and the island of Java, such as had never been undertaken in the history of China, before or after), his reign was for China a period of oppressive foreign rule. Qubilai was, like most Mongol emperors, favourably disposed to Islām and the Muslims; only for a time (seven years, 1282—1289, of which the first four years are described as a period of severe persecutions) as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad (see **KHĀNBALIK**) did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him.

Bibliography: Fulltest source: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 350—580; cf. also Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, 1269 H., p. 16 sqq.; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1834, ii. 275 sqq. (Qubilai in China under Möngke), 338 sqq. (Qubilai's own reign); Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, i., p. 187 sqq., 216 sqq. On the persecutions of the Muḥammadans also *Zap.*, xxii. 160 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KUBU, a district with self-government under the suzerainty of the Dutch Government in the southern part of the delta of the Kapuas river; for administrative purposes it belongs to the Pontianak division of the residency of "Westerafdeeling van Borneo". In the north it is separated from the kingdom of Pontianak by the Great Kapuas river, in the east it is bounded by the districts of Tayan and Simpang, in the south and west by the China Sea. The ruling family is of Arab

descent, the founder of the kingdom was Saiyid Aidrus al-Aidrus who settled not far from the mouth of the river Tērēntang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers about 1780, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer Sharif 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qadri, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an entrenchment (Malay: *kubu*) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company who recognised him as ruler with the title *tuwan* (lord). The land is of little importance; it consists for the most part of a swampy wooded plain which is only in parts drained (mainly in the Ambawang district in the north-west) and fitted only for primitive tillage and growing coconuts. The population is not numerous and is very scattered. It consists almost entirely of immigrants; besides Arab half-breeds and a number of Chinese they are mainly Buginese. There are very few Dayaks. The predominant religion is Islām but its observances are for the most part neglected; only here and there one finds a mosque which is falling to pieces. The ruler, whose capital is quite an insignificant settlement, governs with three notables (*wakil*), members of his family, each of whom is allotted a certain territory as an appanage.

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KUBŪR, pl. of the Arabic *ḵabr*, which, besides its usual meaning of "tomb", has also that of "box, sheath or needle case", although it is not given in any dictionary; cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 17. In North Africa one finds *ḵabra*, pl. *ḵabūr*, "holsters" (Beaussier). This plural passed into Ottoman Turk, as a singular, and was borrowed later by Arabic dialects of Africa (*ḵubūr*, pl. *ḵubūrāt*, "leather pistol-belt worn round waist" [Beaussier]). It has the same meaning of case, sheath, to which one can add that of quiver; it is commonly used (by an abbreviation of *ḵalem-ḵubūru* "case for reeds") for a case for holding cut reeds, a pen-holder, vulg. Ar. *dawāya* (class. *dawāt*), Pers. *ḵalem-dān* (illustrated in Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 16; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 288).

(CL. HUART)

KUČAK (MİRZĀ) WIŠĀL, surname of Muḥammad Shāfi', Persian poet of the sixteenth century, born at Shirāz, a clever calligrapher and musician, died in 1262 (1846). Author of numerous poems (*diwān* lithographed at Teherān 1275) the *Basm-i Wišāl*, the completion of the *Farḥād u-Shīrīn* of Waḥṣhī (lithographed at Teherān 1263) and of a translation into Persian of the *Atwāk al-Dhahab* (golden collars) of Zamakhshari. His sons, Wiḵār, Maḥmūd Ḥakīm (the physician), Abū 'l-Qāsim Farhang, Dāwari, Yazdāni and Himmēt had inherited the paternal talent.

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Hist. of Persian Literature in modern Times, Cambridge 1924, p. 316 and pl. ix. (p. 300, autograph).

(CL. HUART)

KUČAN, a town in Persia, in the northern part of the province of Khorāsān [q. v.] on the upper course of the Atrek [q. v.], perhaps the ancient Ashak or Arsaka, in the older Arab geographers *Khābūshān*, later *Khūdjān*, e.g. Muḥaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 319, 3 and Baiḥaqī, ed. Morley, p. 761; also Yāqūt under Ustuwā (i. 243, 20) according to Sam'āni (*G.M.S.*, xx., f. 312^a); according to Yāqūt, ii. 487, 21, the usual local pronunciation was *Khūshān*; Sam'āni, f. 211^a, here also has only the form *Khūdjān* (Sam'āni had himself been there). The origin of the pronunciation Kučan is traced by Rashid al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 183) to the Mongols. The ruins of the ancient *Khābūshān* (this name is still borne by a large village) lie 3 farsakh west of the later town, which was destroyed in the sixteenth century by a series of earthquakes. Towards the end of the viith (xiiith) century Ghāzān, afterwards Ilkhān, when governor of Khorāsān built a Buddhist temple in Kučan (C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague and Amsterdam, 1834/1835, iv. 148, quoting Rashid al-Dīn). In the reign of 'Abbās I [q. v.] a Kurd principality (tribe of Za'farānlū) was founded with a hereditary Ilkhāni at its head. Like most towns of Persia of some size, Kučan also has the tomb of an Imāmzāde, Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī, son of 'Alī b. Mūsā, who is buried in Meshhed. On the hill now called Nādir-Tepe near Kučan, Nādir Shāh was killed in 1160 (1747). In the reign of Nādir Shāh (after his campaign of 1740 against Bukhārā) a few leaves of a copy of the Qur'ān written by the Timurid Baisonghor Ghiyāth al-Dīn [q. v.] preserved in Samarkand (according to others in Shahr-i Sabz i.e. Kash) were brought to Kučan. Shāh Naṣir al-Dīn in 1883 had two of the leaves brought to the Museum in Teherān. In the suppression of a rebellion of the Ilkhāni by 'Abbās Mirzā [q. v.] the town suffered severely, and the great earthquakes of 1852, 1871, 1893 and 1895 were still more disastrous to it. When Curzon visited it in 1889, the population was under 12,000; but we are also told that 12,000 perished in the earthquake of 1893 and about 10,000 were left. The present Kučan was only rebuilt after the last earthquake about 8 miles east of the ruined town.

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KÜÇÜK BAIRAM. [See İD AL-FİTR.]

KÜÇÜK KAINARDJE (T., "small hot spring"), a town in Bulgaria, 45 miles to the South of Silistria, was until the treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) a part of the Ottoman

Empire. It was in this town that a treaty of peace between 'Abd al-Hamīd I, the Ottoman Sultān and Catherine II, the Empress of Russia, was signed on the 12 Djumādā I, 1188 (July 21st, 1774). The Russian army having appeared before Shumla and the troops of the grand vizier Muhsin-Zāde Muḥammad Pasha, having abandoned it in a body, the latter decided to send plenipotentiaries to Field-Marshal Romanzoff; he chose the re'is-efendi Munib and Kāya-beg Aḥmad Rasmī; Prince Repnine, the Russian Ambassador, represented the Empress. After a discussion which lasted for seven hours, the plenipotentiaries came to an agreement on July 17; but the signature was postponed for five days in order to make it coincide with the date of the treaty signed by Peter the Great after his defeat on the Pruth (July 22, 1711): and the town of Küçük Kainardje was chosen because it was the place where the General Weissmann had perished. The treaty consisted of twenty-eight articles which established the political independence of the Tatars of the Crimea, of Bessarabia, and of Kūbān, while reserving religious supremacy to the Sultān (a phrase which gave rise to the idea of the Caliph-Pope, which became so widespread throughout European literature, see also KHALĪFA). It restored to the Khān of the Crimea all the lands conquered by the Russian Army, except the two ports of Kerč and Yeñikal'a; the restoration of the conquests of the Russians except the two Qabarṭa, Azof and Kiliburun. It restored prisoners to liberty without ransom; and provided for the free navigation of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. It established freedom for commerce, security for travellers and in particular for the pilgrims from Jerusalem (this article later allowed Russia to intervene in the affairs of the Holy Land). The Porte acknowledged the Empress of Russia's title of *pādishāh* and her right to build a church at Pera. The question of Poland, which had been the chief cause of the war, was not dealt with in the treaty. By two additional secret clauses (Martens, *Recueil des traités*, ii. 287) the Porte promised to pay as war indemnity the sum of 15,000 purses = 7,500,000 piastres, worth at this time four million roubles, within three years. Russia on her side undertook to order her fleet to evacuate the Archipelago as quickly as possible. This treaty contributed largely to strengthen Russian influence.

Bibliography: Rasmī Aḥmad-Efendi, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥbār*, transl. by Diez, *Wesentliche Betrachtungen*; Wāṣif-Efendi, *Maḥasin al-Āthār*, ii. 184 and sqq.; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, Fr. transl., vol. xvi, p. 392 sqq.; Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 358.

(CL. HUART)

KUČUM KHĀN, a Tatar Khān of Siberia, in whose reign this country was conquered by the Russians. Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 177). is the only authority to give information regarding his origin and his genealogical relation to the other descendants of Čingiz Khān. According to this source, he reigned for forty years in "Turan", lost his eyesight towards the end of his life, was driven from his kingdom by the Russians in 1003 (1594/1595), took refuge with the Manghit (Nogai) and died among them. References to Kučum are also found in the work of the Ottoman Turk Saifi said to have been written in 990 (1582) (Leyden MS., N^o. 917; transl. without a reference to the

MS. by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his translation of the history of Central Asia, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, by 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, Paris 1876, p. 303 sq.). Kučum's kingdom and its capital are there called "Turā"; the Russians had taken this town during Kučum's absence. Kučum afterwards returned and drove out the Russians after a long siege (1—2 years) but the latter carried off his son a prisoner to Moscow. These stories seem to show that Saifi's work was probably composed later than the year given in the title (Schefer, *loc. cit.*, Preface, p. iv., even gives the year 990 A. H. as date of death of the author).

The name "Isker" for the capital of Kučum (near the confluence of the Tobol and Irtysh) seems to be found only in Russian sources; it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Kučum did not inherit his kingdom from his father but had expelled his predecessor Yādīgār; in 1563 Yādīgār is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Kučum. In 1581 Isker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak; the Cossacks owed their victory to the use of fire-arms, then still unknown in Siberia. Kučum's son Makhmet-Kul (Muḥammad Kul) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1584 or 1585) that Isker was vacated by the Russians; but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Kučum did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till August 20, 1598. He is said to have been slain by the Nogai, with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's raids on them. The document used by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*², Leipzig 1893, p. 146 sq.) dealing with an embassy from Kučum to Bukhārā and the order by 'Abd Allāh Khān [q.v.] his governor in Khwārizm to send teachers of religion to Siberia, cannot be genuine. Khwārizm was at this date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the Khān of Bukhārā. The form "Közüm" adopted by Radloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.

Bibliography: Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii., London 1880, p. 982 sqq. and the Russian works used there; Hādī Aḥlāsī, *Sibir Ta'rikhi*, Kazan 1912, p. 36, 46, 67 sqq. and W. Barthold's review in *Zap.*, xxiii., p. 421 sq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KUDA'A, a group of tribes. When Islām was first preached, the genealogical division of the Arab race into three main bodies, Moqar Ma'add, Rabi'a and Yemen, had just been completed. The poets refer to it as a well known principle. Agreement had not been reached regarding the fourth group, claiming descent from a common ancestor, called Quda'a. This group comprised several important tribes, settled in the northern Hidjāz and leading a nomadic life between Arabia, Irāk, Syria and Egypt.

Without protest, the Quda'a had allowed themselves to be classed with the Yemen group. Wellhausen (*Das arabische Reich*, p. 113) observes that this grouping was not old. This is quite correct but decides nothing. If the Quda'a had allowed it, it was because their interests coincided with those of the Yemenis. They might have perhaps stopped there if the matrimonial alliances of the Sufyānid caliphs with the Banū Kalb [q.v.]

had not upset the political equilibrium of the Arab tribes. Kalb formed the main nucleus of the Ḳuḏā'a and the old genealogical fiction was intended to secure it the unconditional support of the Yemeni tribes of Syria. At any cost the Ḳuḏā'a Yemen bloc had to be broken up. Several Ḳuḏā'a tribes had for long lived alongside of the Moḏaris and contracted temporary alliances with them. This could be usefully exploited. Evidence of the importance attached to the discussion of these questions is the fact that they were raised in the presence of the Prophet.

Now nothing could be more unstable than the grouping of the Beduin tribes. To understand how down to the Omayyads and in spite of the institution of the *diwān*, the ethnographical connections of the Ḳuḏā'a had remained floating, it is sufficient to read in the *Naḳā'id Djarir wa 'l-Farazdaq*, N^o. 104 (verses 23—24; cf. *Djāhiz*, *Ḥayawān*, iv. 107 below). They were unable to produce charters or base their arguments on historical documents. Vague traditions and especially poetry were appealed to. Did not the poetry contain the "archives of Arabia", *diwān al-ʿArab*? In this connection the author of the *Aghānī* (vii. 77—78) speaks of verses fabricated by the Ḳuḏā'a, anxious to connect themselves with the Yemen group. Apocryphal poetry is the curse of the whole of pre-Muslim history. A vast and disastrous activity was displayed in this field. But it would be a great mistake to charge this exclusively to the genealogists of Ḳuḏā'a. In fact the Ḳuḏā'a seem the least deserving of suspicion, because under the Omayyads they were better able than some others to do without alliances. The supremacy assured to the Kalbis in Syria freed them from the necessity of seeking allies among the Moḏaris, to say nothing of their antipathy to the ʿKaisis with whom they were soon in open conflict. In their verses *Djarir* and *Farazdaq* appeal to an old alliance between Tamim and Kalb. The latter tribe had probably lost all recollection of it. But they could not be displeased to see their importance recognised by the best poets of Tamim, the great Moḏari tribe, whose friendship was also sought by ʿKais.

The Ḳuḏā'is were only represented in small numbers in Egypt. In 102 A.H. a Kalbi governor of Egypt reconstituted a distinct group with various Ḳuḏā'i clans, which he had found scattered among the Moḏari and Yemeni tribes in his province. Besides Kalb and its numerous subdivisions, the following are the main tribes of the Ḳuḏā'a group: Ṣāliḥ (the predecessors of Ḡhassān in Syria), Tanūkh, Djarm, Balī, Djuhaina, Kain (Banu 'l-Kain or Balkain), Bahra' Mahra, *Khushain* (to be retained in the text of al-Kindī, p. 72, 11.). For these tribes the reader is referred to the separate articles on them. Their proximity to the Syrian frontier or their settlement in Syria had encouraged the spread of Christianity among them. We therefore find them at the Arab invasion at first taking the side of the Byzantines.

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nealog. Tabellen, p. 137, 444; H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid*, i., p. 274—277, reprint from *M. F. O. B.*, v.² 593 etc. (H. LAMMENS)

ḲUḌĀMA B. DJĀ'FAR ABU 'L-FARĀDJ AL-KĀTIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, an Arab author. Born a Christian, he adopted Islām under the Caliph al-Muktafi (289—295 = 902—906) and served in the central administration at Baghdād in which he obtained the office of *Madjlis al-Zimām* in 297 under the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt. The date of his death is not known. Most writers (Ibn Taghribirdi, ed. Juynboll, ii. 323; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfēda*, lx., lxxxiv; de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, vi., 22; Dérenbourg, *Mss. de l'Escorial*, ii., x.) give 337 (958) but according to Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, vi. 204, that date is due to Ibn al-Djawzī who is not to be relied on for such matters. The only certain thing is that he was still alive in 320 as in that year he was present at a disputation between Abu Sa'īd al-Sirāfi and the logician Mattai. One result of his official activities was the for us most important book, the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* which he seems to have compiled soon after 316; only the second volume of it survives in the Köprülü library in Stambul; de Goeje published extracts from it in *B. G. A.*, vi. The work first begins by discussing of the provincial division of the empire and the organisation of the postal services and gives the yield in taxation for each district. The author then gives a survey of the adjoining foreign countries and their inhabitants and next gives a very full account of the financial system, taxation and administrative law. A short history of the Arab conquests is simply copied from al-Baladhuri. He devoted his leisure to belles-lettres and produced a work on style and rhetoric, *Kitāb Naḳd al-Naḥr al-ma'rūf bi-Kitāb al-Bayān*, edited by his pupil Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aiyūb and a poetics *Kitāb Naḳa al-Shi'r*. Both works are preserved in the Escorial MS. N^o. 242 of Dérenbourg's Catalogue; the latter is also in the Köprülü library i. 445, 2 (see Rescher, *M. S. O. S.*, xiv., 17) and has been printed from it at Stambul in 1902.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 130, 20 sqq.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 203—205; de Slane, *Notices sur Codama et ses écrits*, *J. A.*, Series 5, xx. 185 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 228.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

ḲUDATKU BİLĪK [See YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB.]

AL-ḲUḌS, the usual Arabic name for Jerusalem in later times. The older writers call it commonly Bait al-Makdis (according to some: *Muḳaddas*, cf. Gildemeister, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. 387 sq.; Fischer, *ibid.*, lx. 404 sqq.) which really meant the Temple (of Solomon), a translation of the Hebrew Bēt-hammikdash (e.g. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 263, 2) but it became applied to the whole town. They also frequently use the name İlyāz, from Aelia (see below). They likewise knew the old name Jerusalem, which they reproduce as Urishalim (or -am) (variants in Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 402). The name al-Balaṭ also occurs in *Muḳaddasi*, a word of uncertain meaning derived from *palatium*, but which probably means "royal residence". For other names of rarer occurrence see Gildemeister, *op. cit.*

When the Roman soldiers of Titus became masters of the whole city after a long and strenuous siege at the end of September 70 A. D., the splendid temple had already been burned down, according

to Sulpicius Severus by order of Titus, according to others against his desire (see Willamowitz, *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, i./viii. 170; Windisch, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1914, p. 519 *sqq.*) and for the last few nights the city had looked like a sea of fire. The Roman soldiers, maddened by the stubborn defence, continued the destruction after the capture of the city and plundered without mercy. But it is certainly wrong to think of the conquered Jerusalem as being razed absolutely level with the ground. The eastern part of the city had suffered most, notably the area of the Temple, but a considerable piece of the city wall with a prominent tower was left at the south-east corner and on the western side Titus left the city wall and the three great towers of the palace of Herod intact, to serve as a shelter for the Roman camp. Many of the old houses must also have been still standing, or at least have been in such a condition that the Jews, who were gradually returning, could find some sort of shelter in them.

For the first half century after the fall of Jerusalem we are completely without information about the unfortunate city. Risings continually flamed up in the country round but nothing is said about the capital. At the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, peace was ultimately restored but later (132—135 A.D.) another revolt broke out when the Emperor forbade circumcision and wanted to build a new city upon the ruins of Jerusalem. After the rising had been suppressed with difficulty, he carried out his plan and a purely pagan city arose which was called Colonia Aelia Capitolina. While on the north side it observed the boundary marked by the so-called third wall, it left out the southern half of the original city and in the south-west a part of the upper town; these remained the bounds for the whole period following except for a brief interruption under Šalāh al-Dīn. The new city had the usual buildings, baths, theatre, sanctuaries etc. (see *Chronicon Paschale* and on it, Vincent and Abel, *Jerusalem*, ii. 6 *sqq.*) and was divided into 7 parts, each under an administrative official. The Emperor had a sanctuary built in honour of the Capitoline Jupiter as the principal god, for which the great masses of ruins there formed a rich quarry (cf. Eusebius, *Dem. evangel.*, viii. 3). According to Dio Cassius, lxix. 12; Hieronymus, *Comm. in Isaia*, xi. 8, etc., this temple was built exactly on the site of the old Jewish temple, which Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, ii. 15 *sq.*, doubt, but without sufficient reason. That the "rock" which had formed the old altar for burnt offerings, remained practically untouched is evident from its later history, but unfortunately we do not know if it was actually used in connection with the worship in the new sanctuary. With the help of a few coin-types we can form some idea of the appearance of the temple of Jupiter, and we also know that two statues of Hadrian (probably one of the Emperor and one of Antoninus) were erected near it. If this temple of Jupiter raises questions which are difficult to answer, this is still more true of the temple of Aphrodite built in Jerusalem on the site of which was later built the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre (on presumed remains of this temple, see Schmaltz, *Mater Ecclesiarum*, p. 351). According to Eusebius, wicked men, inspired by demons (pagan deities) had done everything they could to conceal and

to pollute this place by covering τὸ βέλον ἀντρον with earth brought for the purpose and building a temple of Aphrodite with its impure cult. Whether this was the real reason for the building of the temple of Aphrodite is very doubtful. For even if we grant the possibility that a recollection of the place of the Crucifixion and of the tomb of Christ had been preserved among the earliest Christians, it is unlikely that Hadrian to whom the building may, with most probability, be credited paid so much heed to the Christians that he would deliberately insult them so deeply (cf. P. Mickley, *Die Konstantinkirchen im heiligen Lande*, 1923, p. 36 *sq.*; Dalman, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, ix., 102 *sq.*). At most it can only have been an accident. On the other hand we may ascribe to Hadrian's rebuilding of the city the broad pillared way which runs through Jerusalem from north to south on the mosaic map of Madeba of the vith century (see Guthe, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxviii. 120 *sq.*; Gisler, *Das Heilige Land*, 1912, p. 214 *sqq.*), of the pillars of which a series of remains have been unearthed (cf. Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, ii. 22). It debouched on the north into an open square with a single pillar standing alone, after which the North Gate in the middle ages was known as the "Gate of the Pillar" (*Bāb al-'Amūd* or *Bāb 'Amūd al-Ghurāb*). Jews were forbidden under pain of death to enter the new city. This prohibition remained in force under Antoninus Pius, but they were again allowed to practise circumcision. As the Christians were not affected by the prohibition, their numbers must have increased in the centuries following Hadrian's reign. Their place of worship in this period was the Church of Sion on the southern peak of the next hill, which was therefore regarded as the mother of the other churches in the Holy Land. It was at first a small building, which was not replaced by a large basilica until a later date. In the same period pilgrimages to Palestine, especially to Jerusalem, began to become more numerous (cf. Windisch, *Z. D. P. V.*, xlviii. 145 *sqq.*). The faithful came thither from all countries, and especially when the earlier obstacles and dangers had been diminished by the conversion to Christianity of Constantine I, numerous bodies of pilgrims followed the example of the queen-mother, Helena, who visited Palestine in 320. The appearance of Jerusalem about this time (c. 333) is described to us in the work of the so-called pilgrim of Bordeaux, the exact character of which cannot however be readily defined. We learn that the two Hadrian statues were still standing and perhaps also the Temple of Jupiter, although the words are not clear (*et in aede ipsa ubi templum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit*). If this was the case, the temple must have very soon afterwards been taken down when the Emperor began to build his church. The *lapis pertusus* over which the Jews were allowed to weep and pour oil on one day of the year, is probably the stone on which the altar for burnt offerings had stood, which therefore must have been lying exposed in those days. If it did not take place earlier, the complete desolation of the site of the temple must have begun at this time, when the Christians, remembering Christ's words (Matt. xxiv. 2), rejected any thought of rebuilding the temple; Eucharis (*Itinera Hierosyl. Latina*, i. 52) expressly mentions it. But this was not true, at least about 348, of the outer enclosures of the site which Cyril (*Patr. Graec.*,

xxxiii. 889) mentions as still in existence, and at a still later date there is a reference to the outer wall at the S.E. corner with a high tower. The name given it, "Tower of David", which is found about 350 in Epiphanius, is based on an erroneous transference of David's citadel to this site and indeed this period in general with the many pilgrims asking about sites mentioned in the Bible, proved very productive of local traditions with no authority or even quite false.

In his great buildings the Emperor Constantine was only concerned with Christian associations. Besides the basilica on the Mount of Olives mentioned by the pilgrim of Bordeaux, his main work was the building (completed in 335) of the large and splendid church on the spot where Christ had been crucified and which was therefore consecrated to the victorious Cross. Proof that it was the true site was according to Eusebius the *παρ' ἑλπίδα πᾶσαν* at the light emanating from the Holy Sepulchre when they began to dig out the soil.

It was the Emperor's intention to build a great sanctuary for the whole of Christendom, which was to surpass all others in the splendour and costliness of its materials. Eusebius gives a very rhetorical picture of this building and therefore one that is not easy to visualise. The sepulchre, discovered by a miracle, was adorned by the Emperor with beautiful pillars and rich decoration. East of it lay an open paved square, which was enclosed on three sides by pillared halls. On the east side was a great basilica through the eastern exits of which one entered the outer gateway and reached the street of the market through them. The basilica had a sloping roof. Eusebius also speaks of a hemisphere, which some take to be a cupola on the roof, others an apsis. Eusebius does not mention a building over the Holy Sepulchre (Micklethorp, *op. cit.*, p. 38 sq. however finds a reference to it in the *hemisphaerion* just mentioned, which he supposes is mentioned in the wrong place in the text). The Sepulchre was originally, it appears, in the open air and it was the sons of Constantine who first built over it the so-called *anastasis*, the rotunda form of which, later maintained, is first mentioned by Cyril in 350. In the account of the building there is no mention of the principal relic, the remains of the Holy Cross; but they were in existence barely 15 years later; they were perhaps old pieces of wood found in excavating for a cistern. They were later preserved at the S.E. corner of the basilica in a silver case. Constantine's reign brought some relief to the Jews as they were permitted, as already observed, to enter the city and weep on the stone on the site of the Temple. Further scope was given them in the reign of Justinian who not only completely abolished the old prohibition but gave them permission to rebuild the Temple, which however they were prevented from doing by flames bursting forth, according to Ammianus. After the Emperor's death Constantine's regulations were again enforced. The more peaceful period that now began gave the Christians leisure to devote themselves to their own theological and hierarchical disputes, which had for the Jerusalem Christians the satisfactory result that they were freed from the suzerainty of Caesarea, as, at the Council of Chalcedon (451—453), the bishopric of Jerusalem was recognised as an independent patriarchate, comprising Palestine, Prima, Secunda and Tertia. The Emperor's family

devoted continual attention to the embellishment of the town. Thus the Empress Eudocia, who visited Jerusalem in 460, built a church of St. Stephen and a church at the pool of Siloah. A still more dazzling epoch came with the reign of Justinian who was fond of building. He had churches and hospitals built in the country round, including a nosokomium in the capital (cf. Cyril in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxxvi. 305). He also bestowed a splendid church of Theotokos on the city of which Procopius gives a florid but by no means lucid description (*De Aedificiis Justiniani*, v. 6). According to him the church was supported by pillars and had a roof of cedar trunks. From a statement by Theodosius it seems to have been in the shape of a cross. One very important statement in the description of Procopius is that the ground was not large enough for the intended building, so that the Emperor had great substructures made on south and east until the ground reached the level of the adjoining rocks. This is in favour of the assumption often made that this church was the predecessor of the mosque of Aḳṣā, the oldest parts of which undoubtedly belonged to a church. The part of the site of the Temple which lay in ruins and which would not be built upon for the reasons already mentioned must therefore have stretched so far south that the remaining area was too small for so large a church (cf. R. Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxxii., 185 sqq.). Others like H. Dressaire, *Echos de l'Orient*, 1912, p. 146 sqq., 234 sqq.; K. Schmaltz, *op. cit.*, p. 385, look for the site of Justinian's church in the Jewish quarter southwest of the Temple area.

A sudden end was put to this idyllic state of affairs by the devastating invasion of the Persians in 614 A.D. When they were before Jerusalem, the Patriarch Zacharias, who, like Jeremiah of old, saw in the attack a punishment for the immorality prevailing in the city, advised surrender but the people would not listen to him, although the Byzantine troops in Palestine were leaving the city to its fate. With the help of their siege machinery, the Persians entered the town and bathed the city in the blood of old men, women and children. The churches were destroyed and the crucifixes trodden under foot. The Jews, who had as a rule been on good terms with the Persians, are said to have used the occasion to avenge themselves on the Christians. The Patriarch was sent into banishment with other dignitaries and the palladium, the Holy Cross, to the horror of Christianity was carried off by the victors (cf. K. Schmaltz, *op. cit.*, p. 69; P. Peeters, *La Prise de la Jérusalem par les Perses, Mélanges de l'Université de Beyrouth*, ix. 1 sqq.; Eutychius in Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, ii. 242). The change only came when Heraclius began his marvellous campaign of conquest which led him far into Persian territory. Kawadh II, Sheroë, who ascended the throne on the assassination of his father in 628, sought peace and withdrew all the Persian troops from Byzantine territory. After his brief reign, complete confusion reigned in Persia so that the war could not be continued. The Holy Cross was sent back in its case which the Persians by God's providence had never opened and restored to its former place on September 14, 629; in the meanwhile a monk named Modestius had been showing great energy and succeeded in restoring the destroyed church, including the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre built by Constantine, which was restored to its former size and decorated as far as the modest means allowed. The remains of the Cross did not however stay in Jerusalem, but were sent in 633 by Heraclius to Constantinople, when he was doubtful of being able to defend Syria. Nevertheless a piece seems to have remained in Jerusalem, as the continuation of the festival of the elevation of the Cross shows (Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, ii. 227).

But scarcely had the Christians in the Holy Land begun to breathe a little more freely again after this severe visitation, than events occurred which were destined to have far more fatal consequences. The politico-religious community formed by Muḥammad, little heeded outside of Arabia up to the time of his death, became a few years later with startling suddenness a danger threatening the neighbouring countries.

Although Jerusalem lay outside the regular orbit of the Prophet's interests, he mentioned it several times in the Qur'ān, a natural result of his indebtedness to Jews and Christians. As he had no idea of the actual appearance of the town, the cursory mention of the *miḥrāb* (Sūra, iii. 32 sq.; xix. 12) is of no importance, but Jerusalem became of real significance for him in the period when, following the example of the Jews, he turned at prayer in the direction of the holy city. The tradition is certainly right which says that the earlier *qibla* mentioned in Sūra ii. 136, 138, which he exchanged for the sanctuary at Mecca after the breach with the Jews, was Jerusalem, whether he already used this direction in the Meccan period or only introduced it after his migration to Medina in order to win over the Jews there (cf. the article MUḤAMMAD). In the former case which is more probably right, Jerusalem must from the very beginning have been of very considerable significance to him as a religious centre. According to the usual explanation, moreover Sūra xvii. 1 with the expression *masjid al-aḡṣā* indicates Jerusalem as the goal of the Prophet's nocturnal journey, not however the later mosque of the name but the site of the old Temple of Solomon. The correctness of this interpretation is however not certain for there is a certain amount of support for Horowitz's (*Isl.*, ix. 159; following Schrieke, *ibid.*, vi. 1 sqq.) suggestion that Muḥammad was rather thinking of a place in heaven in this phrase (see MUḤAMMAD). But the traditional view, which must have arisen very early, gained the greatest importance for Jerusalem, for on it is based the classing of the sanctuary at Jerusalem among the three most holy places of prayer in the world; indeed it is sometimes even given the preference over the other two.

The Muslim armies that crossed the frontiers of Arabia after the death of Muḥammad entered Palestine as well as the lands of the Euphrates. With the defeat of the Imperial troops at Adīnādāin (q. v. and add to the *Bibl.*, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, v. 225) in July 634, after which the Byzantine general Aretion had to take shelter in Jerusalem, Byzantine rule in Palestine began to totter and its fate was settled on the Yarmūk in August 636; the fortified towns then surrendered one after the other to the victorious Arabs. Two different accounts of the taking of Jerusalem have been handed down. According to the most usual version, the Arab general Abū 'Ubaida in 17 (638)

asked the Caliph 'Umar to come to his headquarters at Djabīya [q. v.] as the people of Jerusalem would only capitulate on condition that 'Umar himself concluded the treaty with them. According to the other story, which de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 1864, p. 110 sqq., rightly prefers, the Caliph came to Djabīya of his own accord to arrange the affairs of the conquered regions and from there (according to Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 139) he sent Khālīd b. Thābit to Jerusalem to besiege the town and the terms made by the latter for the surrender were then approved by 'Umar. These terms, which are preserved in several versions (e. g. Ṭabarī, i. 2404 sq.; cf. Balādhuri, p. 139; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 167; cf. de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 122 sq.) were quite mild. The Christian inhabitants were granted security for their lives, property, churches and crucifixes, while the Jews were not to live among them; the churches were not to be used as dwellings, and not to be torn down or reduced in size, and the Christians retained their religious liberty; in return they were to pay the *djizya* and assist in warding off the Byzantine troops and raiders. The statements on the date of the taking of Jerusalem also vary; Ṭabarī for example gives Rabi' II of the year 16.

Further details of 'Umar's conduct at the capture of Jerusalem are given by various Christian and Muslim authors. Theophanes (ed. de Boor, i. 339) who wrote towards the end of the viiith century, records under the year 627 that the Caliph on the conclusion of the treaty, so favourable to the Christians, entered the holy city wearing soiled robes — according to this author a sign of his devilish hypocrisy — and demanded to be led to the site of the Temple which he then made a place of pagan worship. Writing in the tenth century, the Egyptian Christian Eutychius (*Annales*, ed. Pococke, ii. 285 sqq. and in Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, ii. 243) tells somewhat more fully how 'Umar refused to perform his *ṣalāt* in the basilica of the Church of the Resurrection and instead said his prayers on the steps at the entrance in order, as he explained, to prevent the Muslims from using the authority of his example to turn the church into a mosque and that he gave the Patriarch Sophronius a document confirming this. At his request, Sophronius then pointed out the "Rock" covered with debris on the site of the Temple as a suitable site for his masjid. The Caliph at once began to clear off the rubble and as the Muslims followed his example the rock soon came into sight. At the same time he gave instructions that the masjid should be so planned that the worshippers had the rock behind and not in front of them. It is apparent that the story is intended to confirm the alienable right of the Christians to their churches by the authority of the great Caliph. There is naturally no such tendency in the Muslim historians — the earliest is al-Muḥarrāf in the tenth century with whom Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḡdī, Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Muḡjir al-Dīn (see below) are in substantial agreement — who on the contrary show the Christians in a less favourable light. According to them the Patricius, who appears here more correctly in the place of the Patriarch, at first tried to deceive 'Umar when he demanded to be taken to David's *masjid*, by showing him the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of Sion.

But the Caliph saw through the deception, as the Prophet had described to him the place as he had seen it on his nocturnal journey; he was ultimately taken to the site of the Temple, which he recognised as the right place, but it had first of all to be cleared of debris. In another story, recorded as early as Ṭabarī, i. 2408, Ka'b b. al-Aḥbār [q. v.] a Jewish convert to Islām plays a part which gives the story a point directed against the Jews. When 'Umar entered the Temple area he summoned Ka'b to obtain his opinion regarding the choice of the place for the masjid; but when the latter proposed that the place of prayer should be placed behind the Rock (north of it) the Caliph declined as he saw in the proposal a concealed attempt to plan the masjid for the benefit of the Jews, so that the qibla would actually strike the site of the old Temple.

If we examine these traditions more closely, we see that they all agree that 'Umar had a Muslim place of worship erected on the deserted Temple area. That we are on firm historical ground here is corroborated by Bishop Arculfus about 670 (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer, 1898, p. 226 sq.; cf. Arculf, transl. by Mickle, 1917, 19 sq.) who describes this masjid as a very simple building (*Saraceni quadrangulam orationis domum quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias vili fabricati sunt opere ipsi frequentant*), but it could however hold 3,000 men. In reality this was a very practical settlement of the situation that had arisen from the conquest of Jerusalem; the Caliph acquired a site long held sacred, without coming into conflict with the privileges granted to the Christians, as they would not build a church on the site of the Temple for reasons already stated. It is further clear that what Eutychius tells us about 'Umar's praying on the steps of the basilica of the Sepulchre is an unhistorical invention intended to avert any encroachments by the Muslims. But this bias of the story only becomes evident from a further story of Eutychius, according to which the Muslims "of our day" (i. e. the first half of the tenth century) overrode 'Umar's regulations, when they took possession of the half of the forecourt on the steps to the Constantinian Basilica and built a masjid there, which they called the Masjid 'Umar, because 'Umar had prayed there. Schmalz (*op. cit.*, p. 361) thinks a few remains of columns from this mosque can still be seen.

Under the Umayyads the political conditions contributed in a peculiar way to increase the prestige of Jerusalem. Their interest in Muḥammad's foundations was not considerable so that it was not difficult for them to abandon the holy cities in Arabia when the prescribed visits to them met with difficulty for any reason, and Jerusalem in particular, the holiness of which the Prophet, according to the usual exposition of Sūra xvii. 1, had recognised, formed a welcome substitute, all the more so as it was much easier to reach from Damascus than Mecca or Medina. Evidence of the esteem in which Jerusalem was held, was early shown by Mu'āwīya who had himself proclaimed Caliph here. A Syriac source published by Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix., 90, records that in July 971, Seleuc. (660 A.D. = Šafar-Rabi' A.H. 40) many Arabs assembled in Jerusalem to make him king and that he ascended to Golgotha and prayed there and next went through Gethsemane to the

Tomb of Mary, where he again prayed. Arabic sources (Ṭabarī, ii. 4; Mas'ūdī, v. 14; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iii. 388) say that homage was paid to him in Jerusalem in the year 40, and this must have happened only after 'Alī's assassination on 17th Ramaḍān, which is less probable than the Syriac story. 'Abd al-Malik (65—68 = 685—705) took a further step in this direction. When the anti-caliph Ibn Zubair had become master of Mecca, 'Abd al-Malik feared, not without reason, that the Syrians who made the pilgrimage thither, might be persuaded or forced to join him. He therefore forbade them to go there and when the people appealed to the definite command of the Prophet, he ordered them to go on pilgrimage to the holy Rock in Jerusalem and referred them to a tradition recorded by the famous traditionist al-Zuhri, according to which Muḥammad classed Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem as places of pilgrimage of equal value, nay, from what is apparently the original form of the ḥadīth, the last town was to be placed above the other sanctuaries (cf. Ya'qūbi, ii. 167; Balādhuri, p. 143; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 818; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 390; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 35 sq.). To express this esteem for the town in fitting and splendid form, the Caliph had a cupola built on the Rock upon which the Prophet had placed his foot on his journey to heaven, the Qubbat al-Šakhra [q. v.] around which the *ḥawāf* was to be performed. That (Muḥaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 159) the Caliph in building it intended to surpass the beautiful cupola of the Church of the Sepulchre is probably quite in keeping with his general aims. Others make Wālid I the builder of the Qubbat al-Šakhra, but this is at once contradicted by an inscription that survives, in which however the name of 'Abd al-Malik has been altered to that of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Ma'mūn but in such a way that not only does the difference in colour betray the alteration but the date 72 (691) has fortunately remained intact. According to later writers (Ibn Taghribirdī, 'Ulaimi, etc.), 'Abd al-Malik also built the Akṣā Mosque, which was given its name from Sūra xvii. 1: but if the mosque was built out of the Church of Justinian (see above) this can only mean that the Caliph in converting the church into a mosque committed a direct breach of the promise made by 'Umar. In any case the Christians in Jerusalem retained their churches, such as the Church of Sion, the Church of Gethsemane (corrupted by the Arabs to "al-Djismāniya") and notably the Church of the Resurrection, the name of which al-Ḳiyāma (i.e. *anastasis*, the Arabs turned in ridicule into al-Kumāma, "ordure"). On the south side of this church, there stood in the time of Arculfus a square church of the Virgin which later disappeared. The last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II razed the walls of Jerusalem to the ground in 128 (746) after a rising in Palestine and two years later it was visited by an earthquake recorded by al-Muḥarrar and later writers, which was followed by another soon after the 'Abbāsīds had seized the empire. The Caliph al-Manṣūr had the damage repaired, perhaps on his visits to Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, iii. 129, 372) in 140 (758) or 154 (771). But afterwards another earthquake so damaged the building that it had once again to be restored in the reign of al-Mahdī, perhaps when he visited the city and prayed there in 163 (780) (Ṭabarī, iii. 500) (cf.

Muḳaddasī, *op. cit.*, 168). On this occasion the Caliph had the building made broader and shorter perhaps in order to emphasise the mosque form more strongly. Of work on the Dome of the Rock there is no mention in these years. But that something was done a little later under the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (198—218 = 813—833) is evident from the falsified inscription already mentioned and from another of the year 216 (831) put up by the Caliph's brother who was then governor of Egypt and Syria (Ṭabari, iii. 1100).

With the gradual dissolution of the 'Abbāsīd empire Palestine also became involved in political troubles and the land once again became a bone of contention between powers in Egypt and in Western Asia. In 265 (878) it passed to the Tulunids and in 292 (905) to the Fātimids. In this period the hitherto quite tolerable relations between Muslims and Christians became worse. How the Muslims, contrary to the treaty with 'Umar, in 936 cut off half the outer court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by building a masjid has already been mentioned. Yahyā of Antioch (Vincent and Abel, ii. 243) tells of a very serious outbreak of fanaticism in 355 (966). The Muslims, who were joined by the Jews, set fire to the doors of the Basilika and the Church of the Resurrection, so that the dome of the latter fell in, entered the Church and looted all they could and afterwards sacked the Church of Sion. The Patriarch, who had hidden himself was dragged out, put to death and his corpse burned. The destroyed churches were restored under his successor, but not long after they were finished an even more terrible blow struck them when that strange character the Fātimid Caliph al-Hākim in Ṣafar of the year 400 (October 1009, see Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, ii. 249; on the other hand according to Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ix. 147 in 398 = 1008) ordered this sanctuary to which the eyes of all Christendom turned, to be destroyed. The order was carried out as thoroughly as the solidity of the building permitted, but afterwards the Patriarch Nicephoros succeeded in appeasing the Caliph so that he allowed the Christians to worship on the ruins of the Church. Clermont-Ganneau has with great acuteness connected with these events a Kūfic inscription found in 1897 on a large block beside the central gate of the old east wall of the basilica, forbidden those under protection (*al-dhimma*, i. e. Christians and Jews) to enter the masjid (the mosque of 'Umar above mentioned) (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, iv. 283 *sqq.*; cf. *M. D. P. V.*, 1897, 70 *sqq.*). Hākim's successor, al-Zāhir, was forced to conclude a peace with the Byzantine Emperor Romanus III by which he permitted the latter to rebuild the Church of the Resurrection at his own expense. A new earthquake in 1034 destroyed the sore tried church, which was now left in ruins on account of the poverty of the Christians, until it was restored in 1048 by the liberality of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos. But it was only the Church of the Resurrection, that was rebuilt while Constantine's Basilica never rose again. Only the Chapel of St. Helena, the site of the finding of the Cross was preserved. Another earthquake in 1076 (1016) severely damaged the Dome of the Rock (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ix. 205) and the Caliph al-Zāhir had to have the dome over it rebuilt as an inscription testifies (see 'Alī al-Herewī, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 602).

The Seldjūks put an end for a time to Fātimid rule in Palestine, and their leader Tughril Beg was recognised as Sultān in Baghdād in 447 (1055). Jerusalem also felt the effects of this when the Turkish general Atsiz on his campaign against Filāṣṭīn in 463 (1070) conquered the city as well as Ramla and the adjoining country, which, as the Seldjūks posed as protectors of the Caliphate, resulted in the 'Abbāsīd Caliph being again after a long interval mentioned in the *ḥuṭba* in the mosque there. When Jerusalem soon afterwards rose in rebellion, Atsiz in 469 (1076/1077) had to besiege it again and after its capture, there was a wholesale massacre from which only those escaped who took refuge in the Aḳṣā Mosque (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 46, 64, 68 *sqq.*). The Seldjūk Sultān Tutuṣh in Damascus had Atsiz put to death and in 484 (1091) Jerusalem was given to Sukmān, the son of a Turkoman officer. In 489 (1096) the Fātimid Sultān al-Musta'li again succeeded in taking the city and in holding it successfully next year against Ridwān, son of Tutuṣh. The triumph of the Fātimids was however of short duration only, for a couple of years later the Crusaders arrived and made their victorious entry into the Holy City on July 15, 1099.

For the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period of the events outlined above, we have valuable material available in a series of Arabic descriptions of Jerusalem and its holy places. Even as early as the end of the ninth century we have the brief account by the geographer and historian Ya'qūbī, who however deals mainly with questions of administration and population only (*B. G. A.*, vii., 328 *sq.*). The next is Ibn al-Faḳīh who wrote in 290 (903). After relating the legends and ḥadīths associated with Jerusalem he gives a good description of the Ḥaram with its gates and sanctuaries, notably the Mosque of the Rock and al-Aḳṣā. His measurements are of interest because some of them agree very well with present day measurements (*B. G. A.*, v. 94 *sqq.*). Soon after Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn 'Abd-rabbihi (p. 328) in *al-Iḥd al-farīd* (Cairo 1331, iv. 274 *sq.*) gives a description of the Dome of the Rock, which in many ways recalls that of his predecessor but the figures show considerable divergence. He likewise mentions different sanctuaries in Jerusalem and gates of the Ḥaram. The information in al-Iṣṭakhṛī's version of an older work now lost (c. 340 = 951/952) is very concise; the same applies to Ibn Ḥawkal's version of the same book (367 = 977/978). There are references to the al-Aḳṣā Mosque, unsurpassed in size, to the Ṣakhra with the Rock and the cave below, and to David's Mihrāb (*B. G. A.*, i. 57, ii. 112). All these writers are thrown into the shade by the great geographer al-Muḳaddasī, or al-Maḳdisi, who was born in Jerusalem (375 = 985/986). He begins with a list of the great attractions of Jerusalem and the advantages of living there but also mentions the disadvantages. He then describes the Aḳṣā Mosque rebuilt after the earthquakes, the new parts of which stood out clearly from the older parts. There were 15 doors on the north side (a remarkably large figure, which does not agree with the other statements), the central one being a great iron door; there were 11 doors on the east side. Along the north side ran a court with marble pillars, built by the Ṭahīrid 'Abdallāh (d. 230 = 844). Over the centre of the building from north to south was a pyramidal roof with the beautiful

dome above it. Next comes the description of the platform in the centre of the Ḥaram with the Dome of the Rock, practically agreeing with that of Ibn al-Faḳīh. It was an octagonal building with four doors, to which staircases led. The interior was divided into three concentric halls with marble pillars. In the centre was the "Rock" which is described exactly as in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 33 ells long and 27 broad and below it the cave which could hold 69 people. The "rock" was separated from the rest by a circular colonnade. Upon this rested a drum with a window, which supported the beautiful dome to the top of which was 100 ells high. The dome consisted of three wooden frameworks, the lower of which was covered with gilt copper, while the second consisted of iron bars and the third of wood covered with metal plates. Most of this agrees with the present Dome of the Rock so that the rebuilding in 413 (1022) must have followed the earlier form. Muḳaddasī gives 1,000 royal ells as the length of of the ḥaram, 700 as the breadth; it had 700 marble pillars and 45,000 lead slates, and it could be entered in 13 places by 20 doors which were numbered (*B. G. A.*, iii. 166 *sgg.*). Besides these Arabic descriptions we have that of the Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw who visited Jerusalem in 438 (1047). He was a good observer, who mentions the conditions of soil and vegetation, the number of inhabitants (20,000 males), the bazaars, and architecture of the houses, the good hospital, the cemetery, at the east wall, the aqueduct leading from Solomon's pool etc., and describes the Ḥaram and its sanctuaries in great detail; but his statements unfortunately do not seem always to be accurate, so that they are sometimes more confusing than useful. In place of the 15 doors on the north side of the Aḳṣā mentioned by Muḳaddasī, he only gives five, but gives 10 on the east; among the former he also mentions the great iron door (*Sefer-nāme*, ed. Schefer, 1881, p. 67—99). To the eleventh century also belongs al-Musharraf's work, *Kitāb Faḳā'il Bait al-Maḳdis wa 'l-Shām* (exists in a unique MS. in Tübingen, see Seybold, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen*, 1907, i., p. 62 *sgg.*) which after a survey of the earlier history of Jerusalem deals with 'Umar's conquest of the city and 'Abd al-Malik's buildings on the Ḥaram, the advantages of the city, the traditions associated with it and the religious merit that is acquired by praying there; it has been much used by later writers.

The Franks celebrated their entry into Jerusalem by a frightful massacre, particularly on the temple site, in great contrast to the restraint shown by 'Umar when he became lord of the city. The valuable treasures in the Dome of the Rock were also carried off. Jerusalem now became the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the first ruler of which was Godfrey de Bouillon, "protector of the Holy Sepulchre"; but he died soon afterwards on July 18, 1100, and his brother Baldwin I succeeded him. The patriarchate hitherto Greek now became Roman. The Crusaders were anxious to have the churches restored in their original form. Their main concern was with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most sacred place to Christianity. The Rotunda of the Resurrection retained its old form. But instead of rebuilding the Constantinian basilica with a courtyard surrounded by cloisters on the old lines, a

remarkably shortened church was built immediately on to the east side of the Rotunda in Late Roman style, which was intended to serve as a choir for the daily services founded by Godfrey (see Dalman, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, iii. 39 *sg.*). In this way the plan was simplified, but again somewhat complicated by the fact that a cross nave and two irregular side-naves were built in front of the choir. The south side of the cross-nave was the main entrance to the sanctuary. A dome was built over the spot where the cross nave intersected the shortened main nave and a bell-tower south of the Rotunda of the Resurrection. In the church thus formed and consecrated in 1149 the kings of Jerusalem were interred. Among the other churches restored we may specially mention the Church of Sion or of the Apostles which was in ruins. A splendid building and one very characteristic of the Crusaders arose not far to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In the eleventh century merchants from Amalfi had built, along with a church of St. Maria Latina, a monastery to be used as a hostel by poor pilgrims. The first patron was John the Merciful, a patriarch of Alexandria, but later it was John the Baptist. In addition to the monks and nuns, the order of the Knights of St. John was instituted here, who devoted themselves not only to tending the sick and wounded but also to the defence of the holy places and fighting the infidels. After the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, a splendid hostel with over 1,000 beds and a noble church were built. The Crusaders were however not content simply with restoring the sacred places of Christendom. While 'Umar had left the Christians the undisturbed use of their churches and reserved only the area of the temple for Muslim worship, the Crusaders took over the mosques there and turned them into churches. The Dome of the Rock, which from an insufficient knowledge of its history, they called *Templum Domini* remained practically unaltered. But a golden cross was placed on the top of the cupola and the "Rock" hitherto uncovered in its centre was overlaid with slabs of marble, on which an altar was built. Considerable alterations were made on the Aḳṣā mosque which was now called *Templum Salomonis* or *Palatium Salomonis* (on the latter name cf. as early as the pilgrim of Bordeaux: *sub pinna turris ipsius sunt cubacula plurima, ubi Salomon palatium habebat*). These changes were made because the building, after first being the palace of the Latin Kings was handed over to the newly founded order of the Templars. They put a number of living rooms in the mosque and added a number of buildings which were to be used as latrines and granaries (Idrīsī, *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 125; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 364 *sg.*) and they also built a Crusaders' Church in and by the mosque but it was never completed (see John of Würzburg, Ch. 5). Apart from these changes, under Frankish rule Jerusalem remained much as it was before the conquest. A strong wall surrounded the town, before which deep ditches were dug at several places. Four gates facing the four points of the compass, with others at intervals, gave admittance to the city.

Among the descriptions of Jerusalem in the Frankish period the best although short is that in the Book of Roger by Idrīsī in 1154. He mentions the four main gates, describes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Ḥaram with the Dome of

the Rock, and the Akṣā Mosque, Gethsemane, the Church of Sion and several churches in the vicinity of the town. As he does not appear to have been there himself, his statements are probably based on information supplied by men sent by Roger. A little later in 1173 'Alī al-Herewī (from Herāt) visited Palestine; his description (not yet printed) was translated by Schefer (*Archives de l'Orient*, 1886, i., p. 587—609). He describes the Dome of the Rock with its four pillars, 12 columns and 16 windows, the iron work round the rock, the cave of the Spirits, the Akṣā and its portico with 16 marble columns and 8 pillars, gives their measurements, mentions the stables of Solomon, and the cradle of Jesus, the Tower of David, with the *Mihrāb* mentioned in the *Kuṣṣān*, Siloah and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There are also numerous descriptions by pilgrims, only a few of which can be mentioned here. In 1102 and 1103 i.e. shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem, the Saxon Saewulf was there and left a short account of his visit (*Recueil de voyages et des mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, 1839, iv., p. 839—846) in which he describes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Maria Latina, the site of the Temple, the Church of St. Anne, Gethsemane, and the Mount of Olives. The Russian Abbot Daniel's journal of the year 1106 is also of value (transl. by Leskien in *Z.D.P.V.*, vii. 23 sq.). He gives brief but vivid descriptions of the country and the buildings and had an eye for all sorts of details which are rarely mentioned elsewhere. He describes in order the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, the Dome of the Rock (the holy of holies), the house of Solomon (al-Akṣā), Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives and the situation and natural features of the city. The next important authorities are John of Würzburg (*Descriptiones terrae sanctae ex saec. viii., ix., xii. et xiv.*, ed. Tobler) and Theodorici (*Theodorici Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. Tobler, 1865). On the Jewish side there is Benjamin of Tudela (1165), who does not however deal with the Christian sanctuaries.

The period of the Crusades is one of the least inspiring periods in the history of Christianity. Its pitiable collapse is in striking contrast to the splendid enthusiasm with which it was opened, but even this was overcast by the deep shadow of the inhuman bloodshed at the taking of Jerusalem. The Crusaders owed the advantages they won in the first period less to their own ability than to the political weakness of the caliphate at that time and the newly founded kingdom of Jerusalem soon broke up in confusion in which selfish individual interests were openly displayed and Christians occasionally fought with their fellow-Christians and freely concluded alliances with their Muslim opponents. Therefore when powerful personalities appeared on the side of the enemy in 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī and his son Nūr al-Dīn and still more when the highly gifted Aiyūbīd Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) became master of Egypt in 1169 and began to conquer Syria after the death of Nūr al-Dīn, the fate of the Christians in Palestine was sealed. The for them disastrous battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [q.v.] resulted in Saladin's advance on Jerusalem. When he appeared with his army before the town, the inhabitants who had appointed Balian of Nāblus commander-in-chief declined the favourable conditions offered them and decided to fight to the

last. Saladin however moved his camp to the weaker north side of the city and when his siege artillery began to demolish pieces of the wall, the defenders lost courage and endeavoured to reopen negotiations with Saladin. After Saladin had several times refused to see the envoys, Balian informed him that the inhabitants, if their surrender was not accepted, were resolved to put all non-combatants in the city to death along with the Muslim prisoners, to burn all that might be looted and to destroy the sanctuaries on the site of the Temple. This made such an impression on Saladin and his emirs that the terms were accepted (1187). The inhabitants were allowed to leave the city on paying a poll-tax and Saladin's attitude was so lenient that not only was the amount of the ransom reduced but many people were allowed to depart, although they could not pay the necessary money. He also ordered armed soldiers to accompany the columns of emigrants to protect them from attack, while at the same time in some parts of the country Christians were preventing their co-religionists from passing through (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 361—366; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, p. 451 sq.). It was mainly the Latin Christians who left Jerusalem while the Greek Christians, the so-called Syrians, were allowed to stay in the city without becoming slaves. It is quite evident from several sources that even after the retaking of Jerusalem by the Muslims, a considerable number of Christians remained there and in Palestine generally (cf. Rotermund, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxxv. 24 sq.). But Jerusalem lost its Christian character and Saladin actively removed the traces of the period of Christian occupation. The golden cross on the Dome of the Rock was thrown to the ground amid the applause of the Muslims and laments of the Christians and replaced by a crescent. The wall round the Rock with the altar was removed. Saladin, as an inscription shows, had the cupola regilt (de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 91 sq.) but otherwise the building was allowed to remain as it was. The restoration of the Akṣā Mosque cost great labour, as it had not only to be cleared of all trace of Christian worship but the architectural alterations of the Christians had also to be removed. An inscription mentions that the *mihrāb* and the mosque were restored by Saladin's orders (de Vogüé, p. 101). The armoury of the Knights Templar in the southwestern part of the Akṣā was transformed and given the name "Mosque of the Women". Saladin had a very elaborate and beautiful *minbar* ordered by Nūr al-Dīn for the Akṣā, which was in Ḥalab, brought to the place for which it was intended. The cross over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was removed and the bells broken as in the other churches. He spared the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself but forbade the pilgrims to visit it; this prohibition was however removed in 1192. The great hostel of the Knights of St. John was presented as a *wakf* to the Mosque of 'Umar and the church there turned into a hospital under the name "Muristān". The convent of the Church of St. Anne, which the nuns had to leave, was turned into a large handsomely endowed school, the name of which, al-Ṣalāḥiyya, recalled its founder (the church however had already been used as a school before the conquest by the Franks; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, i. 429). The dwelling of the Patriarch northwest

of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was turned into a hostel for pilgrims (*khanka*). The walls round Jerusalem, which had suffered during the siege, were renovated under the personal supervision of Saladin — a deep ditch was dug in front of them — and the towers between the Gate of the Pillar (see above) and the Gate of the Mihrāb on the west side were rebuilt (Muḍjir al-Dīn, p. 338). On this occasion a part of the west hill hitherto outside the walls was incorporated in the city (cf. Rotermund, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

After the death of Saladin (589 = 1192) his brother usurped his son's inheritance and seized the power in his own hands and then divided it among his own sons, of whom al-Mu'azzam received Damascus and Palestine. This anti-Christian ruler, fearing that the Christians might establish themselves in Jerusalem ordered it to be destroyed in 1219, and this was done so thoroughly that only the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David and the Mosques on the Ḥaram were spared. He further showed his reverence for the sanctuaries on the Ḥaram by building a new wooden tower for the Aḳṣā and restoring the arcades on the south side of the Dome of the Rock. From him also probably dates the porch on the north side of the Aḳṣā (see de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 103, and thereon Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxxii. 204). He also built a school for the Ḥanafis beside this mosque. After his death the Emperor Frederick II, then excommunicated, achieved by his statesmanship, what the arms of the Crusaders had failed to do, by concluding a treaty with al-Mu'azzam's brother, al-Kāmil, in 626 (1229) whereby Jerusalem — except the Muslim sacred places on the Ḥaram — and a narrow corridor to the sea were ceded to him for ten years. The Emperor crowned himself there in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, without the assistance of any of the priesthood. In this way the Latins again came into possession of the city for a brief period. When the period had expired, a son of al-Mu'azzam who ruled in Kerak and, like his father, hated the Christians fell upon the holy city, destroyed the citadel and forced the inhabitants to capitulate. The Christians were relieved by the disputes which broke out between the Aiyūbids in Damascus and those in Egypt; they realised the value of their support and the rival princes began to make great promises to win it. The Christians preferred to support Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il of Damascus and in this way they came once more into undisturbed possession of the holy city (1244). The Egyptian Aiyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn however summoned the Khwārizmians to his assistance and they at once carried fire and sword through Syria, slew a large number of fugitives from Jerusalem, plundered and murdered in the city, desecrated the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the tombs of the kings were ruined, and other churches. He had now full freedom of action and, when his allied enemies were defeated at Gaza, he seized Jerusalem and henceforth the town remained in Muslim hands. This was the real end of the Crusades, the permanent political result of which was a burning hatred between Christians and Muslims such as had only rarely flamed up before. Not long afterwards, the Aiyūbids were succeeded by the Mamlūk Sultāns in Egypt, under whom Syria and Palestine formed one province, after Ḳuṭuz had won great fame in 1260 by defeating

the advancing Mongols in the battle of 'Ain Djālūt [q. v.].

In the Mamlūk period, Jerusalem fell into the background after being for a time the centre of interest in the east. What we know of its history in this period we owe mainly to the compiler Muḍjir al-Dīn 'Ulaimi, who, as an appendix to the earlier history of the town, tells us what various Mamlūk Sultāns had done for it. The frequently necessary repairs of the sanctuaries there gave these princes an opportunity of displaying their pious interest and the mosaics on the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, which had suffered from the wind and rain, in particular needed frequent repairs, which need not be detailed here. We are told of several Sultāns that they lightened the taxes which the town had to pay and that other Sultāns gave splendid copies of the Qur'ān to the mosques. The great Sultān Baibars I [q. v.] had the Aḳṣā restored and in 662 (1263) built a Ḳhān northwest of the town which was intended for the relief of the poor. Al-Manṣūr Ḳalā'ūn (678—689) restored the roof of the southwestern parts of the Aḳṣā beside the Mosque of the Women. Al-Manṣūr Lādjin (696—698) restored the mihrāb of David on the south wall of the Aḳṣā. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his third reign (709—741 = 1309—1340) paved the back part of the Aḳṣā with marble slabs, had two windows pierced right and left of the Mihrāb, restored the arcades on the north side of the raised part of the Ḥaram, and the Gate of the Cotton-Merchants, gilt the domes of the two sanctuaries on the Ḥaram in such brilliant fashion that in Muḍjir al-Dīn's time, c. 180 years later, they still looked like new (an inscription in the Dome of the Rock mentions this gilding and a renovation of the outer roof; de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 91); the aqueduct which brought the water from the Sultān's Pool to the town was also repaired in the same reign. In 851 (1447/1448) lightning set the roof of the Dome of the Rock on fire and a portion of it was consumed whereupon Sultān Djaḳmaḳ (842—857) had it repaired. This ruler was hostile to the Christians and ordered all the new buildings in the Sion monasteries and in the Holy Sepulchre to be destroyed. He took away from the monks the so-called Tomb of David and the site where, according to Church tradition, the Apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost and took away a balustrade from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and carried it to the Aḳṣā Mosque. The able Sultān al-Aṣḥraf Ḳā'it-Bey (873—901 = 1468—1495) who took a great deal of interest in the sacred places of his kingdom, built, as an inscription tells us, the well between the raised part of the Ḥaram and its west wall and rebuilt the school which bears his name at the Gate of the Chain in the Aḳṣā and extended it (Muḍjir al-Dīn, p. 387). In his reign also several aqueducts which led water into the town were restored (*ibid.*, p. 621, 655, 661 sq.).

Of the geographical works of the Aiyūbid and Mamlūk period, Yāḳūt's great dictionary the *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld, 1866—1873) is in the first rank with its great use of older sources. In the main article on Jerusalem (iv. 590 sqq.) he gives a description of the town, its water supply, its climate, its wealth in fruit and the Ḥaram sanctuaries, and details the famous men who have lived there. To the xivth century belong

the geographical works of al-Dimashkī (*Cosmography*, ed. Mehren, 1866) and Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 1840) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels* (ed. DeFrémery and Sanguinetti², 1869-1879). To the xvth century belongs Khalil al-Zāhiri's (d. 872 = 1468) work, which exists in two synopses, on Palestine and Syria (R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Khalil al-Zāhiri's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 1907). In the section on Jerusalem he deals with Qur'anic passages and traditions relating to Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock, the four rites used there, the pious foundations, bazaars, schools, khāns and baths and the Church of the Resurrection. There are also several works dealing specially with Jerusalem, which are based on Muṣḥarraf mentioned above. To the xivth century belongs Ibn Hilāl Djamāl al-Din al-Maḥḍisi's work composed in 752 (1351) not yet published, the *Muthīr al-Gharām ilā Ziyārat al-Kuds*, extracts of which were given by Le Strange in *J.R.A.S.*, New Ser., 1887, xix., p. 297-305, which refer to 'Umar's entry into Jerusalem and 'Abd al-Malik's buildings. Shams al-Din al-Suyūṭī's *Ithāf al-Akhiṣā bi-Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aḡṣā* written in 875 (1470) quotes it, sometimes word for word; a synopsis is given by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 258 sqq. with the translations of several passages. It is a mixture of topographical information and worthless traditions. Of more importance is Muḍjir al-Din's work written in 1495 entitled *al-Uns al-Djalil bi-Ta'rikh al-Kuds wa 'l-Shām* (pr. Cairo 1283, extracts translated by H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et de Hébron*, 1876). The book begins with a series of legends followed by accounts of 'Umar and 'Abd al-Malik taken from earlier writers; then come notes on al-Ḥakīm's destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the taking of the city by the Franks and by Saladin and the period following him till 1244. The next section contains a description of the sanctuaries on the Ḥaram and its gates, the schools, the houses, mostly built on ancient remains, the churches, the streets and city-gates and cemeteries, the survey, of which a resumé was given above, of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns who had devoted attention to the city, and a list of the higher officials who had held office there. His simple and lucid description of the seven-naved Aḡṣā with its pillars and columns, its gable roof and its dome shows that in those days it had practically the same form as at present. This is also true of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock supported by 12 columns, and 4 pillars and the surrounding octagon with 16 columns and 8 pillars; the measurements given practically agree with the present ones. The pilgrim's descriptions of this period are numerous (see Röhrich, *Biblioteca Geographica Palestinae*, No. 41-172) but give little that is new. Among the more valuable are Burchardus, *De Monte Sion*, 1283 (in Laurent's *Peregrinationes medii aevi quattuor*, 1864, second ed. 1873, who also gives Ricaldus, *De Monte Crucis* and Willbrand von Oldenburg, cf. Rotermond, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 1 sqq.), Felix Fabri, 1480 and 1483 (C. D. Hassler, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium*, 1843-1849, cf. thereon the map by Bernhard von Breitenbach in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 129) and the Bohemian M. Kabátník, 1491 (transl. in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxi. 47 sqq.). An interesting account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre about 1436 has been published by R. Durrieu

in *Florilegium dédié à M. de Vogüé*, p. 197 sqq.

In 1517 Selim I, the Ottoman Sulṭān put an end to the Mamlūk dynasty, and Jerusalem with the rest of Syria now passed to the Ottoman Turks, who were little capable of restoring the lands they ruled to new life. One of the most notable of these Sulṭāns, Sulaimān I (1520-1566), was not only a great soldier but took a considerable interest in building and Jerusalem also benefited from this. He had the mosaic on the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, which demanded continual repairs taken away and replaced by tiles of faience, the blue colours of which, alternating with white, green, and yellow, gives the mosque its characteristic appearance. In the lower parts, marble slabs were used instead, while at the top a dark blue band with an inscription in white ran round the octagon. Perforated sheets of gypsum, filled with panes of variegated glass, were put in the windows. The Sulṭān also had the city-walls renovated and gave them the form they still have to-day. At some places they rest not upon the rock but on the débris of earlier walls. On this occasion a part of the west hill was again cut off from the unwallled town. In Sulaimān's reign in 1545 the dome of the bell-less bell-tower on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre fell down in an earthquake. In 1555 the little building in the rotunda over the tomb was removed and replaced by a new one regular in shape. The whole Church was now divided among the different denominations, who jealously watched one another. These feuds and the hostile attitude of the Muslims for long delayed the very necessary restoration of the dome of the Anastasis and the bell-tower, until finally in 1719 the work was taken in hand. In rebuilding, by order of the Turkish government, the existing forms were retained and the attempted alterations at the Anastasis had to be removed. In 1808 a fire broke out in the Armenian chapel, which destroyed most of the western part of the church. The Greeks succeeded in asserting their claim to do the restoration and they entrusted the work to an architect from Mytilene, named Komnenos Kalfa, who, by the unfortunate way in which he performed his task, has acquired a kind of Herostratic renown. The Sulṭān who had given authority to the Greeks by a firmān was Maḥmūd II (1808-1839); he also, according to an inscription, renewed the gilding of the Dome of the Rock and had its outside restored. This is the not very edifying end of the story of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But for the unfortunate rivalry among the different denominations, it would possibly have been decided much earlier to remove the ugly new buildings and the plaster covering the old walls, so that the Church of the Crusaders could be restored by using the old materials.

In the xixth century Palestine was again disturbed from the state of vegetation in which it had lapsed. Napoleon invaded the country and fought the Turks on the old battle-ground of the plain of Yizre'el, but his plan of taking Jerusalem was abandoned. Next Muḥammad 'Alī seized the country and Jerusalem surrendered to him in 1831. The European Powers put a stop to the further advance of his adopted son Ibrāhīm Pasha and when the discontent with Egyptian rule in the land continued to increase, France withdrew her protection from Muḥammad 'Alī and with the support of England and Austria, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Majid once

more came into possession of Palestine and Jerusalem in 1840 and the Turks held it till the World War, which deprived them of the country and opened up a new epoch in the history of Jerusalem. Palestine is now governed under an English mandate and Jerusalem is the capital of the central district, Jerusalem-Jaffa.

In the course of the sixth century, a new life began to invigorate Jerusalem, which altered more and more the mediaeval character of the city. Ibrāhīm Pasha's government introduced progress in various directions, which however threatened to be checked when the city passed to the Turks again but was gradually revived when increasing security began to attract Europeans thither. The number of visitors increased very much and many strangers settled in the city. It was a great step forward when European consulates were instituted, who afforded foreigners legal protection. It was significant of the altered conditions that the prohibition to non-Muslims to enter the site of the Temple was abolished after the Crimean War and that bells, forbidden since the time of Saladin, were restored to the churches. Postal and telegraph services and other modern institutions, the most recent of which was the railway from Jaffa, were introduced and hostels on modern lines were erected. A new era in building began in this period, partly in the city itself, where ruined houses were restored or replaced by new ones, and partly in the vicinity. Schools, pilgrim hostels, hospitals including one for lepers, an orphanage etc. were built. Several churches were built or old ones restored, including the Church of St. Anne presented by the Sultān in 1856 to Napoleon III and the Church of the Redeemer on the Muristān, which was given in 1869 to the King of Prussia. The number of Jews who migrated there, which nearly doubled between 1881 and 1891 (*Z. D. P. V.*, xvi. 196) has greatly increased since the World War. Ibrāhīm Pasha allowed them to build synagogues, which they have continued to do and several synagogues with high cupolas were built having Talmudic schools attached to them. The Jews have now built a building for a medical faculty, as the beginning of a university. The excavations undertaken in Jerusalem in recent years throw light mainly on the earliest history of the city and are therefore not dealt with here; we need only mention the excavations conducted by the Russian Palestine Society as they are of importance for Constantine's buildings.

The most striking feature about Jerusalem and one that makes quite a painful impression on the visitor is the conflict of different creeds and denominations, for all of which it is a holy city. Not only Christians, Muslims and Jews are more or less at enmity with one another, but the various Christian denominations are also rivals and each is striving to extend its influence at the expense of the others. Now, down to the Crusaders, the Greek Orthodox Church formed the main body of Christians and after the expulsion of the Latins came into their own again has already been mentioned. They were the subjects of successive Muslim rulers, but had their own self-government and elected their own Patriarch, whose supremacy over the Orthodox Church however passed to the Patriarch in Constantinople after the Turkish conquest. The fact that they restored

the Church of the Holy Sepulchre burned down in 1808, gave them a considerable advantage but cost so much that they found themselves in a difficult position. They were rescued by the Russians, but the result was the Russian Church and government gained an increasing influence, which was still further extended by the building of hospices and splendid churches. The Roman Catholic Latins whom the Crusaders brought into the land were expelled after Saladin's conquest, the Latin Patriarchate abolished in 1291 and his palace fell into the hands of the Muslims. In 1305 Robert of Sicily bought for the Roman Church the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the coenaculum but the Dome of the Rock remained in possession of the Greeks. Only the Franciscans were able to remain there, even after they were expelled from the Sion monastery in 1551 and in spite of the most oppressive conditions, they have been untiring and beneficial in their activities. France under Louis XIV endeavoured to exercise a protectorate over the Holy Land but this disappeared under Napoleon who had no interest in it. In 1848 the Roman patriarchate was revived and since that date Roman Catholic influence in Jerusalem has considerably increased. To strengthen the Protestant element, the Anglo-German bishopric of St. James was instituted in 1841 at the suggestion of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia but it never had any vitality and was abolished in 1887.

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(F. BUHL)

ḲUDSĪ, poetical name of Ḥādījī Muḥammad **Khān**. He adopted this name (meaning holy) because he was a native of Mashhad. He came to India in the 5th year of Shāh Djahān 631—1632). There is a notice of him, with some extracts, in vol. i., p. 351, of the *Bādshāh-nāma*. He is highly praised by the author of the *Imālī Sālīh*, who gives the couplets which Ḳudsī composed for the Peacock-throne (see also *Bādshāh-nāma*, i., part ii., p. 80). He wrote a poetical *Shāh-djahānnāma* and a poem in praise of Kashmīr. He died at Lahore in 1056 (1646). Rieu (ii. 684b) is mistaken in saying that he died in Kashmīr (*Bādshāh-nāma*, ii. 504). He wrote odes and quatrains, as well as *Mathnawīs*; for a *ḡaṣida* in praise of Shāh Djahān, he was weighed against rupees.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Sālīh, *ʿAmāl-i Sālīh*; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, i., part i., p. 444, 530, also part ii., 19, 21, 50, 80, 142, 351; *Haft Asmān*, p. 143. (H. BEVERIDGE)

KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 52' N. Lat., called Kotumble on the English Admiralty charts. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg, and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 630 A. H.). The rocky island of Kudummul which lies near Ḥamīda on the Arabian coast once marked the boundary between the land of the Kināna and Yemen.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-ḲUDŪRĪ, whose full name was ABU 'L-ḤASAN (var. AL-ḤUSAIN) AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. DJA'FAR B. ḤAMDĀN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ AL-ḲUDŪRĪ, a Ḥanafī lawyer, born in 362 (972), died at Baghdād on the 5th Radjab 428 (April 24, 1037). He studied law under Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Djurdjānī and ḥadīth under Muḥammad b. 'Alī Suwaid al-Mu'addib, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Djawshānī. Amongst his pupils may be noted the celebrated traditionist and historian al-Khaṭīb [q. v.] al-Baghdādī. Al-Ḳudūrī had to hold several public disputations in defence of the Ḥanafī school against his contemporary the Shāfi'ī lawyer Abu Ḥamīd al-Isfarā'īnī.

The two following of his works have been preserved:

1. *al-Mukhtaṣar*, a manual of law of great clearness composed, it appears, for his son Muḥammad and containing 12,500 questions: a) the chapter on marriage has been translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832; b) the chapter on the Holy War (*al-Siyar*) has been edited with a translation and notes in Latin by Rosenmüller (in *Analecta Arabica*), Leipzig 1825—1826. The *Mukhtaṣar* was published at Delhi in 1847, at Constantinople in 1291, 1309, at Kazan in 1880.

2. *Kit. al-Tadīrīd* dealing with the differences between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfi'īs, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, No. 1194; *Bibl. Khed.*, *Fih'r.*, iii. 17.

Bibliography: a biography at the beginning of the *Mukhtaṣar* published at Constantinople in 1309; Ibn Ḳutlubogha, *Tabakāt*, p. 5, No. 13; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 21; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, Leyden 1912, f. 444b; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *Kit. al-Fawā'id al-baḥiyya fī Tarādjīm al-Ḥanafīyya*, Cairo 1324, p. 20; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 169; Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, v. 451, No. 11625, and Ind. No. 3635; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 174—175.

(MOH. BEN CHENEH)

AL-KŪFA, a once celebrated city south of the ruins of Babylon, on the western arm of the Euphrates (cf. AL-FURĀT), which later disappears in the swamps west of Wasīt. After the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [q. v.] the Arabs by command of 'Omar built a strongly defended camp on this site in order to control more easily the people of the newly conquered province, while the old capital Ctesiphon was ruthlessly destroyed, and the capital of the Lakhmid dynasty, Hira, only a few Arab miles south of Kūfa gradually lost its former importance. For military reasons this settlement which was called *al-Kūfa* and the somewhat older Baṣra were placed on the west side of the river, so that communication between the capital Medīna and the army headquarters should not be affected by any natural obstacles. While Baṣra was built quite near an already existing village, al-Khuraiba, which later became a suburb of Baṣra, Kūfa was an entirely new settlement founded by Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās according to some in 17 (638), to others not till 18 or even 19. According to the Persian tradition, however, there had been on the same site a town built by the mythical king Hūshang of the Pishdād dynasty, which fell in time completely into ruins and Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās had to rebuild it: not much importance need be attached to this story. The usual meaning of the Arabic word *kūfa* is "a round sandhill". The name therefore would indicate that the oldest part of the town was built on an eminence of this kind; other explanations however are given, cf. Yāḳūt, iv. 322. According to the Arab geographers Kūfa occupied an extensive area in the wide plain on the bank of the Euphrates; its position was considered more healthy than that of Baṣra, and the principal products of the country round were dates, sugar-cane and cotton. The importance of Kūfa grew with the eastward advance of the Arabs; the general in supreme command there was also the political representative of the Caliph and governed the province. The two sister towns of Kūfa and Baṣra had usually separate governors; but sometimes they were combined; on this, see the article AL-ʿIRĀQ. With the great importance which Kūfa gradually attained for the ruling Arabs as well as the subject Persians, the number of inhabitants grew very rapidly. In addition to the families of Arab soldiers, merchants, artisans and other workers mainly of Persian origin settled in vast numbers. The original camp consisted simply of tents and other primitive dwellings with a mosque and a few other public buildings, but in course of time it grew into a permanent settlement of clay huts. Finally (according to the usual statements) in the governorship of Ziyād b. Abīhi, i.e. after about 50 (670), a regular town with brick houses was built. The people of Kūfa, who were

partly members of different Arab tribes, particularly South Arabian Beduins and partly all kinds of Persian elements, cannot be denied military ability. At the same time the Kūfāns were distinguished by brilliant intellectual gifts and their considerable achievements in the field of Muslim learning. Among their most striking characteristics however was a remarkable fickleness and lack of reliability, which in the long run proved highly disastrous in political life, and was responsible in a high degree for the civil wars which interfered so much with the prosperous development of the Caliphate. Even 'Omar to whom the town owed its existence had occasion to complain of the insubordination of the Kūfāns, who were never satisfied but had always some objection or other to the governors appointed by the Caliph. When he was induced to yield to their wishes, their demands became more and more intolerable, and during the last six years of his reign, he had to change the governor in Kūfa no less than three times. When the opposition to 'Othmān long prepared in secret finally broke out in 34 (655), the Kūfāns were the first to proclaim their fidelity to 'Alī. After the battle of the Camel in 36 (656), where 'Alī was victorious over his combined enemies, he went to Kūfa, and now it looked as if this town would become the seat of the Caliphate. But when 'Alī encountered Mu'āwīya in the plain of Siffin, the 'Irākīs were outwitted by the Syrians; victory slipped from the Prophet's son-in-law, when just within his grasp, and after he had declared himself satisfied with the arbitration, the Khārīdjīs abandoned him. After the assassination of 'Alī in the year 40 (661), the Kūfāns had to acknowledge Mu'āwīya as commander of the faithful. The stalwart governors of the new caliph, first Ziyād b. Abīhi and next his son 'Ubayd Allāh, who received in 55 (674/675) the governorship of Baṣra, which after the death of Mu'āwīya was combined with that of Kūfa, were able in a masterly fashion to keep the turbulent people of Kūfa in check, and when Husain b. 'Alī [q. v.] decided to accede to the appeal of his many followers in al-'Irāk and set out from Mecca for Kūfa, 'Ubayd Allāh's energetic measures easily suppressed the rebellious tendencies of the Kūfāns. In Muḥarram 61 (October 680) Husain fell at Karbalā'. After the death of the second Umayyad Caliph, Yazīd I, civil war broke out once more. As 'Alī's younger son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, was not inclined to put himself at the head of the Shi'ī party in Kūfa, the Kūfāns paid homage to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, who had already been proclaimed Caliph throughout the Ḥidjāz, and for years disputed the supremacy with the Umayyad Marwān and his son 'Abd al-Malik. In 66 (685) the unscrupulous adventurer al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd [q. v.] succeeded in taking Kūfa and a regular reign of terror began, which lasted about a year and a half. All who did not openly profess the doctrine of the Shi'a, which was general among the Persians especially, were ruthlessly persecuted until the Arab population appealed for help to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair who had been appointed Governor of Baṣra by his brother, the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair. In a battle at Ḥarūrā' near Kūfa (67 = 687) al-Mukhtār was defeated and slain and Muṣ'ab took a bloody revenge on the rebels. From this time the Persian elements in the population were more and more suppressed and in the end the old

hereditary points of conflict between the different Arab tribes played a much greater part in the political history of 'Irāk than the national differences between Arabs and Persians. After Muṣ'ab had fallen, fighting the Umayyads (72 = 691), Kūfa had to submit and 'Abd al-Malik was able to enter the town unopposed. From 75 (694) till 95 (714) the administration of the whole of the 'Irāk was in the hands of the energetic Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf [q. v.] who in order to break all resistance founded a new capital in Wāṣit, from which he could easily control both Kūfa and Baṣra. During the long governorship of Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105—120 = 724—738) peace and quiet generally prevailed in al-'Irāk. In 127 (745) however the Khārīdjīs seized Kūfa and it took the troops of the Caliph Marwān II two years to drive them out. Soon afterwards the 'Abbāsids appeared in the field. The Umayyad governor of Khorāsān, Naṣr b. Saiyār, was defeated and in 132 (749) the long prepared rising in Kūfa broke out. The 'Abbāsids had no difficulty in occupying the town; Kūfa was made the capital and remained so for nearly two decades although the 'Abbāsīd rulers usually lived, not in Kūfa itself, but sometimes in Ḥāshimīya, farther north on the Euphrates and sometimes in Anbār. After the foundation of the new capital Baghdād [q. v.] by the second 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr, Kūfa gradually sank in importance, but it retained for a considerable time a large garrison, and the renown for learning, which the inhabitants had won by the first half of the second century A. H. remained down to the fifth century. In spite of the altered political conditions, 'Alid sympathies and the old fondness for all sorts of new movements and rebellious tendencies remained undiminished. In 199 (815) a descendant of 'Alī named Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, also called Ibn Ṭabātabā, appeared in Kūfa and tried to assert his claim to the caliphate. The governor was expelled and the pretender won numerous adherents. Although he died in the same year, the dangerous rising was only put down by great efforts. In the reign of al-Musta'īn [q. v.] Kūfa was again disturbed by the 'Alids. In 250 (864/865) the 'Alid Yaḥyā b. 'Omar raised a rebellion against the government with all sorts of rabble. The governor had to flee and the rebellion rapidly spread; order was however soon restored. After some time, another 'Alid set up in the always turbulent city but his rule was of only short duration. In 256 (870) 'Alī b. Zaid, likewise a descendant of 'Alī proclaimed himself there and drove the governor out. He then routed the commander of the government troops, al-Shāh b. Mikāl, who had been sent to suppress him; but on the advance of a new army he had to vacate Kūfa. When western 'Irāk and Syria were devastated by the Ḳarmāṭians, Kūfa did not escape; in 293 (906) they entered the city and in 312 (924/925) it was conquered and sacked by the famous Ḳarmāṭian leader, Abū Ṭāhir. It was similarly sacked in 315 (927) and 325 (937). The increasing collapse of the caliphate in the fourth century contributed to the decline of Kūfa, although the Būyids, who seized the capital Baghdād in 334 (945) and thus gained political supremacy, as Shi'īs took a special interest in Kūfa or rather its suburb Naḡjaf, because the latter was believed to contain the holy tombs. But in time the power of the Būyids also weakened; in 375 (985/986) the

Ḳarmatians once more occupied Kūfa, and eleven years later it was granted as a fief by Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.] with other places to the 'Ukailid al-Muḳallad b. al-Musaiyib. It then passed to the Banū Mazyad; but when the latter in 495 (1101/1102) built a new capital, Ḥilla, which rapidly grew, to the north of it, the former capital gradually lost any importance. When Ibn Djubair visited it about 90 years later, the old walls had been taken down and Kūfa showed other signs of decay. From the Mongol period onwards it rapidly fell into oblivion. When Ibn Baṭṭūta visited the town, it was for the most part deserted, mainly as a result of the raids of the neighbouring Beduins of the tribe of Ḳhafādja. From his description it appears however, that the mosque was still fairly well preserved. Of the old government buildings (*ḡaṣr al-imāra*) which Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳaṣ had built, only the foundations were left. Its decline at this time is corroborated by the *Nuḡhat al-Ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī written in 740 (1339/1340). Later we only find Naḍjaf in its vicinity mentioned, which retained a certain importance as a Shī'ī place of pilgrimage and is now usually called *Maṣḡhad 'Alī*, "the tomb of 'Alī". Niebuhr gives the following description of the country round Kūfa: "The land around is all desert and the town has no longer any inhabitants. The most noteworthy object here is the great mosque in which 'Alī was mortally wounded; but even of this little is left but the four walls".

On the services of Kūfan scholars to Arabic philology, see the article ARABIA, *Literature*. There was also considerable activity in Kūfa, as in Baṣra, in other fields of Muslim learning during its palmiest days. Especially after the battle on the Ḥarra in 63 (683) many of the old companions of the Prophet, who were regarded as authorities on Muslim tradition, emigrated to al-'Irāq and settled in the most important towns. Only two of these traditionists need be mentioned here: the celebrated 'Abd Allāh b. Maṣ'ūd, who was one of the earliest converts and was sent to Kūfa as a guide and teacher, and the no less distinguished 'Amir b. Ṣharāḥīl al-Sha'bī (d. circa 104 = 722).

Bibliography: B. G. A., ed. de Goeje, i. 27, 79, 82, 85; ii. 34, 157 sq., 162 sq., 166, 211, 213; iii. 33 sq., 53, 60, 114, 116, 125 sq., 128, 130, 133—135, 259, 293, 416; v., esp. p. 162—187; vi. 125, 129, 174, 233; vii. 174 sq., 177, 180, 182, 251, 264, 308—311; viii., passim; Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, 2nd ed. by Wright—de Goeje, p. 211—213; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 322—327; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud and Guyard, see index; Balāḍhūrī, ed. de Goeje, esp. p. 275—289; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi. 1—6; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, see index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, passim; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Paris, ii. 93—96; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī, *Nuḡhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 30—33, 166, 210; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii. 261 sqq.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 3, 21, 25, sq., 74 sq., 81—83; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KŪFIYA (in the dialects of Syria, *keffīye*, Cuche, *Dict.*, p. 577; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 27; G. Fesquet, *Voyage en Orient*, p. 185), an Arabic word borrowed from the Romance languages (Ital. *cuffia*, Span. *cofia*, Port. *coifa*, French *coiffe*, *coiffe*), the name of a silk handkerchief,

which the Bedouins of the Syrian desert, as far as the region of Mecca, wear as a head-dress; it is kept on the head by a cord of camel-hair dyed black and fastened at intervals with cords of bright colours called '*agāl*' (class. '*īḳāl*'). This handkerchief is square-shaped, yellow, or yellow and green in colour and is placed on the head in such a way that one corner hangs behind, while two others fall down in front of the shoulders; the square is first of all folded in two to form a triangle, what is called a gore in dressmaking. The corners on the shoulders may be brought over the face to shelter it against the rays of the sun, against the cold wind, against the rain, or to conceal one's features when one does not want to be recognised. The woof of the ends hanging down much below the edge of the material are twisted into cords like a long fringe (J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, i. 228). The head-dress used also to be worn by the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt.

Bibliography: R. Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, p. 390; Lane, *Thousand and one Nights*, i. 130, 614; [A. Socin] *Palestine and Syria* (Baedeker), p. xiv, 1912; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, ii. 195; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 292, 293; R. P. Jausse, *Costumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 32, note 3 (black, occasionally white, in colour); M. Tilke, *Orientalische Kostüme*, Berlin 1923, pl. 29.

(CL. HUART)

KUFRA. [See KĀFIR.]

KUFRA, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara, halfway between Cyrenaica and Wadai. It was for long only known from the account by Rohlfs, who succeeded in reaching it in 1879. Since then it has been visited by two other Europeans, Marshal des Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920—1921). The group of oases to which the name Kufra is given extends from S. E. to N. E. for a length of about 120 miles between 24° and 26° N. Lat., and 31° 34' E. Long. The most southerly is about 850 miles S. E. of Tripoli and 600 miles S. of Benghazi. They number five, separated from one another by *serir* or stretches of banks of gravel; Taiserbo in the N. E., Būseima in the centre, Erbehna (the Ribiana of Mrs. Forbes) in the S. E. and Sirhen, N. E. of Būseima and to the S. E. Kufra properly so-called, the Kebabo of Rohlfs, the largest of all. The total area of the group according to Rohlfs is about 7,000 square miles of which Kufra has 3,400 and Taiserbo 2,500.

Kufra lies in the bottom of a depression, the height above sea-level of which varies from 800 feet at Taiserbo to 1,400 at Kebabo. The soil consists mainly of marl and sand covered with dunes in the north, which perhaps are connected with those of the Libyan desert. One chain of dunes extends from the north of Taiserbo, another surrounds Būseima. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous ranges lying upon Numidian sandstone. The hills Djebel Erbehna, Dj. Būseima, Dj. Sirhen, Dj. Neri (north of Kebabo) assume a tabular form like that of the *gūr* of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs nor streams in Kufra, but everywhere at a depth of 3 to 10 feet an abundant water-bearing stratum can be tapped. At various parts the waters forms on the surface of the ground brackish lagoons or even permanent

lakes, of which the most remarkable are that of Erbehna and especially that of Būseima, which measures about 6 miles in length. They may be regarded as relics of a former period in which the lacustrine character of the oases was much more marked than to-day.

These subterranean waters make up for the scarcity of rain and are sufficient to nourish an abundant and varied vegetation. In the dry beds grew the *hād* (*cornulaca monacantha*), and the *diss* which provide excellent camel food; around the lakes and marshy hollows fields of cereals, wheat, *dūra* (*sorghum vulgare*), vegetables, orchards of olive, fig, orange and citron trees form a verdant girdle but usually a very narrow one. The breadth of this zone does not exceed 1,000 yards at Būseima. Date palms constitute the principal wealth of the oases. According to Rohlfs there are 4 millions of them, many of them however growing wild. There are none however in the oasis of Sirhen. As to the fauna, it is represented by gazelles, many varieties of birds (crows, falcons, and cranes) and reptiles like lizards and non-venomous snakes.

The population of Kufra does not exceed 5,000. Almost all belong to the tribe of Zāwiya, Arabicised Berbers who supplanted the Tūbu, the former owners of the oases. The majority of them are semi-nomadic and only have temporary camping-places. There are only settled groups at Kufra where the village of Djōf has 250 inhabitants and where some 500 individuals live about the Sanūsī zāwiya of al-Istāt. The geographical situation of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It is a stage on the caravan route leading from Cyrenaica to Wadai, a route used since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the period when Sulṭān Sabūn made it known to enable travellers to escape the brigandage of the people of Tibesti. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥashā'ishī there was a market at Djōf where business was entirely done by barter. But as in all the markets of the Sahara, the principal traffic was in slaves, a trade which gradually tends to disappear.

We know very little of the history of Kufra. According to Rohlfs it was a settlement of the Garamantes and there are still to be seen there buildings similar to those noticed in Fezzān by Duveyrier, which seem to date back to a remote antiquity. In the historical period, the land was occupied by the Tūbu, who have left numerous traces of their occupation, cemeteries, houses, fortified villages on the tops of hills. Their Sulṭān lived at Djiranguedi, in the oasis of Taiserbo. The people were pagans, whence perhaps the name Kufra (*kafara*, pl. from *kāfir*, infidel) given to the region where they were settled. They were dispossessed about 1730 by the Zāwiya and the Ḥassūna, tribes from Tripolitania. The Tūbu had almost completely disappeared by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and are now represented at Kufra by only 300–400 individuals. Towards the middle of the same century the Senūsīya appeared, who founded a settlement at Taiserbo, then built the zāwiya of al-Istāt in the oasis of Kebabo, near the village of Djōf. They bought up the best land and the richest gardens. At the time of Rohlfs' journey they already held a quarter of the palm-trees of the oasis and had begun to plant new groves. Already very important in those days, the zāwiya of al-Istāt is now the

residence of the grand master of the brotherhood. In 1895 Sidi al-Mahdī, son and successor of Sidi Muḥammad al-Senūsī, the founder of the order, left Djaghbūb [q. v.] and came to settle in Kufra.

Bibliography: G. Rohlfs, *Kufra*, Leipzig 1881; al-Hachaichi (Shāikh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān), *Voyage au pays des Senoussia*, transl. V. Serres et Lasram, Paris 1903, 2nd ed., 1912; Silva White, *From Sphinx to Oracle*, London 1899, p. 124–129; Lapierre, *Rapport...*, in *Afrique française (Renseignements coloniaux)*, April 1920, pp. 69–91; Rosita Forbes, *Across the Libyan Desert to Kufra*, in *Geogr. Journal* 1921, pp. 81–101; do., *The Secret of Sahara: Kufra*, London 1921, 8°. (G. YVER)

KŪHISTĀN (P.) or KŪHISTĀN is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhistān meaning a mountainous country (derived from *kūh*, "mountain" with the suffix *-istān*) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Djibāl. As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Kūhistān has been given, as Yāqūt has already remarked (iv. 204). Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 228) says that the term Kūhistān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al-Djibāl. In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī we even find Kūhistān used as the old name of Mā warā' al-Nahr (ed. Vullers, p. 531), but this is probably a case of an erroneous identification made by Firdawsī himself (cf. also Vullers, *Lexicon*, s. v. *Kūh*).

The principal districts that are or have been called Kūhistān are as follows:

1. **Kūhistān-i Khurāsān.** This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nishāpūr as far as Sistān in the south-east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases; one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nishāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south-east Sistān, in the south-west Kirmān with Yazd, and in the west Media. Although Kūhistān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively low productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a number of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khurāsān, this is only because Nishāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Kūhistān has therefore never been a very clean cut geographical term; a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Kūhistān is still little known. The mountain chains which in the north run more east to west, assume the direction N.W.–S.E. as one moves southwards. These chains, which have passes rising to over 3,000 feet, enclose cultivated areas of which the principal are, beginning in the north: Turshiz and Turbat-i Ḥaidarī [q. v.] now called Turbat-i Shāikh Ishāk and to the east Djām; next comes the district of Djunābād (formerly Yunābid) and more to the east, that of Khwāf with the old town of Zawzan;

then comes Tūn, with the district of Ṭabas on the west of it, which latter extends so far to the west that in the middle ages it was not included in Kūhistān; next come to the south of these, Kāin and Birdjand, to the south of which there are no more oases of any importance until we reach Sistān by the Neh route. The rivers of the region are of little importance; irrigation is done by canals and *kahriz*; Makdisi (p. 322, reading of the Constantinople MS.) says that the only running stream he knows in Kūhistān is near Ṭabas; the latter is also the only town which he includes, with the neighbouring district of Kuri, in the *djūrūm* or warm regions.

It is probable that various places in Kūhistān have a history going back to pre-Muḥammadan times, but so far we have no information on this period. To realize this, it is sufficient to glance at the second map given by Herzfeld in his article *Khorasan in Der Islām*, vol. ix. The journey of this writer in 1925 confirmed his first impression. Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his *Geography*. In the period of the early Arab conquests we find Kūhistān under the rule of the Ephthalites. Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of ʿOmar by ʿAbdallāh b. Budail al-Khuzāʿī; the latter setting out for Kirmān took al-Ṭabasain — it is by this dual (for Ṭabas and Kurīn, according to al-Balādhuri) that the Arabs always refer to the district of Ṭabas — later called the “two gates of Khurāsān” (Ṭabari, i. 2704); a deputation of the inhabitants is said to have concluded a treaty with ʿOmar (Balādhuri, p. 403). In 31 (653) when Ibn ʿAmir undertook the conquest of Khurāsān, his advance guard under al-Aḥnaf passed through Kūhistān and defeated the Ephthalites there (Ṭabari, i. 2885, and Balādhuri, p. 403, who give other traditions also). In the years following, Kūhistān was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Kāren (a village in Kūhistān still bears this name), a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabari, i. 2905; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 135). In 51 (671) it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by al-Rabiʿ b. Ziyād from “the Turks” or rather Ephthalites (Ṭabari, ii. 156). Henceforth Kūhistān formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khurāsān and more particularly of the provinces which the Arab geographers still call by the old name of Abarshahr with its capital Nishāpūr (cf. particularly al-Yaʿqūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, B. G. A., vii. 278, who gives a rather limited definition to Kūhistān, for he mentions al-Ṭabasain, Djām and Zawzan separately). These remote countries became in the early centuries of Islām the principal refuge of Zoroastrians driven from their homes by the new religion (cf. particularly Inostrantsev’s work quoted in the *Bibliography*). In the ninth century the province was under the rule of the Ṭahirids (Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 35) and later of the Ṣaffārids. The Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries know it very well. In this period Kāin was the capital and the commercial centre of Kūhistān, especially for through trade between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The province was further noted for a very fine linen woven there, which Abū Nuwās mentions under the name *Kūhiya* (cf. al-Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i. p. 79); this industry flourished at Tūn in particular. Prayer-carpet also

were made there. In the year 1052, Nāṣir-i Khusrāw passed through Kūhistān, going from Iṣfahān. He went by Ṭabas, Tūn, Kāin and Sarakhs and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Saldjūks, Kūhistān, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismāʿīli heretics, who for this reason were often called “*al-malāhida al-kūhiya*”. They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamut; there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been examined (Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, p. 273). The Khwārizmshāhs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the *malāhida* (cf. e.g. *Djuwainī, Taʾrikh-i Djihān Gushā*, ii. 47, 49). The coming of the Mongols who exterminated the Ismāʿīlis at the same time brought about the ruin of Kūhistān. The region lost all importance and the geographers — like Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ — only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange (p. 352) proposes to identify as Tūn-u Kāin. During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idrisi, transl. Jaubert, i. 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin. The Ṣafawids exercised some authority there but after them, power lay in the hands of the amirs of Ṭabas and of Kāin. At this time Kūhistān inclined towards Afghānistān rather than Persia, until the Qādjar succeeded in bringing it under their sway towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shāh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1900 the amirs of Kāin no longer lived in this town but in Birdjand; they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzaima. Some members of this family have also ruled Sistān. The rulers of Ṭabas also govern the district of Djunābād (capital Djunain).

The settled population of Kūhistān is of a very ancient stock: their houses are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few peculiarities. Ivanov distinguishes in Kūhistān the dialect group of Turshiz and Djunābād and that of Kāin, Tūn and Birdjand. Many villages around Kāin and Birdjand are inhabited exclusively by sayyids. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismāʿīlis, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khān. There are also small colonies of Bahāʾis, while the Sunnī Afghān element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Sunnis, still speaking Arabic; they live along the main routes; a few Turkish tribes are found only in the north, as far as Turbat-i Haidari. Finally in the south there are Balūčis, who move in summer towards Sistān.

The towns are very small. Kāin, the old capital, had in 1900 about 4,000 inhabitants (Sykes). The land around this town is more fertile than that of Birdjand. The commercial relations with the Gulf of Persia are greater than with Meshhed (export of silk, opium, saffron and hides). For the other towns like Ṭabas, Ṭabas Sunnikhāne Turbat-i Haidari, Turshiz and Zawzan, cf. the special articles.

Bibliography: All the Arab authors in the B. G. A.; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 95; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 79; Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ, *Taḳwīm*

al-Buldān, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 444; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, p. 466; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Califate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 352—363; C. Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii. 260 sqq.; Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i. 341; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 199—203; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900; Sykes, *Twenty Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 28 sqq., 394 sqq.; E. Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxx., 1926, p. 272 sqq.; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, p. 99 and passim; Inostrantsev, *The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman World in the middle of the 8th century*, transl. by L. Bogdanow in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, No. 1, Bombay 1922, p. 33, 71 (quoted by Herzfeld); W. Ivanov, *Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan*, in *The Geographical Journal*, lxviii., 1926, p. 143—157.

2. The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Kūhistān in the province of Kirmān. One of them was called Kūhistān Abī Ghānim and was in the district of Dīruft, between this town and the Djabal al-Kūfs (Maḳdisī, p. 52, 461, 467; Yāqūt, iv. 206; Le Strange, p. 318). The other Kūhistān was situated on the road from Sirdjān to Bām, 6 farsakhs from the former town (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 66; Qudāma, p. 196; Maḳdisī, p. 473; Le Strange, p. 311).

3. Kūhistān of Kābul in Afghānistān is a district N. E. of the town of Kābul and includes the districts of Pandjshir, Nidjzan, Tagan, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tādjiks, who speak Persian and Pashṭō and other elements called Kūhistāni who speak Pashai (a Dardic dialect) and Parāči (Iranian) (cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiv., Oxford 1908, p. 241).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swāt in the north-west of India is also called Kūhistān. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swāt; it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Pandjhora so that a distinction is sometimes made between Kūhistān of Swāt and Kūhistān of Pandjhora. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 20,000) have suffered since the xvth century from Afghān invasions. Under the rule of the Afghāns they became very zealous Sunnī Muslims; the religious chiefs (*ākhund*) have an enormous influence in the country. Another consequence of the Afghān invasions has been the expansion of Pashṭō all over the country. This language has gained ground at the expense of the old local dialects. The latter — to which the general name of Kūhistāni is given — are very numerous and belong to the Dardic group which according to recent research (Morgenstierne) seems to belong to the Indian group of languages. The principal dialects are: Gārwi (Swāt Kūh.), Tōrwālī (Swāt and Pandjhora Kūh.) and Maiyā (Indus Kūh.).

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo koosh*, Calcutta 1880; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India XXIII*, Oxford 1901, p. 183 sqq. On the languages see: Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, viii/ji. 507; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, *Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, series C, 1—2.

5. Lastly Kūhistān is the name of a barren

and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Karachi. The population is nomadic and consists of Sindis and Balōṭis. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vol. xv., p. 353). (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-KUHL is, in the first place, a name for a mineral, stibnite (antimony sulphide) and secondly for galena (lead sulphide), for both of which the name *ithmid* is also used. The word *ithmid* comes from the Greek *στίμις* and according to J. Ruska the words antimony and bismuth are derived from *ithmid*. In Persian *al-kuhl* is called *surma* from the place it comes from. Arabic synonyms are *al-nuḥās al-muḥarraḳ* (burned copper) *al-isfahāni*, *kuhl djlā*, *kuhl sulaimān*, *kuhl aswad*, etc.

Although the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten, p. 262) says of *kuhl* that it is a substance of lead (*usrub*) and the *Petrology* of Aristotle says that *ithmid* contains lead, according to E. Seidel (*Mechithar*, p. 185, No. 215) the *ithmid* corresponding to it is almost always antimonite. Confusions naturally occur. According to M. Meyerhof *al-kuhl* is pure antimony.

In the *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* (ed. Le Strange, *G.M.S.*, xxiii./ii., p. 197) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī for example gives places where it is found, at Isfahān, on Dāmāwend and in Spain. The latter is said to be particularly rich in the second quarter of the month. Stibnite is still found in Persia and in Spain. In Persia there are mountains called Kūh-i Surma and al-Kazwīni mentions a Djabal al-Kuḥl near Baṣṭa (text, p. 171).

It is to be noted that stibnite can be crushed to a much finer powder than galena; the former is much less hard than the latter. From its principal use *al-kuhl* comes to mean also the cosmetic made from it and then cosmetic in general. As it has to be crushed to a very fine powder, it means a fine powder in general.

As a cosmetic for the eyes, *al-kuhl*, after being ground up with other materials, is used to dye black the eye brows and eyelashes, or the edges of the lids, especially by women. It probably came to the Arabs from the ancient Egyptians. Stibnite has been several times found in their cosmetics (X. Fisher, *Archiv für Pharmakologie*, ccxxx., 1892, p. 9). But the Egyptian cosmetics are usually of pulverised galena, with other materials added. According to M. Meyerhof (*Der Bazar der Drogen etc. in Kairo*; *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, 1918, part 3/4, p. 210) sulphur antimony and sulphur of lead (*kuhl*) are sold to this day in Cairo as in ancient times as a cosmetic for the eye. The best still comes from Persia (*al-isfahāni*). That brought by the pilgrims is very popular (*al-makki* and *al-hidjāzi*). Surma is used as a cosmetic in Teherān also. The imitation cosmetic contains galena (*kuhl al-ḥadjar*) with isinglass (*anzarūt*). In place of galena, graphite, smoke-black, especially that from the cheaper kind of frankincense, from burned almond shells etc. is used.

Besides the already mentioned black substances, some of other colours were used as cosmetics (*kuhl*). In his pharmacological principles al-Muwaffaḳ mentions a very black and one not quite so black, a black violet and even a pinkish and one quite white and also a yellow. The adjective *kuhli* is therefore used not only for black, but

also for all dark colours, e.g. dark blue, purple, the dark red of the carbuncle.

As a cosmetic, *al-kuhl* is applied by means of a small probe (*mīl* or *mirwand*), the point of which is sometimes moistened with rose-water. The cosmetic is kept in a box (*mukhula*). From a picture in Lane, this resembles an old tear-glass. *Al-mukhula* however is also a sundial or a truncated pyramid (cf. E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 29 sqq. and 403; E. Wiedemann and J. Würschmidt, *Über eine arabische kegelförmige Sonnenuhr*, *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Technik*, 1916, vii., p. 359).

Al-kuhl is very much used as an unguent for the eyes. Ibn al-Baitār and others give particulars on this subject.

Numerous imitations of *kuhl* are given by al-Djawbarī in his work: *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār* in the section: "Revelation of the secrets of ophthalmists"; *al-kuhl* is in this connection not used as a cosmetic but as an unguent for the eyes.

Women painted with *kuhl* are particularly praised by the poets, or such as do not find it necessary to resort to it. E. von Lippmann quotes passages from al-Mutanabbi, Ḥāfiẓ and Firdawsi.

The name alcohol for anything ground down into the finest and softest powder was transferred quite arbitrarily by Paracelsus in the sense of quintessence to the spirit of wine as the noblest component of wine, a name which gradually came into general use for it.

The Muslims were not able to obtain our alcohol by distillation before about the xiiith century, as they were not able to condense the vapours escaping from solutions of alcohol for lack of suitable apparatus. Alcohol was probably first obtained in the xiiith century in Western Europe. (On this cf. the researches of E. von Lippmann, printed in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, Berlin 1923, p. 56—127).

We have for a later date (second half of the xvth century) from the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar a description of the preparation of *arak* (cf. the *Ain-i Akbari* by Abu 'l-Faẓl Allāmī, transl. H. Blochmann and J. Jarrett, 1893, i. 69 and E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Zuckers in Die deutsche Zuckerindustrie*, 1921, p. 302; see also E. von Lippmann, *op. cit.*, p. 124).

From *al-kuhl* is derived *al-kahḥāl*, ophthalmist, on this see—in addition to a number of articles on separate points by M. Meyerhof—the full and comprehensive treatment of the subject by J. Hirschberg in *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde*, Bk. ii., *Gesch. d. Augenheilkunde im Mittelalter*, forming part of Graefen Saemisch, *Handbuch der allgemeinen Augenheilkunde*, vol. xiii., Leipzig 1908. — The following is J. Hirschberg's summing up:

Very different estimates have been placed on the value of the work of the Arab ophthalmists. Want of knowledge of their works has led to their being undervalued in many quarters. But as early as 1490 A. Benedetti (Professor in Padua) said: "The most brilliant ophthalmists at the present time are in Asia, Syria and Media; in other lands, including Italy, they are exceedingly few in number". The greatest authority on the history of ophthalmic medicine, J. Hirschberg, then goes on to say that the name of the Arabs will never disappear from the records of the study of ophthalmic medicine and surgery (*op. cit.*, p. 243).

Bibliography: All our knowledge of the

history of antimony, stibnite and *kuhl* and their uses as cosmetics is excellently summed up by E. O. von Lippmann, in *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, etc., Berlin 1919, p. 629, and notices of their use in Muslim lands are very thoroughly utilised; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 446; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-latinum*, ii. 286/287 has a detailed article; Hille, *Über den Gebrauch und die Zusammenstellung der orientalischen Augenschminke (al-Kuhl)*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1851, v., p. 236—242; F. Seidel, *Der Mechtithar aus Her, ärztliches Werk über drei Arten der Fieber*, Leipzig 1908, p. 215; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxvi.: *Über Charlatane bei den Muslimen nach al-Gaubari (Enthüllung der Geheimnisse der Augenärzte)*, *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, 1911, xliii., p. 210; do., *Beiträge*, xl.: *Über Verfälschungen von Drogen*, etc., *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, 1914, xl., p. 176 and 186; *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. and transl. by J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, p. 119, 175. — References to *al-kuhl* are found in the different cosmographies e.g. that of al-Ḳazwīnī, the works on pharmacology, e.g. those of Ibn al-Baitār and al-Muwaffaq, in the books on ophthalmics, etc.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲULU ḤIṢĀR, a town in Asia Minor, in the province of Siwās in the sandjaḳ of Kara Ḥiṣār *Sharḳī*, the capital of a ḳazā on the right bank of the Gilgit, on a rocky hill, height 3,900 feet; inhabitants 1,809, of whom 905 are Muslims, 604 Greeks and 300 Armenians. The capital of the ḳazā has been moved to the village of *Mishāz*. Near it is *Köse-dāgh*, a mountain covered with vast forests.

Bibliography: 'Alī-Djawād, *Djoghrafiyā Lughātī*, p. 644; Sāmi-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3787; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 237, 793 (Koilat-Hissar).

(CL. HUART)

KŪKA, capital of Bornū, situated in 12° 55' N. Lat. and 13° 30' East Long. (Greenwich). The town was founded in 1814 by the *Shaikh* Muḥammad al-Kanomī, 9 miles east of Lake Chad in a sandy plain dotted with *baobab*'s (*adansonia digitata*) called *kūka* in Kanūri, whence the name Kaoukawa or Kikoa, "town of the kūka's", given it by the natives. It was visited by Denham and Clapperton (1822—1823). Sacked in 1846 by the Wadians, it was rebuilt almost immediately. It had already recovered its prosperity by the time of Barth and Vogel's journey. Kohlfs (1868), Nachtigal (1871) and Monteil (1892) also made stays of some duration there. During all this period, Kūka was one of the most flourishing towns in the Sūdān. It was again destroyed in 1894 by Rabah, who transferred the capital of Bornū to Dikoa.

Kūka really consisted of two towns: an eastern and a western. The latter contained nearly two thirds of the population and was inhabited by Arab traders. It was traversed for its full length by a broad avenue called Dendal which ended in the market place which lay between the two towns. The most common type of dwelling was an enclosure divided into several courts in which stood huts of earth covered with straw or cubical earthen buildings. The eastern town was the residence of the Sultān and the chief officials. The population was estimated by the travellers mentioned above at 50,000—60,000. An almost equal number were encamped in the immediate vicinity.

Kūka in those days was a very important commercial centre where the products of the Sūdān (cloth-stuffs, hides, salt, natron, ostrich-feathers, kola nuts) were exchanged for European products brought from Tripolitania. There was also a considerable trade in camels, horses and slaves. Unlike the custom in the other markets of the Sūdān, coined money was rather plentiful here and business was done with a standard coinage (Maria Theresa dollars). The principal merchants were Arabs, agents of houses in Tripoli and Murzuq. Kūka in conclusion, had a reputation as a literary centre; although education was confined to reading and writing and the knowledge of a few sūras of the Qurʾān, there were not less than 2,000—3,000 students.

Since the destruction of Rabāh's empire and the occupation of Bornū by the English, the town of Kūka has been rebuilt but has not regained its former prosperity, chiefly in consequence of the moving of the capital of the British and the native administration to Maiduguri, a healthier site.

Bibliography: Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels* . . ., London 1828; H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen*, vol. ii., Chap. viii.; Rohlf's, *Quer durch Africa*, Leipzig 1874, vol. ii., Chap. xvii.; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. i., Bk. iii.; Monteil, *De Saint Louis à Tripolis par le Tchad*, Paris 1894, Chap. xii.; J. Marquart, *Benin*, Leyden 1911, passim; A. Schultze, *Das Sultanat Bornū*, Essen 1910 (English transl., with Appendices, by P. A. Benton, Oxford 1913). (G. YVER)

KŪLA, a town in Asia Minor in the province of Aidin in the sandjak of Sarūkhān, 130 miles east of Maghnīsā (Magnesia), capital of a kaḏā; it is 2,200 feet above sea-level, has 6,100 inhabitants, of whom 5,655 are Muslims and 345 Greek Orthodox; it has 38 schools, four of which are secondary, 30 mosques, 2 Orthodox Churches, 3 baths and 2 caravanserais. It manufactures Smyrna carpets. The town is built of black lava except the mosques, the walls of which are white; it lies at the head of a valley running southwards out of the volcano of ʔara-Ṣu. Its citadel is in ruins and it retains numerous marble remains from antiquity.

Bibliography: 'Alī-Djēwād, *Diğhrāfiyā*, *Lughātī*, p. 639; Ḥādīdjī-Khalifa, *Djīhān-numā*, p. 633; Sāmi-bey, *Kāmūs al-ʿAlām*, v. 3766; Texier, *Asie-Mineure*, Paris 1882, p. 275; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 565. (CL. HUART)
AL-KŪLAʿĪ. [See AL-GOLĒA.]

KULAIB B. RABĪʿA, a chief of the Banū Taghlib of the pre-Muḥammadan period, whose murder by his brother-in-law Djassās b. Murra al-Shaibānī was the cause of a long and bloody war between the two sister-tribes Taghlib and Bakr [q.v.] which was known as "the war of Basūs" [q.v.]. His genealogy was: Kulaib b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Zuhair b. Djusham (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, c. 22). Kulaib's real name is said to have been Wāʾil and the name of Kulaib ("little dog") to have given to him because of his habit of taking a small dog with him and making it bark by beating it in all the places which he wished to reserve as his own private property; the people who heard the barking of the dog refrained from using the place. This story, the point of which, however, eludes us, is evidently a later invention: the name Kulaib is frequently met with in Arab nomenclature and does not look like a surname.

Kulaib is represented as having all the characteristic traits of the tyrant, of which the independent and critical spirit of the Beduins has always had a profound horror; he is said to have been proclaimed "king" (on the use of this title cf. Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 210) after the brilliant victory won at Khazazā over the united Yemenī tribes and to have ruled not only over the Banū Taghlib but also over the Banū Shaibān, the most important section of the Banū Bakr. After a short time he is said to have abused his power and to have usurped the rights of hunting and of pasturage at the expense of his subjects (the usurpation of the *ḥimā* is the regular grievance of the Beduins against "tyrants"; the same reproach was made against the caliph ʿUthmān). Indeed it was because the she-camel Sarāb, belonging to a Tamīmī woman al-Basūs or to one of her clients of the tribe of Banū Djarm, trespassed upon the private property of Kulaib, that the latter put her to death (or killed its young one and injured the mother) and this act of violence was the cause of his murder by Djassās, whose mother was the sister of al-Basūs.

The details of the story are given in our sources with some variations, most of which are found as early as the work of Abū ʿUbaida who is, as is well known, the source of almost all our information on the *aiyām al-ʿArab* (q.v., i. 230). Certain features, especially in the *K. al-Aghānī*, have been borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and the account of al-Mufaḏḏal al-Dabbī has also been preserved. It is evident that we are no longer able to ascertain if the history of Kulaib (and in general that of the war against the Banū Taghlib and the Banū Bakr) contains a nucleus of historical truth along with a mass of features undoubtedly legendary. This is a problem which can only be solved in connection with the general question of the historical value of the whole of the traditions of the pre-Islāmic period. Considered by itself the episode of Kulaib has nothing improbable about it. We might be tempted to recognise in it a fairly clear memory of an attempt to form a political organisation among the Banū Taghlib and the Banū Bakr of a kind superior to the ordinary Beduin tribes; the attempt, similar to that which gave the royal crown to the chiefs of the tribe of the Banū Kinda, must have been suggested by the example of the kingdom of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥira, not far from which the Banū Taghlib and the Banū Bakr have their homes. The story of the tyranny and the death of Kulaib must have taken form at a very remote period; this is evident from the verses of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās and of al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī (both contemporary with the beginning of Islām) given in our sources; in that of al-Nābigha in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulaib is found as early as the *muʿallaqa* of the Taghlibī ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulaib in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muḥalhil (one of the earliest Arab poets; cf. Ibn ʔutaiba, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, p. 164—166; Muḥ. Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 13 lines 11—16 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulaib is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Hilāl (cf. Mittochw, *Proelia Arabum Paganorum*, Berlin 1899, p. 11).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article AL-BASŪS: Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 384—397; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Ikd*, 1293, iii. 93—95; *Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevān, p. 905—907; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salāma, *Fāḳḥir*, ed. Storey, p. 76—78; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amṭhāl*, ed. Stambul 1300, p. 55—56; al-Mai-dāni, *Madjma' al-Amṭhāl*, ed. 1310, i. 254—255; *Khizāna*, i. 301—304; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 150—151.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

KULBARGA. [See GULBARGA.]

ҶULDJA, a town in the upper Ili [q. v.] valley. A Muḥammadan kingdom is first mentioned in this region in the viith (xiiith) century: its founder, who is said to have previously been a brigand and horse-thief, is called Ōzār in *Djuwainī* (*G. M. S.*, xvi., p. 57) and Būzār in *Djamāl Ḳurashī* (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 135 sq.). According to the latter, he assumed the title of Toghrul Khān as ruler. The capital of the kingdom was Almalgh, first mentioned in this connection and later a great and wealthy commercial city. We owe our information about its site mainly to the Chinese (in Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, Index); it lay south of Lake Sairam and the Talki pass, north of the Ili, probably northwest of the modern Ҷuldja.

Like the other rulers of these regions, the king of Almalgh had dealings with Čingiz Khān. He was surprised and killed while hunting by Küčlük, the governor of the kingdom of the Kara Khitai [q. v.]; but Küčlük could not take the town of Almalgh. Ōzār's son and successor Suḳnāk (or Sughnāk)-Tegin married a granddaughter of Čingiz Khān (a daughter of Djuči). On his death (651 = 1253/1254, cf. *Djuwainī*, p. 58; 648 = 1250/1251 in *Djamāl Ḳurashī*) he was succeeded by his son whose name (Danishmand-Tegin) like the names of the other rulers of this line are given only by *Djamāl Ḳurashī* (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 140 sq.). Almalgh in his time (beginning of the viiith = xivth century) was still ruled by this dynasty. How long this line continued to reign is not known. The silver and copper coins struck at Almalgh in the viiith (xiiith) century apparently belonged to them.

As a great commercial city on the main route through Central Asia to China, Almalgh is frequently mentioned by European travellers and missionaries.

Like the towns on the Čū [q. v.], the Talas and elsewhere, Almalgh was completely ruined by the constant civil wars and other fighting in the viiith (xixth) century (cf. Bābur, ed. Beveridge, p. 1; Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 364). Muḥammad Ḥaidar mentions the ruins of the town with the tomb of Tughluḳ Timūr Khān (d. 764 = 1362/1363; cf. *DUGHĀT*); these ruins lie between the Khorgos, the boundary river between Russia and China and the village of Mazār and have been fully described by N. Pantusov (*Kaufmansky Sbornik*, Moscow 1910, p. 161 sq.). Inscriptions from graves of Nestorian Christians have also been found there.

The town now called by the natives Ҷuldja or

Ghuldja (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 336 gives the meaning "Elk"; cf. also Ҷuldja Bāshī, name of a mountain between the Čū and the Ili, Masalskiy, *Turkest. Krai*, p. 42) was founded in 1762, after the conquest of the Kalmück empire by the Chinese, under the name Ning-yüan-cōng; whether, as Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*, ii. 321) says, a town of Ҷuldja had already been in existence for a considerable time, is doubtful. Somewhat later than this "Tatar" Ҷuldja, in 1764, the town of Hoi-yüan-cōng was founded, also called "Chinese Ҷuldja", "New Ҷuldja" or "Great Ҷuldja", the headquarters of the Chinese commander-in-chief (*dsandsün*). The Chinese government transferred 6,000 families from Kashgharia into this region which had been almost completely desolated in the war with the Kalmücks; these immigrants came to be called "Taranči" (agriculturists). In 1851 a treaty of commerce was concluded in Ҷuldja between Russia and China, whereby Ҷuldja was opened to Russian trade. In 1862 Radloff visited both Old and New Ҷuldja and gave a very full description of them in his *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 305 sqq., 336 sqq.; the population of Old Ҷuldja is then said to have been "at least 80,000" but this must be exaggerated.

This prosperity was almost completely destroyed by the Muḥammadan rebellion of 1863—1866. New Ҷuldja was taken after hard fighting in 1865 and completely destroyed; so far as we know, this town is still in ruins. After some fighting among the insurgents, the rule ultimately passed to a Sultān of the Taranči; he is usually called Sultān A'lā Khān or Abu 'l-A'lā (in Russian accounts frequently corrupted to "Abil-Oglya"). In 1871 the sultānate was occupied by the Russians and the Sultān deported to Wyerny where he received a pension of 5,000 roubles a year till his death. Ҷuldja was administered by Russia for ten years and was only restored to China by the St. Petersburg treaty of 1881. The population of Ҷuldja (i. e. the older town "Old Ҷuldja") in 1872 was only 7,693 of whom 4,098 were Muslims. The Chinese removed the administrative offices to Suidun (about 25 miles N.W. of Ҷuldja), but Ҷuldja still remains the most important town in the Ili territory; it also contained a Russian consulate. At the beginning of the xxth century Ҷuldja is said to have had about 30,000 inhabitants (N. Bogoyavlenskiy, *Zapadnny zastiennyy Kitai*, St. Petersburg 1906, p. 108 sq.).

Bibliography: On the site of Almalgh see particularly Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 69 sq.; ii. 33 sqq. A collection of references from Christian sources has been made by I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient*, etc., Göteborg 1906, p. 17 sq. (*Almalech*). On the Christian epitaphs see especially P. Kokowtzw in *Zap.*, xvi. 0190 sqq. On the rising of 1860—1862, W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 394 sqq.; Dyakow in *Zap.*, xviii. 233 sqq.; *ibid.* (p. 236) for the bibliography (compiled by L. Kotvič). On the period of Russian rule see N. Pantusov, *Svideniya o Kul'džinskoy rayone za 1871—1877 godŭ*, Kazan 1881; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1880, i. 427 sqq. On conditions after the restoration of Chinese rule see D. Fedorow, *Opŭt voenno-statisticheskogo opisanija Iliyskoy kraia*, Tashkent 1903; Rec. by W. Barthold, *Zap.*, xv. 0131 sqq.; S. N. Veletzkiy in *Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obšč.*, 1915, li. 149 sqq. (W. BARTHOLD)

KUL-OGHLI in Turkish "son of a slave". The Janissaries being the slaves (*kul*) of the Sultān, the children whom they had by native women, especially in the Barbary States, were given this name. They occupied a special position among the population. While slaves born of the Christian women-slaves were regarded as Turks, and enjoyed the same rights as their fathers (service in the ranks of the Janissaries, and admittance to all the offices of state), those who were born of alliances between Janissaries and women of the country (Moors) were classed with the relatives of their mothers. They could not be enrolled in the Janissaries and could only claim admission to a limited number of offices. They became mixed with the native population, but being related to the Turks they had not to suffer the same vexations as other classes of society. They were in general fine men with white skins and well marked muscular development; they were of a sluggish temperament and a peaceful character.

Bibliography: P. Rozet, *Alger (Collection de l'Univers Pittoresque)*, p. 13.

(CL. HUART)

KULTHŪM B. 'IYĀP AL-KUSHAIRĪ of the tribe of Kaïs was chosen by the Caliph Hishām to avenge the disastrous defeat inflicted by the Šūfī Berbers on the Arabs on the "Day of the Nobles" (*Ghazawāt al-Ashraf*) in the beginning of 123 A. H. He set out at the head of 30,000 men, to whom were added the garrisons of al-Ifrikiya and the Maghrib, and joined Ḥabīb b. Abū 'Ubaida who was trying to stop the advance of the Khāridjis near Tlemcen. The tactless attitude of the Syrians and particularly the arrogance of Baldj, nephew of Kulthūm and his successor-designate, dissatisfied those they had come to assist. The Berber leader Khālīd b. Ḥamīd (or Ḥumaid) retired before the Arabs to Wādī Sebū in the centre of the Maghrib, and a battle was fought at Nabdūra (var. Nafdūra, Baqdūra). The wise advice of Ḥabīb was not heeded. The Arab cavalry concealed by Baldj succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines but the latter reformed behind them and overwhelmed the Caliph's troops. Ḥabīb and the other leaders were killed. Kulthūm fought with the greatest bravery reciting verses of the Qur'ān to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Dhū 'l-Ḥijjdja 123 = Oct.—Nov. 741). Baldj's cavalry's only hope was to take refuge in Ceuta, whence after much suffering they were able to cross to Spain.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vi. 111, 119; *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 217, 238—239; *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. and transl. Desvergers, p. 11—13 of the text; 36—38 of the transl.; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i. 41—43; Ibn al-Kūṭīya, *Ta'rikh Ifitiāh al-Andalus*, Madrid 1868, p. 15—15; al-Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 229—232; *Akhbār maḡribiyya*, p. 32—35; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo, v. 117; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḡūm al-zāhira*, i. 321; al-Maḡkārī, *Analektes*, ii. 12; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Kairawānī, *Kitāb al-Mu'nis*, p. 39; Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i. 245—248; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. 291—296; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, i. 231—232. (RENÉ BASSET)

AL-KULZUM, a seaport on the Red Sea (Arab. *Baḥr al-Kulzum*, [q. v.], *Baḥr al-Hind*

or *Baḥr al-Habasha*). The name is a corruption of the Greek Κλύσμα (as in Arabic almost always without the article, i. e. τὸ κλείσμα, the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal begun by Pharaoh Necho finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and by Trajan. After the latter it was called under the Roman Empire and even down to the eighth century occasionally δ Τραιανοῦ ποταμός or ὕδατα τοῦ Τραιανοῦ (Ptol., iv. 5, 24, ed. Müller, p. 713; Bell, *The Aphrodito Papyri*, No. 1346 10 and 1465) or *Augustus amnis*, and from it in 341 A.D. we find the Eastern Delta called ἡ Αὔγουσταμινική ἐπαρχία (Mommson, *Röm. Gesch.*, v., p. 615; on the date: Eduard Schwartz, *N. G. G. W.*, 1904, p. 354 sq.). In the Muslim period, when the making of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it (J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux*, i., p. 84, under Khālīdj al-Kāhira). 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23 (643/644) for example had it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from Fustāt to the Red Sea (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii., p. 466; John of Nikiu, ed. Zotenberg, p. 577); it was called after him *Khālīdj Amir al-Mu'minin* (al-Muḡaddasi, ed. de Goeje, p. 198; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, p. 465; Ibn Duḡmāk, ed. Vollers, iv., p. 120). According to Abū Ṣāliḥ (in Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries*, p. 88) its mouth was at al-Kulzum, according to Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iv., p. 97) and others (more accurately) at *Dhumb al-Timsāḥ*, 1 *mil* from the town, where the Meccan pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The Caliph al-Manṣūr in 775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, who had rebelled against him in Medīna, so that in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time it ended at al-Sadīr at the entrance to the Wādī Tūmilāt. New but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the Caliph al-Rashīd (Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 98 sq.). He is however said to have abandoned the attempt out of fear of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birkat al-Djubb (al-Idrīsī, p. 164) till it was completely filled in in 1899 for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Kulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal; for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. In antiquity and in the early Muslim period its only importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea, the commonest name among the Arabs for which was derived from it. The cornships of al-Fustāt after they had passed the canal sailed from here to al-Djār and Djidda. Of the Jewish merchants called al-Rādhāniya, Ibn Khurdādhbih (ed. de Goeje, p. 153) says that they came from the lands of the Franks to al-Faramā; thence they carried their wares 35 farsakh on camels to al-Kulzum, where they were loaded on ships which took their course to India and China. According to the same geographer, al-Kulzum with al-Ṭūr and Aila formed a district of Egypt (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

The country round al-Kulzum was inhabited at an early date by Arabs. They are already mentioned in the *Acta* of the hermit Sisoēs (Coptic: *apa Djidjōi*) and John Kolobos who lived there. In the *History* of the latter, Kulzūm (sic)

appears for the first time in the Arabic Synaxarium as the name of the ancient Klysmā.

When under the last 'Abbāsīd governor in Egypt, 'Anbasā b. Ishāk, the Budjā rebelled in Nubia, invaded al-Ṣa'īd and laid waste many towns, al-Mutawakkil sent against them an army under Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḳummī which went from Ḳūs straight through the desert to the emerald mines, while seven ships with stores sailed from al-Ḳulzum to Ṣānga near 'Aidhāb and provided the victorious army from there with the necessary supplies.

In the autumn of 971 the Ḳarmāṭian leader Hasan b. Aḥmad on his campaign against the Fāṭimid Djawhar took the towns of al-Ḳulzum, al-Faramā, and Tinnis; after his defeat before Cairo (Dec. 24, 971) he retired under cover of night via al-Ḳulzum to Arabia.

Reynald de Châtillon (in Maḳrīzī, Arnāt) at the beginning of his naval expedition against the holy cities in the winter of 1182/1183 sent two ships from 'Aden, which were to watch the citadel of al-Ḳulzum and prevent the garrison from procuring water (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, transl. Blochet in *R.O.L.*, 1900/1901, viii., p. 550 sqq.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr on the year 578 in *Recueil des hist. or. des crois.*, i. 658). But soon afterwards the Ḥādīb Ḥusām al-Dīn Lu'lu' built a fleet by order of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's brother, al-Malik al-'Adil, in al-Ḳulzum which sailed for 'Aidhāb and put a sudden end to the desperate enterprise (G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*, 1898, p. 259—279; Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 119 sq.). When al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, p. 213) includes al-Ḳulzum among the lands under al-Karak (cf. R. Hartmann in *Isl.*, 1911, ii., p. 141), this is perhaps a memory of these events of a century before.

In the time of Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and Dimashḳī, al-Ḳulzum was already a deserted town. Maḳrīzī found among old documents in the palace of Cairo accounts of the expenditure on the civil and military administration of the town and district and concluded from them that it must once have been most flourishing. According to Idrīsī the Beduins had occupied and plundered it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well at al-Suwais, which yielded only a scanty supply of brackish water. Al-Muḳaddasī (tenth century) already mentions al-Suwais (i. e. Suez), which gradually took the place of al-Ḳulzum, a mile from it (cf. Maspero-Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 107 sq.).

The view occasionally expressed in later Arab geographers and astronomers (Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Ulūgh-Bey) that al-Ḳulzum once consisted of two towns, which goes back to a statement of al-Idrīsī taken from Ibn al-Wardī (Gildemeister in *Z.D.P.V.*, viii., p. 119 note) and the hypothesis, based on it, of two towns of al-Ḳulzum in different places, were already shown to be untenable by Quatremère; but it has recently been repeated of the ancient Klysmā, as Naville found an inscription near Heroonpolis (or Hero, in Tall al-Mashḳūṭa) according to which the distance was *ab Ero in Klysmā M[ilia] viii.* (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithon and the Route of the Exodus*, London 1885), while it is elsewhere correctly put at 68 Roman miles (Müller on Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, i. 2, p. 685 sq.). In this connection, Dillmann has rightly pointed out that it is very doubtful whether the milestone has not been moved from its original position, as all other references leave not the slightest doubt as to the location of Klysmā.

The name al-Ḳulzum still survives for the mound of ruins, Kōm al-Ḳulzum north of Suez; perhaps also in the name of the well of Ḳizmil (for Ḳilzim?) near Suez (Littmann in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx., p. 511; suppl. to p. 14, note 2; Moritz art. KLYSMA in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, xi., p. 881).

Bibliography: al-Khwarizmi, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. v. Mīk in *Bibl. arab. Histor. und Geogr.*, Leipzig 1926, iii., p. 13, N^o. 169; al-Battānī, *al-Zīj al-Ṣābi*, ed. Nallino, ii., p. 52, N^o. 252; iii., p. 240, col. ii.; al-Farghānī, *Elem. astron.*, ed. Golius, p. 37; al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i., p. 6, 28 sqq., 48; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii., p. 11, 17, 36—40, 94, 104; al-Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii., p. 194—196, 213—215, 313; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B.G.A.*, v., p. 7, 69, 78, 270; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi., p. 61, 71, 81, 153—155; Ibn Rusta, *B.G.A.*, vii., p. 97; al-Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii., p. 340; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, iv., p. 97; do., *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, *B.G.A.*, viii., p. 20, 55, 143; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Būlak, i., p. 303; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii., p. 198; al-Kalkashandī in Wüstenfeld, *Abh. G. W. Göttingen*, 1879, xxv., p. 170; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 228, 238; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar Nāma*, transl. Schefer, p. 122 sq., 179 sq. etc.; al-Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, p. 331, transl. Gildemeister in *Z.D.P.V.*, 1885, viii., p. 119; al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 151, 165, 231; Quatremère, *Mémoires géogr. et histor. sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, i., p. 151—189, 515 sq.; Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, p. 227—229; Dillmann, *Über Pithom, Hero, Klysmā*, in *S.B. Ak. W.*, 1885, ii., p. 889—898; G. Wiet, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, 1908, *Bibliothèque de l'école d. haut. études*, fasc. 171, p. 89—92, 113 passim; do., *Les inscriptions arabes de la Qal'ah Guindī*, in *Syria*, 1922, iii. 150 sq.; R. Hartmann in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx., p. 14, note 2, 15, note 1; Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, i., *M.I.F.A.O.*, v. 36, p. 107 sq., s.v. al-SUWAIS; 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khīṭaṭ al-Djādīdat*, xii., p. 69; C. Kütthmann, *Die Ost-grenze Ägyptens*, Diss. Berlin 1911, p. 5 sqq. (HONIGMANN)

AL-ḲŪMA, al-Ḳūma and al-Ḳawma, one of the seven kinds of poetry created by the moderns. Invented by the people of Baghdād under the 'Abbāsids, it was at first used as a call to announce during Ramaḍān the last moment of the night, at which it is still permitted to eat or drink. The singers said to their colleagues at the end of each night: *ḳūmā li-nusakhhir ḳūmā* 'arise! to take thy meal before the dawn of day, arise!' Later, verses were made in this style for vendors of flowers, wine, etc. It does not seem to be true that Abū Nuḳṭa invented the *ḳūmā*. It is more probable that the form was already in existence before the reign of the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

According to the prosodists, this kind of poem which is always in the vernacular, should have as metre in each hemistich *mustaf'ilun fa'ilān*; but, according to the specimen given by al-Ibshīhi (*al-Mustatraf*, Būlak 1292, ii. 275), al-ḳūmā is a poem composed of strophes of two verses rhyming in the first, second and fourth hemistich; the metre is *mustaf'ilun fa'ilān* or *fa'ilān* or *fa'lān* and rarely *fa'ilātūn*. *Mustaf'ilun* may be *mutaf'ilun* = *maf'ā'ilun* and rarely *mustaf'ilun* = *mufta'ilun*.

Bibliography: see the article KĀN WA-KĀN. (MOH. BEN CHENEH)

KUMAIT B. ZAID, an Arab poet of the tribe of Asad, born in Kūfa about 60 and died in 126. Of his compositions, the most famous next to the *Mudhahhaba* (see below) are the *Hāshimiyāt* so called because they sing the praises of the Banū Hāshim, the family of the Prophet. But not the whole of the Banū Hāshim are considered worthy of the honour and praise of the poet; besides Muḥammad we find only 'Alī and his descendants. Verses i. 79 and ii. 105 *sq.* in which 'Abbās and his sons are commemorated were perhaps only added in the 'Abbāsīd period. The *Hāshimiyāt* consist of four long and two short *qaṣidas*; a fragment, the larger part of which is a typical *qaṣida* opening and four quite short songs, three of which have only two verses each. These poems are not all of the same period; the oldest seems to be II which should be dated about 96—99 A.H.; III is not much later; I cannot be earlier than 105, IV than 118, IX—XI are composed not earlier than 122, and VI is perhaps as late as 125/126. In his *qaṣidas* Kumait follows the model of the old poets. Although as a townsman, he is remote from the life of the desert, he describes the camel which carries him to the person celebrated, the wild bull and the *ḥafā* bird, and he devotes many panegyrics to the 'Alids in the traditional style for Beduin *saiyids*. He borrowed much from the Qur'ān as well as from the old poets, and a Kufan philologist of the second century A.H., Ibn Kunāsa, composed a *Kitāb Sarikāt al-Kumait min al-Kur'ān* (see *Fihrist*, p. 70). The *Hāshimiyāt*, the poetical value of which was not highly esteemed by Arab critics, were much thought of in Shī'a circles; for modern scholarship, their importance lies mainly in the fact that they reflect ideas current in the moderate wing of the Shī'a at the end of the first and beginning of the second century A.H. While Kumait regards the first caliphs as usurpers (vi. 10), he declines to curse them, like the fanatical Shī'is; if they did wrong in withholding Fadak from the daughter of the Prophet, they will be forgiven on the day of judgment. 'Alī is the waṣī of the Prophet, who handed over to him the wilāya at the pool of al-Khumḥ (vi. 6; the verse seems to be oldest evidence of this Shī'a belief); guidance is to the 'Alids alone and they will again consolidate the foundations of Islām. The poet however cannot summon himself to assist by deed the 'Alids, whose praises he sings so enthusiastically, and in X and XI he reproaches himself for not obeying the call of Zaid. But he is not afraid to make fierce attacks on the reigning dynasty; he reproaches the Umayyads with having no right to the leadership of the community and with abusing their position for their own ends. When however these attacks came to the ears of the Caliph Hishām — a longish poem directed against the 'Abd Shams is also preserved in *Ḍjamhara*, p. 187 *sqq.* — Kumait tried to atone for his indiscretion by panegyrics on the Umayyads. Such opportunism is not uncommon among poets and Kumait himself calls his conduct *taḳiya* (iv. 86; the expression according to Goldziher, *Z. D. M. G.*, lx. 219, is here used for the first time in the Shī'i sense) and such forced tributes to the Umayyads do not affect his real feelings for the Banū Hāshim. — The *Mudhahhaba*, Kumait's poem directed against the Yemen tribes is notable for its length — the expression "longer than a poem

by Kumait" became later proverbial. It is said to have had 300 verses, of which about a third survive from different parts of the poem. There is no trace of a hostile attitude to the Yemenis in the *Hāshimiyāt*, although the poet lays stress on the fact that the Prophet like himself belonged to the Khindif group. Between 97 and 101 Kumait had even composed a panegyric on the Muhallabis, the champions of South Arabian influence and the revulsion only came later, probably not till 118 after the composition of the fourth poem of the *Hāshimiyāt*. Kumait is said to have been induced to attack the South Arabians by a lampoon by a Kalbi poet on the 'Alids and it is said to have been Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḳaṣri, governor of al-'Irāk, who was dependent on the support of the South Arabian tribes, who brought Kumait's anti-Umayyad verses to the Caliph's notice, to have him rendered innocuous. It is certain at any rate that Kumait continued to lampoon Khālid even after his death; he brought his own destruction on himself by this. Yemeni troops, who heard him reciting his lampoons on Khālid, wounded him so seriously that he died in consequence.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the article): *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xv. 113 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shī'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 368 *sqq.*; 'Abd al-Ḳādir, *Khizāna*, i. 68 *sqq.*; *Ḍjāhiz*, *Bayān*, i. 22; *Die Hāshimiyat des Kumait*, ed. by J. Horowitz, Leyden 1904; Th. Nöldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lviii. 888 *sqq.*; C. Brockelmann in the *G. G. A.*, 1905, p. 245 *sqq.*; M. J. de Goeje in *J. A.*, series x., vol. v., p. 157 *sqq.*; H. Lammens in the *M. F. O. B.*, ii. 47; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het zaidietische imamat*, Leyden 1919, p. 14 *sqq.*, 32.

(J. HOROWITZ)

KUMĀN. [See KIPÇAK.]

KUMBARADJĪ. [KHUMBARADJĪ.]

KUMİS, a Turkish word meaning "a drink of soured mare's milk", which has passed in this form into Russian and western European languages; it is explained in Radloff's *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, vol. ii., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 853 under *kümis*. The word is found as early as the *Kudatku-bilik* where it is mentioned in the first place among the products of cattle-breeding (kumıs, milk, hair, fat, curds and cheese [W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku-Bilik*, Pl. ii., St. Petersburg 1910, p. 379]). Wherever the Turkish horsemen went they carried *kumıs* with them. According to Kutubi, *Uyūn al-Tawārikh* (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 48), MS. in Constantinople, Köprülü 1121, f. 69a, Baibars I just before his death 676 (1277) drank *kumıs* (*al-kumiz*) for several days in the "variegated castle" (*al-Ḳaṣr al-Ablak*) in Damascus. In the court ceremonial of Özbeg princes in the xii. (xviith) century, fully described by Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-Asrār fī Manākibi 'l-Akhyār* (*Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii., 362, Ind. Off., No. 575, Text publ. by W. Barthold in *Zap. Geogr. Obšč. po otdel. etnografii*, vol. xxxiv., 1909, p. 295 *sqq.*) "the drinking of *kumıs*" (*āshāmīdan-i kumiz*) is treated as an important affair; it is described minutely, how the *kumıs* has to be poured from skins (*ṣaba*) into cups (*ayağh*), how the cups are to be taken, who is to take the first, who the other cups etc. In every place where the nomadic people have passed to a settled life, the customs associated with the taking of *kumıs* have gradually fallen into disuse. (W. BARTHOLD)

KŪMIYA. In the Middle Ages, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib; they were at one time called *Ṣaṭfūra* and were descended through *Fātin* from *Mādghis al-Abtar*. Tradition says that the brothers of *Kūmiya*, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were *Lemāya* and *Maṭghara* from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the *Kūmiya*, who live in the N.W. of Algeria between *Tlemcen* and *Areshkūl* (*Rashgun*) are the B. 'Ābid, from whom was descended the first Caliph of the *Almohad* dynasty, 'Abd al-Mu'min [q. v.], born at *Tadjera* between *Honain* and *Nedroma*; the *Nedroma* who gave their name to an important town; the *Ṣaghāra*, now represented by the *Mātila*; the B. *Ilūl*, of whom a section the *Masifa* still exist. The *Kūmiya* showed themselves devoted to 'Abd al-Mu'min, who was one of them. They formed the second *djund* in the *Almohad* army; but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to *kharaḍj* [q. v.] by the *Zenāta*, some of them joined another group, the *Ūlhāsa* and formed the powerful confederation of *Trāra* in the N. E. of Algeria.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901, and the writers there quoted. (RENÉ BASSET).

KUMM, a town in Persia in 'Irāk 'Adjamī near a stream, not however sufficient for local needs, which comes from *Djurbādhakan* (*Gulpaigān*). It was conquered by *Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari* in 23 (644); it rebelled in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn and refused to pay taxes, under the leadership of *Yahyā b. 'Imrān*. Against it the Caliph sent 'Alī b. *Hishām al-Marwazi* who demolished the wall surrounding it and levied a war indemnity of 7,000,000 dirhams. The treaty was broken in the caliphate of al-Mu'tazz (252—255 = 866—868) who sent a force against it, an army under *Mūsā b. Boghā*, governor of 'Irāk 'Adjamī; most of the inhabitants were massacred and the chief notables carried off as hostages.

In the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī it was walled. Its water supply came from wells and huge cisterns substantially built. Its inhabitants have always been fanatical *Shi'is* and it is one of the strongholds of the followers of 'Alī. It has many tombs of saints and pious men (444 according to *Aḥmad Rāzi*), including the mausoleum of *Fātima*, daughter of the seventh Imām *Mūsā al-Kāzim* and sister of the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā. The later *Ṣafawids* are buried there.

In the time of *Iṣṭakhrī* (*B. G. A.*, i. 230) one stage distant was a little town inhabited by *Mazdaeans* (*Karyat al-Mad'jus*). The family of the Persian poet *Nizāmī*, born at *Gandja*, originally came from *Tafriṣh*, near *Kumm*.

Bibliography: *Yākut, Mu'jam*, ed. *Wüstenfeld*, iv. 15, 175 = *Barbier de Meynard, Dict. de la Perse*, p. 456; *B. G. A.*, i. 201; ii. 252, 264; iii. 392 n. a, 395; *Balādhuri*, ed. de *Goeje*, p. 312, 314; *Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfi*, ed. *Le Strange*, p. 67 = transl. p. 71; *Dimashki*, transl. *Mehren*, p. 249; *Ḥādjdji-Khalifa, Djihān-numā*, p. 305; *Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 209. (CL. HUART)

KŪMŪKS, a Turkish people in the northern part of *Daghestān* (q.v., especially p. 888 sq.), where also information is given regarding the *Lezgian* people of the *Qāzi Kūmūk*

or *Ghāzi Ghumūk* and the political conditions under which one section of this people has become separated from its kinsmen and turkicised). The princes (*Shāmkhāls*) of the *Qāzi Kūmūk* in the tenth (xvth) century gradually extended their territory from their old capital in the mountain village of *Kumukh* in a north easterly direction to the coast; they spent the winter in the coast plains in the village of *Būināk* and the summer in *Kumukh*. Since 1049 (1639/1640) the *Shāmkhāls* have ruled only in the coast territory with their capital in *Būināk* or *Tārkhū* (*Tarkī*); they did not come back to *Kumukh*. The burial-place of the last *Shāmkhāls* was the village of *Tümengi-Kazanīsh* (Russ. *Kazanishchi*). At the present time the *Kūmūks* are the leading element in the republic of *Daghestān*, the capital of which is *Makhač-Kal'a* (Russ. *Petrowsk*). They number over 100,000. The dwellings of the *Kūmūks* stretch from *Sulāk* in the north to the river *Bashli-čai* (north of *Derbend*) in the south; they speak an archaic dialect, connected with *Komanic* and quite different from the language of their northern neighbours, the *Nogaians*, which became a literary language in the second half of the sixteenth century.

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KUNDUZ, the name of a river, town and district in Northern *Afghānistān*. The district is bounded on the east by *Badakhshān*, on the west by *Tashkurghān*, on the north by the *Oxus*, and on the south by the *Hindū Kush*, and is inhabited chiefly by *Özbegs*, who overran it from the north in the sixteenth century. The river rises in the *Hindū Kush*, flows northward and is one of only two rivers in northern *Afghānistān* which reach the *Oxus*. The town is the trade centre of a considerable district which produces the best horses in *Afghānistān*.

Bibliography: *Zahīr al-Din Muḥammad Bābur, Bāburnāma*, ed. A. S. Beveridge, *G. M. S.*, i.; *Abu 'l-Faḍl, Akbarnāma*; *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhab al-Lubāb*. (T. W. HAIG)

KUNFUDA, a seaport on the Red Sea, 45 miles from *Ḥālī*. The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour, where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representative of the *Sharif* of *Mecca*. The town is now estimated to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1882 put it at only 2,000. The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there. Trade and commerce are moderate: *Kunfuda* exports the myrrh collected in *Asīr* and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but England's sharp control has made slave smuggling practically impossible. Trade with the

interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and every day necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Ḥudaïda further south has long since attracted about all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain.

Kunfuda is perhaps a very old settlement, in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debae. Pliny's "regio Canauna" has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Ḳanawnā mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī but this town lies at the mouth of the Wādī of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Al Ḳhatāriṣh still get gold from the streams. Ḳunfuda however seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese know it in the form Confutá. Niebuhr calls Ḳunfuda a large but badly built town. In his day it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Djidda had to pay toll here to the Sharif of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the Imām of Ṣan'ā'. The town of Ḳunfuda passed to the Sharif with the whole strip of coast from Djidda to Ḥalī which the Sharif of Mecca won about 1772 and even had a certain revival of prosperity when Muḥammad 'Alī conquered the Sharifs and made Ḳunfuda his base of operations for the campaign against Central Arabia and 'Asīr. It was only in 1870 that Turkey was able to revive Muḥammad 'Alī's plans and Ḳunfuda became the base of operations against the tribes of the hill country of 'Asīr, after the conquest of which in 1871, Ḳunfuda with its hinterland became a ḳazā of the *sandjak* of 'Asīr. The World War freed this area from Turkish rule, which was however never very strong here. Ḳunfuda was linked up to the outer world when Turkey instituted a telegraph line connecting it with Luhaiya and Ḥudaïda and Ṣan'ā' on the one side and with Djidda on the other.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KUNŪT, a religious technical term, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refraining from speaking", "the prayer during the *ṣalāt*", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allāh is that of a creature to his creator", "standing" — these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Ḳur'ān where *ḳunūt* or derivatives from the root *ḳ-n-t* occur. There is hardly one of these for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (cf. Sūra ii. 110, 239; iii. 15, 38; iv. 38; vi. 121; xxx. 25; xxxiii. 31, 35; xxxix. 12; lvi. 5, 12).

The Ḥadīth gives more definite contexts. "The best *ṣalāt* is a long *ḳunūt*" (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 164, 165, *Bāb Afḍal al-Ṣalāt Ṭul al-Ḳunūt*; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 168). Here in the unanimous opinion of all the commentators (see Nawawī on the passage) *ḳunūt* means "standing". In the well known *ḥadīth*: "alike to the fighter on the path of Allāh is he who fasts, who stands, who *ḳānit bi-āyāt Allāh*" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 110), *ḳānit* has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣaḥr Ramaḍān*, bāb 9: "And he who recites 100 verses of the Ḳur'ān standing, is enrolled among the *ḳānitūn*"). *Ḳunūt*, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with *du'ā'*, e.g. in the oft quoted tradition which tells how Muḥammad in the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribe of Ri' and Dhakwān, as they had slain the *ḳurrā'* at Bi'r Ma'ūna (*Witr*, bāb 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation *yadū 'alā* (Bukhārī, *Witr*, bāb 7; *Djihād*, bāb 184). In the parallel tradition, Bukhārī, *Maḡhāzī*, bāb 28, trad. 3 there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the *ḳunūt*". Some sources (see Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 323) add that this was in the month of Ramaḍān.

The rite also appears in parallel traditions in a more precise form; it is said that the *ḳunūt* took place in the *ṣalāt al-faḍīr* (Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 59) after the *rukū'* (Bukhārī, *Witr*, bāb 7). It is still more precisely defined in a *ḥadīth* in al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 32: "...that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the first *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, said: "O Allāh, curse this and that man (i.e. some of the *munāfiḳūn*); thereupon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (Sūra, iii. 123). The following is another example of *ḳunūt*: "When the messenger of Allāh lifted his head after the second *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, he said: "O Allāh, save Walid b. Abī Walid and Salima b. Hishām and 'Aiyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Moḍar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Huraira (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 126) the *ḳunūt* consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the *ḳunūt* was regularly performed at the morning and evening *ṣalāt* (*ṣubḥ* and *maḡhrib*; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 177; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 30). Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition: "The learned differ in their views about the *ḳunūt* at the *ṣalāt al-faḍīr*. Some of the scholars of the *ṣaḥāba* and later generations

advocate this *kunūt*, such as Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī. Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) and Ishāk say: "There is no *kunūt* uttered at the *ṣalāt al-faḍīr* except in a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a body". In such a case the Imām has to pray for the Muslim armies. *Zuhr* and *ʿishā* are also mentioned as *ṣalāt*'s into which the *kunūt* was inserted (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 126; Nasāʾī, *Taṭbīk*, bāb 29).

There is further a difference of opinion as to where in the *ṣalāt*, the *kunūt* should be inserted. ʿĀsim is said to have asked Anas b. Mālik about the *kunūt*. Anas replied: "The *kunūt* took place..." I asked: "Before or after the *rukūʿ*?" He replied: "Before the *rukūʿ*". I said: "But I have been told on your authority: after the *rukūʿ*". Anas replied: "Then they lied. The apostle of Allāh only uttered the *kunūt* prayer after the *rukūʿ* for a month. I think, after he, etc. etc." (here follows the story of Biʾr Maʿūna, see above, Bukhārī, *Witr*, bāb 7). It is even said that the *kunūt* is a *bidʿa*. Abū Mālik al-Ashjaʿ records a tradition on the authority of his father, that the latter had performed the *ṣalāt* under the direction of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī and that none of these uttered the *kunūt* prayer. He adds "it is therefore also a *bidʿa*, my son" (al-Nasāʾī, *Taṭbīk*, bāb 33).

Nevertheless it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (*duʿāʾ*) at the *ṣalāt*. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the *kunūt al-witr* (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called *kunūt* but is given names like *duʿāʾ* etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and pardon me among those whom Thou pardonest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest and bless me with what Thou distributest, and protect me from the evil that Thou has decided upon; for Thou decidest and none decides about Thee. Disgrace will never come upon him for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (Tirmidhī, *Witr*, bāb 10). The same formula is found as an element in the *ṣalāt* in Nawawī, *Minhādī*, ed. van den Berg, i. 83, 455 sq.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *k-n-t*, who gives another.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

KUNYA (A.), properly meaning a metonymical appellation, is however also the technical term for the naming of a man (or also of a woman) after his eldest son, i.e. Abū, a name which is omitted from very few Arab personal names (cf. also LAḲAB) and in many cases is even the only one known to us. The origin of the custom lies in the value placed by Semitic peoples upon children, especially sons; which again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent on the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the kunya and funeral rites in the fact that slaves as a rule had no kunya and that they, when not adopted into the family, were buried without ceremonies.

In Arabic literature the kunya, if not absolutely a title of honour, is at least regularly thought more highly of than the simple name. According to the *Lisān*, s. v. the champion who challenged

to single combat between the hostile armies called himself by his kunya. When a warrior is appealed to for help by his clan, he is called by his kunya (Ḳais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914, fragment, iv., l. 38). ʿĀʾisha said on one occasion to Muḥammad: "All thy wives have a kunya but I alone have none". Thereupon he replied: "Assume the kunya Umm ʿAbd Allāh!" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 151). From this tradition we see — a fact otherwise unknown — that childless people could have a kunya. In other cases it did not express paternity but some other characteristic. Abū Huraira [q. v.] "he of the kitten" is said to have received this kunya from his kindness to cats. History does not record why the first Caliph was called "Father of the Camel-foal". The Abū of the kunya often indicates a physical peculiarity e. g. Abū Shāma "he with the birthmark". In other cases the kunya is given in malicious or good natured irony e. g. Abū Djaḥl [q. v.], Abū Lahab [q. v.]. Finally we may note the many geographical names in the form of a kunya e. g. Abū Simbel [q. v.], Abū Ḳubais [q. v.], Abū Habba [q. v.], Abū ʿArish [q. v.]. In the Oriental dictionaries of all kinds, the kunyas are usually classed together in one group. There are also dictionaries which deal exclusively with kunyas.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

KUR, Russian *Kura*, in the Arab geographers *Kurr*, the largest river in the Caucasus, over 600 miles in length, according to Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*Nuṣḥat al-Ḳulūb*, G. M. S., xxiii/i., p. 218) 200 farsakh. Iṣṭakhṛī (*B. G. A.*, i. 189) describes the Kur as navigable and full of fish; even at the present day very little would require to be done to make the river accessible to modern steamers from Mingčaur (a little below the mouth of the Alazan) to the Caspian Sea. The Araxes, regarded as a separate river in ancient times, always appears in Muslim sources as a tributary of the Kur. According to Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*op. cit.*), the Kur in those days in addition to its mouth in the Caspian Sea also sent a branch out which flowed into the Sea (*buḥaira*) of Shamkūr. This statement (only found here) must be due to a misunderstanding. In Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī there is no reference to any such sea. He only mentions the town of Shamkūr (Russ. *Shamkhor*), two farsakh from Gandja on the road to Tiflis (*op. cit.*, p. 181 sqq.), which in his day as now was in ruins. The navigation of the Kur has only once played a part in political history, at the destruction of the town of Bardhaʿa by the Russians in the year 332 (943/944). In addition to the references to this event given under the article BARDHAʿA see D. S. Margoliouth, *The Russian Seizure of Bardhaʿa in 943 A. D.* (*Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1918, p. 82 sqq.); A. Yakubovskiy, *Ibn Miskawayh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 332 g. = 943/4 g.* (*Viz. Vremennik*, 1923–1926, vol. xxiv., p. 63 sqq.).

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AL-KURA, the sphere. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (*shakl al-kaffū*⁴), the principle of the four magnitudes (*al-shakl al-mughnī*) and the principle of the shadow, i. e. of the tangent (*al-shakl al-qillī*) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1896, I., p. 161 sqq.; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, *Axel Björnbo Thābits Werk über den Transversalensatz in Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin*, 1924, part 7, p. 1—91; references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. *Al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* (the globe with the axe) is used in two senses:

a) The globe of the heavens (instead of *al-kura* we also find *al-baiḍa* in this sense, the egg, e. g. in *Mafāṭih al-Ulūm*, p. 235, in al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1913, i., p. 138; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, iii., *S.B.P.M.S.*, *Erlg.*, 1905, xxxvii., p. 239 sqq.). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs. Such globes have been prepared and described perhaps as early as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the *Almagest* and in separate treatises. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 435 (1043/1044) by Ibn al-Sandbadi (cf. Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 440). — The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. 'Alam al-Dīn Kaṣīr al-Ta'āsīf used a gilt wooden globe (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 479, H. Suter, No. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them have been fully discussed by al-Bīrūnī (*Beiträge zur Gesch. der Mathematik*, etc. in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin*, part 4, 1922, p. 79—93; cf. also H. Schnell, *ibid.*, in a later part).

The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Idrīsī for King Roger was apparently an armillary sphere.

b) *Al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon, it is notched at right angles in two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go to its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the meridian ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, *al-ḥālī*⁵, *al-maḥālī*⁶, the props of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Ḳoṣṭā b. Lūḳā [q. v.] and exists in Arabic in several editions, e. g. that of al-Marrākushī; it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relations to the Greeks. It

was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (*Libros del Saber*, vol. i.).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings its added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to circles in the heavens, we get the armillary sphere (*ālat dhāt al-halāk*), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castile occupied themselves a great deal.

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3. *Al-Kura al-muḥarriḳa*, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Haiṭham and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī investigated this theory very brilliantly. Ibn al-Haiṭham starts from the values given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn between the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority however meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon it and looked at it through the front of the ball remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Haiṭham and Kamāl al-Dīn; they were able even then to reach the same results as Schellbach at a later date.

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KUR'Ā (A.), "lot, drawing lots" is regarded by the lexicographers as a synonym of *sukma*, just as most verbal stems of the root *k-r-ʿ* are equated to those from *s-h-m*. The reason for this is that lots were cast in pre-Muḥammadan times with arrows (*sahm*). Muḥammad, it is true, forbade drawing lots with arrows as a means of prophesying and as a game of chance (*Sūra* ii. 216; v. 92) but this prohibition is in turn much limited by two other passages in the *Qur'ān* in which drawing lots is described as at least permitted (*Sūra* iii.

39; xxxvii. 141). While in these passages the root *s-h-m* is used to describe the drawing of lots, in later times the root *k-r-ʿ* is generally used for the permitted forms of drawing lots; its primitive meaning seems to be "to beat, to strike" a synonym of *q-r-b*. (Even in the earliest period we find the combination *ḍarab aḥdāh* "to strike arrows").

In addition to these two passages, Bukhārī in the last *bāb* of the *Kitāb al-Shahādāt* quotes five other incidents in the life of the Prophet, from which it appears that in certain circumstances he regarded the drawing of lots as permitted. On all these occasions lots were drawn to decide between two or more parties who had an equal right to a thing, but could not come to an agreement, as to which the legal right or the disputed article should be allotted (Kāṣṭallānī, iv. 416, 5 sqq.). Although there is no compulsion to draw lots to secure a decision, the drawing of lots was very popular, because it appeared more fitted than the verdict of a perhaps biased judge to appease the disputants and to exclude any injustice (*Hidāya*, p. 814). Therefore, for example in the *Shāfiʿī* law book *Minḥāj al-Ṭālibīn* decision by drawing lots is said not to be admissible in two only of the eleven cases in which it could possibly be used.

The drawing of lots was and still is most frequently used (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 294) in the division (*kisma*) of pieces of land and articles between two parties having equal claims. In this case, strips of paper with the names of the disputants are used which are rolled up in a ball of clay or wax and drawn by some person or persons who were not present at the writing and rolling up of the names. This lottery by balls is also called *kurʿa* (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ii. 1199; Kūhīstānī, *Djāmiʿ al-Ramūz*, Kazan 1309, i. 297; Kāṣṭallānī, iv. 416, 18 sqq.).

As, among the Turks, the drawing of lots was specially used in connection with the calling up of recruits, the word in Ottoman Turkish has the restricted meaning of calling up for military service, so that *kurʿaya girmäk*, for example, means "to reach the age for military service".

From the purely legal meaning of the word, *kurʿa* later came to be applied to a practice in the field of magic and superstition. Just as the proper meaning of *kisma* was extended from the division of things in dispute to that of one's fate or lot, *kurʿa*, also originally used at a division, came to be applied to a consultation of fate by individuals themselves when in doubt or out of curiosity when in difficult positions. In contrast to fortune-telling, which relates to all future things, *kurʿa*, like an oracle, confines itself to answering "yes" or "no" to the questioner at a time when he wishes to know whether he should enter upon an undertaking or whether an event will occur, i. e. to advising in a case, in which, like the division of disputed articles, there are only two solutions, to which the questioner has to some extent an equal claim.

There is no doubt that this modern use of drawing lots is really forbidden by the law. It is an attempt to learn the future and what is concealed (*Baiḍāwī*, *Dukḥūl fī ʿIlm al-Gḥaib*) and is, so far as its object is concerned, identical with the method of divination by arrows, practised in the temple of Mecca before Islām and strongly condemned by the Prophet in Sūra v. 4 (Freitag,

Einleit. in das Studium d. arab. Sprache, Bonn 1861, p. 154 sqq.). But, from the fact that arrows were not used and especially because the well known legal term *kurʿa* for permitted decision by lots was transferred to this really illegal form of casting lots, it looked as if with the alteration in the name of this kind of fortune-telling the thing itself had been altered, especially as quotations from the Qurʾān and the citing of names of the prophets were used to give it an appearance of sanction.

The *kurʿa* is still one of the most usual methods of consulting the fates, especially in the Arabic speaking parts of the world of Islām. Along with the still more common augury by pricking (*faʿl*) and by drawing on sand (*raml*) it is to be regarded as an augury from dice, inasmuch as in the *kurʿa* the starting-point is almost always numbers or letters, which are obtained either directly by throwing dice or in a similar way. According to the way in which this number is obtained or the course taken from this number to the oracle, finally uttered in the form of verses, three different literary forms of the *kurʿa* are distinguished: 1) *Kurʿa al-djāfariya* (this should be read for *djauhariya* in Ahlwardt, iii. 565) which is traced to Djāfar al-Ṣādiq, has most clearly retained the character of an augury from dice, inasmuch as in it a definite poetical interpretation corresponds to each of the possible combination of three letters of the dice. It is to this variety of *kurʿa* that the definition of "science of drawing lots" given by Ḥādīdjī Khalifa seems to refer (ed. Flügel, iv., p. 513, N^o. 9413). 2) The *Kurʿat al-Anbiyā* is the simplest form, as in it the answer is given according to which of the names of the Prophets the finger falls upon. The most detailed and complicated, but for this very reason the most popular form, which is traced to the Caliph Maʾmūn is 3) *kurʿa al-maʾmūniya*, which begins with a number of questions out of the daily life of men written in separate circles out of which the one concerned has to be chosen. But before the oracle delivered in verse is learned from the mouth of a king, one has to run through a series of figures which include constellations and birds of fate and end in towns (hence also called *kurʿat al-mulūk* or *kurʿat al-tuyūr*). This kind of *kurʿa* offered the greatest scope for the imagination and experienced the greatest development and variations; it is just on this account however that it has almost completely lost any character of fortune-telling but looks more like a harmless and entertaining game. This also explains why the word *kurʿa* in popular usage ultimately came to be used by an erroneous generalisation for all kinds of oracles (e.g. *Kurʿat al-Raml* in Pertsch, Gotha, N^o. 73, 4, and *Kurʿa li-lkhrādj al-Faʿl wa ʿl-Damir* or *Kurʿa fī ʿIlm al-Raml* in the Cairo Catalogue, v., p. 350 sq.).

Although the last kind of *kurʿa* in particular seems to be comparatively modern — the oldest manuscript only dates from the xith century A.H. —, the idea that there is old material in it, dating back to Hellenistic times, is not to be dismissed offhand. The reference in the *Fihrist* (i., p. 314, 15—18) to Greek authors and the fragments of Greek books of fate that have survived from the period of the Diadochi, which contain almost word for word the same answers as the Arabic books now in use make such a supposition very probable.

Although the importance of the Arabic *kurʿa*

for similar literature in the west has been exaggerated, it is certain that the Arabs had a not inconsiderable influence on the Hebrew books of fate and either through these or directly on mediaeval European books of fate.

Bibliography: There are a few works lithographed (cf. Doutté) but the bulk of Ḳur'ā literature is in manuscript. In addition to the catalogues printed down to the middle of the 19th century which were used by Flügel in his *Losbücher der Muhammedaner*, Leipzig 1861, the following three catalogues may be mentioned: Ahlwardt, Berlin, iii., N^o. 4235—4244; Pertsch Gotha, N^o. 24, 3, 93, 26, 1304, 09, 10; de Slane, Paris, N^o. 2637—2641, 2706, 2715 sq., 2758; Ibn Sida, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiii. 23; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii., p. 163 (*Bab al-Ḳur'ā fi 'l-Mushkilāt*); Kaṣṭallānī, *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlak 1304, iv. 413 sqq.; *Minḥādī al-Tālibin*, ed. v. d. Berg, iii. 119 sq., 324; ii. 328, 404 sq.; iii., 99 sq., 102, 122 sq., 379, 395 sqq., 440, 461 sqq.; Marghinānī, *Hidāya*, Calcutta, 1818, p. 813 sq. (*Faṣl fi Kaṣfiyat al-Ḳisma*); *The Hedaya*..., transl. Ch. Hamilton, 2nd ed., London 1870, p. 565 sqq.; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, p. 375 sqq.; Stein-schneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, Berlin 1893, ii., § 528, 533; Bolte, *Zur Geschichte der Losbücher* (appendix to: *Georg Wickrams Werke*, ed. by Joh. Bolte, iv., 1903, p. 276—348); do., *Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher* (in *Jahrbuch f. historische Volkskunde*, i. Berlin 1925, p. 185—214). (G. WEIL)

KURAIBIYA, the name of a group of the Kaisāniya [q. v.] This reading of the name is probably to be assumed in al-Ash'arī's *Maḳālāt al-Islāmīyīn* (without diacritical points in the MS. mentioned below) and is also found in 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djilānī; the author of the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* has *Karibiya* as have 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and al-Makrizī. In favour of the former reading is also the form *al-K-r-n-biya* (transl. *Karanbiyya*) given by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī, which may be due to a corruption of the text. This group is said to be called after a certain otherwise unknown Abū Kuraib (in al-Ash'arī without diacritical points; in 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djilānī, in the printed text as well as in the Leyden MS., Or. 335, f. 96a; *Ibn Kuraib*; al-Khwārizmī, al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and al-Makrizī: *Abū Karib*; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī: *Ibn K-r-n-b*) al-Darīr. It was probably he who spread the Messianic views regarding Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya [q. v.], which are characteristic of the Kuraibiya. The flourish of Abū (Ibn) Kuraib is therefore to be placed in the period after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiya (probably in 81 = 700).

According to al-Ash'arī, the Kuraibiya believed that their imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya, was still alive and was living in the mountains of Raḳwā [q. v.] west of Medina, with a lion on his right hand and a leopard on his left, guarding him, while his food came to him morning and evening, until the time for him to appear again. In their view the reason why the imām was kept hidden in this way was that Allāh had a special plan for him. Al-Baghdādī describes his stay in Raḳwā in similar terms; according to him, there was a spring of water and another of honey beside the imām, which provided his daily food. Al-

Shahrastānī and al-Manṣūr bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (*al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, B. M. MS. Or. 3976, f. 8b *infra*) also mention this, without referring explicitly to the Kuraibiya. The last-named author also mentions the idea that the imām holds intercourse with the angels in Raḳwā (as does Ibn Ḥazm) and that in his concealment he is considered "the eye of Allāh watching over his creatures".

Most of these traits go back to older Messianic ideas. They are nearly all found in verses by Kuthaiyir [q. v.] and al-Saiyid al-Ḥimyarī (cf. *al-Aghānī*², vii., 4, 11 sqq.; viii., 30, 25 sqq.) from whom the writers on heretical sects seem to have taken their information.

Al-Ash'arī mentions Kuthaiyir as a champion of the views of the Kuraibiya and quotes the same verses by him as al-Baghdādī (p. 28 sq.) and al-Shahrastānī (cf. also *al-Aghānī*², viii., 31, 8 sqq.).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmīyīn*, Aya Ṣofya MS. 2366, Chap. on the *Rāfiḍa*, p. 9 sqq.; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rikh*, v., *P. E. L. O. V.*, iv., Paris 1916, series xxii., text, p. 124, 3 sqq., 128, 3 sqq.; transl., p. 130, 2, 134; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leyden 1895, p. 30; 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḥ bain al-Firaḳ*, ed. Muḥ. Badr, Cairo 1328, p. 27, 15 sqq.; 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Riḳq Allāh al-Ras'ani, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Farḥ bain al-Firaḳ*, ed. F. Hitti, Cairo 1924, p. 36; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Aḥwā' wa 'l-Niḥāl*, Cairo 1317—1321, iv. 179, 21—23; Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh, *Bayān al-Adyān*, in Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, i. (*P. E. L. O. V.*, ii. series, vii., Paris 1883), 152, 15, 158, 1 (Danish transl. *Abū 'l-Ma'ālī: Fremstilling af Religionerne* oversat af Arthur Christensen, in *Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning*, N^o. 101, Copenhagen 1916, p. 31, 40); al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 111, 11 sqq.; 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djilānī, *al-Ghunya li-Tālibi Ṭarīḳ al-Ḥaḳḳ*, Cairo 1322, i. 100 *infra*; al-Makrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlak 1270, ii. 352, 1 sq.; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., V., N^o. 2, Berlin 1901), p. 93 sq.; I. Friedlaender, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, New Haven 1909 (from *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii., xxix.), ii. 35 sqq.; Fr. Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de Shi'istiske Bevaegelser under Umajjaderne* (*Oversigt over det Kgl. Danske Videnskabs Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1910, N^o. 5), p. 10 sq.; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², Heidelberg 1925, p. 217; C. van Aren-donk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 12, note 3.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

KURAIISH. 1. Before the Hijra. About the time of the Hijra all the clans of this tribe, which then held pride of place in Mecca, thought they could claim a common ancestor. Was he called Fihir or Kuraish or perhaps al-Naḍr, surnamed *Ḳuraish*? They did not take the trouble to examine closely the problem of the name. Did the names given to the eponymous ancestor refer to a historical personage? Were they not "names without substance" like those which the Meccans according to Ḳur'an liii. 23 gave to their divinities? The only authority, the *nassāba*, the Meccan genea-

logists, could give was that they had found them in the old onomasticon of Tihāma and in poems of doubtful authenticity. Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 79) summing up the statements of his predecessors, thinks the explanation which derives the name of the celebrated Meccan tribe from the word *ḡuraish* "shark" *bārid* i.e. worthless. He further adds that the poetical fragment cited in support of this etymology is *maṣnū'*, apocryphal, and I think it can be recognised as a Beduin satire directed against the rapacity and aggressive spirit of Muḥammad's fellow-tribesmen.

In any case, there is nothing of which we know less than the very modest beginnings of the imperial tribe of Ḳuraish. The groups of Semites, leading a nomadic life in the desolate country round Mecca, have always been looked upon as the most disinherited of western Arabia. In the confused mass of starving Beduins of the southern Hidjāz, the Ḳuraish formed in their early days one of the poorest branches of those who claimed to belong to the main stem of the Kināna. Numerically inconsiderable, lost among the Kināni tribes, the primitive clan of the Ḳuraish led a precarious existence "in the depths of wild ravines and among the bare mountains encircling the sacred territory" (Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*), — made up of shepherds and robbers, by turns the auxiliaries and the scourge of Meccan commerce. They hired to the Meccans their camels and lent their services as guides and caravan-leaders; in a word they played the part assumed by the Banū Hudhail [q. v.] in the time of Abū Sufyān and again at the present day. No more scrupulous than the latter, they never hesitated about stripping pilgrims and isolated convoys. They steadily prepared and watched for an opportunity of driving out of Mecca the Banū Khuzā'a who ruled there and of seizing their treasure which they coveted.

A condottiere called Kuṣaiy [q. v.] gave them a place in history and laid the foundations of their political career. He was of foreign origin and came from the steppes of the north, on the Syrian frontier. A fiction connects him with the genealogical tree of the Fihir-Ḳuraish through Ḥalīb-Lu'āiy-Ka'b and Kilāb. This adventurer reunited the scattered groups of the tribe and succeeded by a coup de main in installing them in the heart of Mecca. The *Sira* gives only a confused explanation of how, led by Kuṣaiy, the Ḳuraish were not long in securing political supremacy over the Khuzā'a, a predominance which they soon strengthened still further by gaining possession of the sanctuary of the Ka'ba. If we may base a conclusion on such slender foundations as the traditional genealogical lists, and calculate from the number of generations mentioned in them, this revolution must have taken place in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D., a hundred years before the birth of the Prophet. At the latter date then, barely a century separated the Ḳuraish, now Meccans, from the period when their ancestors had led a nomadic life.

Some ten clans were considered as Ḳuraish in those days: Omaiya, Nawfal, Zuhra, Makhzūm, Asad, Djumaḥ, Sahm, Hāshim, Taim and 'Adiy. The three last named owe their fame mainly to Islām, even Hāshim, although, like Omaiya it was related to Kuṣaiy, the noble who brought them to Mecca. This noble descent did not bring great fortune to the Hāshimis. The Omaiya and

Makhzūmis gained predominance over the other families through their wealth and influence. The ten clans began by occupying the centre of the town, the bottom of the valley *al-Baḥā'*, into which issued the water of Zamzam, the hollow in which stood the little house of the Ka'ba. This gained them the name of "Abṭahī, Biṭāhī" or "Ḳuraish al-Biṭāh". They kept it even after the impoverished clans like the Hāshim, had had to abandon this central position which was considered the quarter of the Ḳuraish aristocracy.

The "Ḳuraish al-Zawāhir" were held in much less esteem. The *Zawāhir* or suburbs of the town and the *shib* ravines of the hills which surrounded the town were left to the Beduins, to foreign camp-followers and to slaves. It seems that the "Ḳuraish of the suburbs" were mixed with these foreign elements. As regards bravery, they were creditably distinguished from their fellow-tribesmen of the Baḥā'. They provided the Meccan republic with its bravest soldiers and never failed to make the most of it. The main occupation of every one in the centre as well as in the suburbs was trade. "They were merchants": this phrase reappears with monotonous regularity in the notices of the more illustrious Ḳuraish.

The *Sira* and *Hadith* preserve the memory of several confederations (*hilf*) or secondary groupings formed among the principal clans of the Ḳuraish. They have been discussed in the article *HILF*. The *hilf al-fuḍūl* seem to be associated with a historical event of which the Meccan chroniclers have exaggerated the importance. This pact must date from the last years of the sixth century, since the Prophet in his youth was present at its conclusion and never failed in consequence to recall it, "the most glorious which history records" (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, i. 82).

Outside of Tihāma, the Ḳuraish seem to have had trading colonies at Tabāla, Djurash, Nadjrān, stages on the road to the ports of the Indian Ocean. Much the most important of these was Ṭā'if [q. v.] in the mountains of Sarāt. It was a country resort for the rich bankers of the Ḳuraish, who acquired country houses and farms there.

If we examine orthodox tradition, the Beduins before the Hidjra are represented as never missing an opportunity of recognising the political and religious superiority of the Ḳuraish. The latter was practically guaranteed to them by the possession of the Ka'ba, a kind of national sanctuary and centre of an annual pilgrimage for the western half of the Peninsula. The Christian Arabs themselves do not seem to have entirely escaped this religious influence. The prerogative of *hilm* was not disputed to the Ḳuraish. They owe to it the fact that they were able, in spite of their small numbers and their barren territory, to exercise a kind of spiritual supremacy among the jealous Beduins. It is again the *hilm*, as we shall see, which explains their glorious destinies on the vast theatre on which the sudden expansion of Islām was soon to place them. *Hilm* meant the equilibrium of the intellectual faculties, all intent on the business of life to the neglect of scientific speculation. Nothing is more common than the mention of this ruling quality in the notices of the notables of the Ḳuraish. This prerogative, which in the opinion of Arabs, denotes men born to govern, has even been said to have been proclaimed by the Prophet. "A Ḳuraish", he said

"is worth two men of any other tribe". And according to al-Zuhri [q. v.], himself a Kuraish, this saying referred to their acuteness "the rare quality of their intelligence". In them the Beduins admired the diplomatic ability, the style of speaking, the ready rejoinders always à propos, the precision of their eloquence. They were able to condense into a few telling sentences, when the Beduin as a rule would lapse into his usual prolixity. The purity of their dialect was less generally granted. It was Islām and in particular the influence of the Qurʾān which gained the Meccan dialect its triumph over its rivals in Najd, although the latter had been refined and perfected by several generations of poets.

Although they did not love them, the nomads felt for the Kuraish that respect which is inspired in the inferior for the prestige of a superior organisation, capital and the possession of great wealth. In Mecca alone were the Beduins familiar with the idea — rudimentary, it is true, — of a form of government and political solidarity concepts foreign to their individualist mentality, and it impressed them by its novelty. But in this intellectual superiority which impressed them more than they would have cared to acknowledge, the Beduins declined to acknowledge poetic talent, which they claimed as a monopoly of the nomads. They placed the Kuraish rhymers far behind those of Tāʾif and particularly of Medīna, not to speak of the poets of Najd and not without justice. We know no poet of Mecca before the Hidjra whose name is worthy of record. The Kuraish had for the first time in the person of ʿOmar b. Abī Rabiʿa [q. v.] a poet worthy of a place in the Arab Parnassus already quite crowded.

The Beduins also did not like the exclusiveness of the Kuraish and the control they exercised over their everyday life. Acting as guides, and convoys to Meccan caravans, and in debt to the financiers of Mecca, they alleged they were exploited by the "sharks" of the Kuraish. It is the eternal complaint that divides capital and labour everywhere. Their grievances united them in the contempt they professed to feel for this corporation of merchants, "cowardly and avaricious". Their poets boast of having pierced the wineskins, then broken the skulls of these greedy hagglers, "eaters of pollenta" (*sakhīna*), the favourite dish of the Meccans. They boasted of being able to humble the pride of the Kuraish, proud in the shadow of their sanctuary, trembling with fear outside the sacred territory. The Meccan custom of relying on the bravery of the "Aḥābiṣh" and other Beduin mercenaries, of sending negroes to fight for them was not calculated to raise them in the esteem of the nomads, and a quarter of a century after the death of the Prophet, we still find the Arabs refusing to allow the Kuraish the virtue of bravery.

We may put to the credit of Muslim tradition the story of the general supremacy of the Kuraish being accepted without demur by the Arabs before the Hidjra. This legend was put about to make the seizure of the caliphate by the Kuraish appear less shocking. Considering the individuality and mentality of the Beduin, it may have been rather a question of moral supremacy. Did it extend much beyond the frontiers of the Hīdžāz and the districts bounding on Najd? We do not think so. The great Kaṣi confederacies — like the Hawāzin and the Ghatafān — possessing pasturage on both

sides of the common frontier could not escape this supremacy. Since the decline of the Hīmyar principalities, Mecca had become the largest and most powerful city of western Arabia. The spectacle of this power solidly based on a close alliance of economic and religious interests could not fail to impress the Beduins, who were intelligent observers and very susceptible to the prestige and influence of the capital.

The activities of the ancient Kuraish consisted as we have seen of commercial and financial speculations within and beyond Arabia. In the article MECCA we describe the trade-routes that ran to it, and the agreements concluded by its people with their neighbours in Arabia and foreign countries; next we examine the form of government, the part played by capital and lastly the organisation of the great caravans on which the prosperity of the Kuraish metropolis depended. The reader may be here referred to this article.

II. After the Hidjra. With the preaching of Muḥammad the story of the Kuraish becomes practically that of Islām. The two histories become one. The *Sīra* does not discriminate between them. On the other hand, after the death of the Prophet, the destinies of the Kuraish develop independently of those of Mecca. After having bitterly opposed the new religion, the Kuraish notables gained control of it as being in their best interests. The first eight years of the Hidjra were filled with fighting with the Prophet, who had taken refuge in Medīna. In the year 8 (*al-fath*), the surrender of Mecca without a blow being struck put an end to the institutions by which the tribe had hitherto been governed and brought about its break up and dispersal throughout the Arab world. To the casual observer, nothing seemed to have changed. In reality Mecca had lost its autonomy; it was now politically dependent on Medīna and governed by an agent of the Prophet. The Kuraish were under no delusions. The exodus began; the principal families gave the signal for it and came to settle in Medīna, which had become the capital of Islām, because Muḥammad was there.

The death of the Prophet raised the problem of his successor, the question of the caliphate. Two illustrious Kuraishis, Abū Bakr and ʿOmar seem to have foreseen this eventuality and to have been prepared for it. Upon whom was the political guidance of Islām to fall? Muḥammad had left no stipulations on the subject. But his constant partiality for his fellow-citizens, who had fled from Mecca, had aroused the protests of the Anṣār, which are preserved in the poems of Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.]. There seems no reason to doubt that if death had not suddenly taken him, if he had thought it prudent to express his opinion, it would have been to the "emigrants" of the Kuraish in preference to the Anṣār that he would have entrusted the destinies of Islām. Throughout his career as a prophet, he had never ceased to proclaim himself a true Kuraishī. In spite of the Hidjra, in spite of the resounding rupture and the eight years of war with Mecca, he never for a moment thought of linking his cause with the fortunes of Medīna. If this idea had arisen in his very susceptible mind, he would not have been long in rejecting it, when he saw the political incapacity of the Anṣār and their lack of preparation. As if he wished to suggest

to them the superiority of the Ḳuraish, the Prophet made the Medinites turn in prayer towards Mecca, now the sacred city of Islām and made its conquest a task for the zealous converts.

That the Ḳuraish had the exclusive right to this succession must have been the attitude adopted by Abū Bakr and 'Omar before the Anṣār assembled in the *ṣakīfa* of the Banū Sā'idā. What we can gather from the arguments put in the mouth of Abū Bakr is that, speaking in the name of the Ḳuraish refugees, he insisted upon their priority in adopting Islām, the superiority of their noble blood, their prestige with the Arabs and their relationship to the Prophet. From these premises, the speaker thought he could deduce that his fellow tribesmen had a monopoly of the supreme power. He concluded by proposing a division to the Anṣār: "let us have the duties of an amir and you those of vizier". But after having appealed to the Ḳur'ān (ix. 101) where the supremacy of the Ḳuraish is said to be implied, why was an explicit decision of the Prophet not put forward? One word would have sufficed instead of all this rhetoric. For a childlike people like the Anṣār, accustomed for ten years to anticipate the slightest wish of Muḥammad, his will would have finished the debate. If Abū Bakr did not pronounce this word, if none of his acolytes appealed to it, we must believe there was no such decision.

The *Summa* took this into account when it tried to collect all the pronouncements possible ascribed to Muḥammad and all recorded by the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Let us quote the most characteristic of these ḥadīths: "The Ḳuraish are the heads of this government". "The Imāms are Ḳuraish". "Power will remain with the Ḳuraish so long as two Muslims exist". "The kingship (*mulk*)" — and still more explicitly — "the caliphate remains in the Ḳuraish". In the last sentence we have the classical formula as approved by the Shari'a and accepted by all orthodox tradition. The latter however had not dared appeal to the Ḳur'ān. This book simply makes no reference to the Ḳuraish monopoly. In reply to the verses quoted in their favour by the Meccans, the Anṣār readily quoted a multitude of others, proclaiming the unworthiness and faithlessness of their Ḳuraish rivals.

It cannot however be denied that the Prophet had a preference for the Ḳuraish nor that he had a low opinion of the fitness of the Anṣār for governing. But he was too wise to give voice to such sentiments. He knew too well the causes of dissension that were already at work in the young community to do anything to make matters worse. In the course of his wars with the Meccans, he had let drop remarks like the following: "In good as in evil, the Ḳuraish are always in the first rank". It is by recording exactly such utterances, and giving them a political significance, which they did not really have, that tradition has formulated *ḥadīth* unambiguously reserving the caliphate for the Ḳuraish. If they had the slightest knowledge of it, the Anṣār would not have been able to dispute the Ḳuraish monopoly nor to propose to Abū Bakr to recognise it on condition that the supreme dignity was held alternately by a Meccan and a Medinite.

This seems also to be the conclusion to be deduced from the attitude of the Khāridjīs. If in the first century of the Hidjra, we want to find strict

and logical believers, placing Islām above caste prejudices and ambitions, we have to look for them in the ranks of these dissenters. Their implacable logic never ceased to protest against the privileges claimed by the Ḳuraish and to give more weight to their protests, they gave themselves caliphs chosen from different Arab tribes.

Although they did not hold the same views as the Khāridjīs, the 'Alids and Shī'īs came inevitably to the same conclusion. This is how in the first century A.H. their most authorised interpreter, Kumait [q.v.], argued the claims of the 'Alids; if contrary to the Shī'ī theory, the supreme dignity in Islām is no longer the exclusive privilege of the family of the Prophet, it ought to become the common patrimony of all the Arab tribes, not only of Muḍar but also of Rabī'a and Yemen and above all of the Anṣār. These extreme legitimists therefore were ignorant of the alleged veto laid by Muḥammad on non-Ḳuraish.

The creation and monopoly of the Ḳuraish, the caliphate — while greatly benefiting the Ḳuraish individually — only served to precipitate the break up and dispersal of the tribe, a phenomenon, the beginnings of which we have already seen just after the *fath* (8 A.H.). Their cohesion and the prosperity of the capital Mecca depended entirely on commerce. Now in a quite unexpected fashion, at least for the Beduins, the conquests of Islām upset all the economic conditions of Western Arabia. The direct route from India via Mesopotamia was opened up again by the reunion under one rule of the valley and mouth of the Euphrates, and international trade avoided the difficult detour by the Arabian desert. Nothing could be less like the Mecca of Abū Sufyān than that of the Caliph 'Omar. The continental blockade established by the Prophet after the battle of Badr, was slackened; then his death suddenly stopped business going to Mecca. One after another the neighbouring fairs, e.g. that of 'Okāz were suppressed — at least there is no further mention of them after the *fath* of Mecca. Deserted by commerce, the barren valley of Mecca, strangled as in a vice between two ranges of bare hills, could not maintain its former inhabitants, all brokers, caravaners and traders for generations past. Gradually shops and offices closed and their owners came to Medina, now the capital of the caliphate, to rejoin their fellow-citizens who had made new positions for themselves there.

The old Ḳuraish had foreseen this decline. They had talked of it to Muḥammad when their ardent fellow-townsmen had urged them to adopt Islām. These shrewd conservatives were reluctant to upset the religious and social institutions to which they attributed the prosperity of their town. "Allāh will not fail to provide", the Prophet replied, "He will furnish them ample compensation; he will enrich them of His abundance when He thinks the time has come" (Ḳur'ān ix. 28; xxviii. 57). Among the less prominent Ḳuraish families a small number were ready to await the promised compensation on the spot. Apart from the period of the annual pilgrimage, the town did not begin really to revive until the day when under the Omayyads the Ḳuraish officials, enriched by the exploitation of the provinces, came to enjoy their retirement in Mecca, spent their wealth there and as a result attracted thither poets and musicians whose presence was to turn the sacred city into a city of pleasure.

But the attraction exercised by the new capital in Medina was not at first very great. After the election of Abū Bakr, the old members of the *Dār al-Nadwa* or grand council of the Ḳuraish flocked thither, all the merchant princes of Mecca. They understood the necessity of becoming reconciled to the old friends of the Prophet, now the arbiters of power, while waiting the time when they could supplant those novices in the art of ruling. The reiterated appeals of the Ḳurʾān to emigrate in the direction of Allāh and his Prophet, had for long fallen on deaf ears. It required the revolution, the economic crisis produced by the triumph of Islām and the prospect, depressing to business men of "eating their capital" by letting it lie unproductive in their strong boxes. This prospect led them to discover the economic advantages and the spiritual merits of the "Hidjra", the migration of the Muslims. But these "emigrants" of the eleventh hour were not destined to find a suitable milieu for their business enterprise among the Anṣārs. The Omayyad and Maḥzūmī financiers did not succeed in setting up their offices once more in the oasis of Yathrib. The future had something better in store for them.

This was the period of the conquests which by opening up the eastern provinces to them was to introduce them to a stage of new and manifold activities. Henceforth they were to command armies, to govern provinces and for several centuries, to rule the whole Arab empire. One marvels at the number of remarkable men who sprang from this city of shop-keepers and tried their skill in careers hitherto unknown to them, such as governors and generals. What is no less surprising than the novelty of these roles is the aptitude and decision of character with which they filled them — and this prevents us from regarding the Ḳuraish founders of the caliphate as mere novices. The fact is that for them, commerce on a large scale as it had been practised in Mecca before the Hidjra had been for them a long preparation for a political career.

When therefore Muḥammad thought of entrusting the destinies of Islām to them, his patriotism had not exaggerated the capacity of his fellow-citizens. He had the ability to foresee that the prestige of Mecca, the influence which it had exerted in the centuries before Islām, had gone to give the Meccans intellectual predominance. "In the period of paganism, the Ḳuraish had completed their education. It was to fit them to govern the Arabs, at a time when the latter were dominating the world. They ceased to be Meccans but they remained Ḳuraish" (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 94).

This brings us to say that after the creation of the caliphate, the history of the tribe of Ḳuraish is separate from that of the town of Mecca. It develops at first in Medina, — which by the first century A.H. had become as Ḳuraish as Mecca, — then beyond Arabia, in Syria, Damascus, Baghdād and in the conquered provinces. The history of the Ḳuraish diaspora becomes merged in that of the Omayyads, 'Abbāsids, various families of Sharifs or descendants of Muḥammad. Of these princely lines, those descended from 'Alī and Fāṭima, after the overthrow of the 'Alid caliphate in the 'Irāk, alone returned to Arabia, to settle, not in Mecca but in Medina. They found there several Hāshimī families, among others the descendants of Dja'far b.

Abū Ṭālib [q. v.]. The Ḥasanids were the stock from which descended the dynasty of Grand Sharifs of Mecca. The Ḥusainids held for some time the amirate of Medina. Another 'Alid dynasty, that of the Zaidis, descended from Zaid, grandson of Ḥusain b. 'Alī, is still ruling in Yemen. All these 'Alid families soon multiplied enormously within and beyond Arabia. They produced the innumerable sharifs and sayids who filled the Muslim world. In Arabia some returned to the nomadic life and there we have the spectacle of Ḥasanid sharifs leading bands of brigands, and infesting the main routes.

In the xiiith century A.D. the Spanish traveller Ibn Dujair (*Rihla*, ed. Wright, p. 73—74) testifies to the great number of Ḥasanids, Ḥusainids and Dja'farids scattered over the Hidjāz, as well to the depths of poverty into which many of them had sunk. Even before this time, if we may believe a text quoted by Snouck Hurgronje (*Mekka*, i. 42) we would have to admit that as a result of the continual revolts of the 'Alids and the rigorous measures they provoked against them, the Ḳuraish element in the population of Mecca had been practically exterminated. Ya'qūbī (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 327) who discovers everywhere in Syria the presence of Arab tribes notes in Southern Lebanon, towards Ṣaidā, a Ḳuraish group, but does not mention whether it was important or not. The geographer Hamdāni mentions others in Naǧd, at Tabāla and at other parts of the Yemen. Those of Hamdān were renowned for their bravery (*Djazirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 119, 122, 165, 194, 258). Among the tribes settled in the east of Mecca, Burckhardt (*Voyages en Arabie*, transl. Eyriès, iii. 307) mentions Ḳuraish. According to him: "of this famous tribe there are only left 300 men capable of bearing arms. In spite of their great name and ancient fame, they are little thought of by the other Beduins. They camp in the neighbourhood of Mount 'Arafāt'.

At the present day, apart from the Sharifs, as regards true Ḳuraish we find only the Shaibi at Mecca, the guardians from time immemorial of the keys of the Ka'ba, at least if we do not accept their problematical descent from the anti-caliph 'Abdallāh b. Zubair [q. v.].

Bibliography: This is given in the article MEKKA. (H. LAMMENS)

ḲURAIṢH B. BADRĀN, 'ALAM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ALĪ, an 'Uḵailid. After the death of Badrān in 425 (1033/1034) Ḳuraish was recognised as lord of Naṣibin. In the struggle between his two uncles, Ḳarwāsh [q. v.] and Abū Kāmil, he took the former's part. After the death of Abū Kāmil in 443 (1052) al-Mawṣil and Naṣibin were united under the rule of Ḳuraish. Soon afterwards 444 (1052/1053) he became involved in a war with his brother al-Muḵallad and another 'Uḵailid, Kāmil. The war did not last long and the situation remained unchanged. In 446 (1054/1055) Ḳarwāsh recaptured the town of al-Anbār, which really belonged to the 'Uḵailids but had been seized in Ḳarwāsh's time by al-Basāsiri [q. v.] governor of Baghdād, and had the *ḵuṭba* read there in the name of the Saldjūk Ṭoḡhrilbeg. In Dhu 'l-Hidjja of the same year however al-Basāsiri advanced on al-Anbār and laid siege to the town, which very soon surrendered to him. When Ṭoḡhrilbeg entered Baghdād 447 (1055) al-Basāsiri left the capital, but when he

reappeared at the head of a large army and declared for the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustansīr, Ṭoḡhrilbeg sent his cousin Ḳutulmush against him. The powerful Amīr Dubais b. 'Alī b. Mazyad had joined al-Basāsiri wherupon Ḳuraiṣh who had long been devoted to the Saldjūk Sultān joined the latter. At the end of Shawwāl 448 (beg. January 1057) al-Basāsiri and Dubais inflicted a severe defeat on the troops of Ṭoḡhrilbeg near Sindjār; Ḳutulmush escaped but Ḳuraiṣh was wounded and had to surrender. Ṭoḡhrilbeg himself then took the field and seized the town of Takrit which belonged to the 'Ukailids. After his brother Yaḳūtī had joined him at the beginning of 449 (1057), al-Mawṣil also was occupied whereupon the Sultān himself set out for Naṣibin and sent his general Hazārasp with another army against Dubais and Ḳuraiṣh. They were defeated and had to sue for peace. While Dubais returned to his own territory, Ḳuraiṣh joined al-Basāsiri who had settled in al-Rahba. In 450 (1058) the two latter regained Mawṣil, but again abandoned it on the approach of Ṭoḡhrilbeg from Baghdād. The Sultān, who did not find them in al-Mawṣil set out after them and followed them to Naṣibin; when however he had to turn his attention to his brother Ibrāhīm whom he suspected of rebellious intentions, al-Basāsiri and Ḳuraiṣh advanced against him. The followers of the Sultān tried in vain to defend the capital; in Dhu 'l-Ka'da of the same year (Dec. 1058) al-Basāsiri entered Baghdād and the caliph al-Ḳā'im had to take refuge with Ḳuraiṣh, who brought him to safety. Al-Basāsiri could only hold out for a year, when Ṭoḡhrilbeg put an end to his rule. Ḳuraiṣh died in 453 (1061) as lord of Naṣibin and al-Mawṣil at the age of 51.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 376, 397, 402, 412 sq., 430—434, 439—445; x. 10; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iv. 264—267; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 88, 92, 96—101, 105; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, ii. 12 sq., 15 sq., 24. Cf. also the article AL-MUḲALLAD B. AL-MUSAIYAB in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 745, transl. de Slane, iii. 415 sqq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ḲURAIẒA, BANU, one of the three Jewish tribes of Yaṭhrib, related to the Banu 'l-Naḍir. The two tribes together bore the name of Banu Darīh, and were said to have settled in Yaṭhrib much later than the other Jews. In what proportion their original Palestinian stock had intermixed with the Arabs, it is not possible to say, but al-Ya'ḳūbi's statement that both tribes were only hebraized *Djudhām* (Ḳudā'a), is not credible.

The Banu ḲuraiẒa consisted of two branches: Banu Ka'b and Banu 'Amr; they resided outside the city on the southern side, along the Wādi Mahzār, with the sister-tribe of Ḥadāl, having the Aws Allāh on the N.W., the Banu 'Abd al-Ashhal on the N.E. and the Ḥarra on the E. Landowners and cultivators, the ḲuraiẒa had brought agriculture to a high degree of development, and lived prosperously on the products of the soil and their commerce. At the time of Muḥammad's arrival in Madīna, they had 750 warriors, and possessed large stores of arms and armour.

Allied, like the Naḍir, to the Banu Aws, they had fought on their side in the battle of Bu'āth [q.v.], which took place on their territory a few years before the Hījra.

In Muḥammad's communal constitution they, like the other Jewish tribes, are not mentioned by name, but appear only as allies of different sections of the Aws (art. 25, 30, 31 and 47).

Their attitude towards the Prophet was hostile from the first, like that of the other Jews (see above article *ḲAINUḲĀ'*, and ap. Ibn Hishām, p. 352, a list of Muḥammad's Ḳuraiẓi enemies), but no definite break took place until the siege of Madīna (Dhu 'l-Ka'da, 5 A.H.), when the ḲuraiẒa, who in the beginning had contributed spades and baskets to the digging of the trench, withdrew their support. According to tradition Huyayī b. Akhtab, sent by Abū Sufyān, had succeeded in gaining the support of their chief, Ka'b b. Asad, despite a written treaty of alliance with Muḥammad. The Prophet sent Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and two others to ascertain their attitude: they returned after a stormy interview, confirming the ḲuraiẒa's defection.

The latter seem to have planned an attack on Madīna, together with the Ḳuraiṣh and Ḡhaṭafān; it was not executed through lack of mutual confidence, and their only exploit was an unsuccessful night-expedition of eleven men. Having failed to reach an agreement with the Ḳuraiṣh, who refused to give them hostages in exchange for military support, the ḲuraiẒa finally abandoned the campaign, thus hastening its end.

This traditional version is open to many doubts: the existence of a particular treaty with Muḥammad does not seem plausible, as his relations with the ḲuraiẒa were already defined by the communal constitution, it was probably invented to justify the action taken against them. Their support of the Ḳuraiṣh appears to have been of a purely negative character, on the other hand it is easy to see how the important position they occupied on the side of the town not defended by the trench practically put Madīna at their mercy. One of the fortresses incorporated in the line of defence, Rātidj, belonged to Jews (tribe unknown), and formed a dangerously weak point in the Muslims' position. All these circumstances caused much anxiety and hatred of the Jews during the siege, suggesting immediate action against them: on the very day of the Ḳuraiṣh's departure Muḥammad was ordered by Gabriel not to lay down arms until he had punished the ḲuraiẒa; the siege of their fortresses lasted the same evening (23rd Dhu 'l-Ka'da), and lasted 15 or 25 days, with an active exchange of arrows, stones and strong language, but no casualties.

Having at last decided to surrender, the ḲuraiẒa asked for the same conditions as obtained by the Banu 'l-Naḍir, but were told they must yield without condition, giving up all they possessed. They turned to their ally and protector Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, hoping through his intercession to emigrate, but he gave them to understand that the situation was desperate, and that inevitable surrender would be followed by destruction. His repentance for having revealed to them their lot, seems to show that Muḥammad did not intend the ḲuraiẒa to suspect how they would be treated; the Prophet's conduct on this occasion is far from clear and certainly not blameless.

Having surrendered without attempting any resistance, the ḲuraiẒa were separated from their women and children, and put under custody. The Aws interceded on their behalf, and obtained that

their fate should be decided by their own chief, Sa'd b. Mu'adh; the latter, however, not daring to cross what he knew to be the Prophet's wishes, decreed that all males who had reached puberty should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. On the morrow, in the market-place, from 600 to 900 men were beheaded, the execution lasting all day. It is worthy of note that only four chose to save their lives by conversion.

The women and children were sold at auction, mostly in Madina, the remaining in Syria and Najd, and the price divided in the usual way of spoils. Their land was partitioned into five portions: one went to Muḥammad, and the various families, divided into four groups, drew lots for the rest. Among the captives Muḥammad chose for himself Raiḥāna bint Zaid al-Naḍariya.

The exceptional cruelty shown to the Kuraiza, as compared with the other Jewish tribes, is due to the fact that they had remained alone and defenceless, and to their wavering, feeble, and altogether unwarlike behaviour. This last circumstance makes it all the less probable that they ever took an active part in the hostilities against Madina.

Several passages in the Qur'an are referred to the Kuraiza; see especially viii. 60 and xxxiii. 26—27.

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For references to Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dā'ūd, etc., see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, under Kuraiza. (V. VACCA)

KURAMA, according to Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, vol. ii., p. 924) "a Turkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i. e. Kazak) word *kurama* (from *kura*, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (*Aus Sibirien*², Leipzig 1893, i. 225) Radloff himself says that the Kurama are "a mixed people of Özbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (*kura* to "patch together"). According to Radloff, the Kurama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khodjand, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Ähengerän) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose in the xviiith century; the same view has been put forward by Aristow (*Zamietki ob etničeskoi sostavie tyurkskikh plemen*, etc., St. Petersburg 1897, p. 112) and more recently by I. Zarubin (*Spisok narodnostei Turkestanskogo Kraja*, St. Petersburg 1925, p. 12). But as early as 1045 (1635—1636) in the

description of the wars between the Kazak and Özbegs on the Angren we find the "leaders of the Kurama" (*sardārān-i Kūrāmā*) mentioned (Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-Asrār*, Ind. Off. 575, f. 119a). Under the rule of the Khāns of Khokand in the xixth century the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khokand to Tashkent over the Kendir-Dawan pass was called the Kurama road (*Rāh-i Kūrāma*, e. g. *Ta'rikh-i Shāh-rukhi*, ed. Pantusow, Kazan 1885, p. 238). The Kurama were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Keručī (in the written language Kirāwčī; on Russian maps also Kelyaučī). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Russian rule. In the division of the territory (*oblast*) of Sīr-Darya into districts (*uezd*), what later (after 1886) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (*Kuraminskij uezd*). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toi-Tübe founded in the reign of Madali Khān (1822—1842; cf. **KHOKAND**) (here are the ruins of a mediaeval fortress examined in 1885 by Professor Veselovskiy); but the district headman (*uesdnij načal'nik*) actually lived at Küylük on the Čirčik. Under Russian as under Khokand rule the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing. Russian ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i. e. Qazaq) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, q. v.). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

To this day this can be noticed among them; unlike the Sarts, the Kurama live, like the Qazaq, in yurts; their wives as with the Qazaq are unveiled. In other respects however the Kurama have advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time Radloff and other students could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Radloff there were five of these: Djulaür, Teläü (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Djagalbaif and Taraklı. This division is now quite lost; where traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer — as among the Qazaq — considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised; besides the mixture of different stocks among them there has been, according to Zarubin (*op. cit.*) a mixture of different social ranks. The Kurama themselves do not use this name although they do with the addition of another ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of the Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Kurama) was in 1917: 52,335; in 1920: 49,697 (but in recent years there has of course been a decline in numbers of the population in Turkistān generally on account of the great famine). There are further some 9,330 Kurama in the district of Khodjand. The word with the meaning of "mixed people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

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Petersburg 1880, i. 328; V. Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, Petersburg 1913, p. 306 and 607; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, Index, esp. p. 10 sq.; N. Mallickiy in *Protokol' Turk. Kruzhka Lyub. Arkh.*, 1898, iii, p. 176 sq. (W. BARTHOLD)

KURĀNĪ (also GURĀNĪ), SHAMS AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ISMĀ'ĪL, MOLLĀ, a celebrated Ottoman jurist and author. Mollā Kurānī belonged to Shehrizūr [q. v.] in Kurdistan. He studied in Cairo, where he met Mollā Yekān (i. e. Mehmed b. Er-maghān b. Khalil, cf. Tashköprüzade-Medjdi, *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, i. 99 sqq.; Sa'd al-Dīn, ii. 438 sqq.) who brought him to Asia Minor and introduced him to Sultān Murād II. He was appointed professor at the Kāplıdja and later at the Bāyazid mosque of Brussa and then entrusted with the education of prince Mehmed, afterwards Sultān, who was then governor in Maghnisa (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 244 sqq.). When Mehmed came to the throne, Mollā Kurānī declined the vizierate offered him, but took the office of *kādi-asker* (855 = 1451). When deprived of this office, he went as *kādi* and administrator of the pious foundations to Brussa, but came into conflict with the Sultān, whom he always met boldly, was dismissed and returned to Egypt. Sultān Kā'itbey received him with honour and distinction. Mehmed II recalled him in 872 (1467) and in 885 (1480) made him *Shaikh* al-Islām in Sımbul. Here he died in 893 (1488) after a long illness. Sultān Bāyazid II paid his debts amounting to 180,000 *akçe* [q. v.] out of the treasury. Mollā Kurānī, who is described as a tall man with a long beard, was buried at Yüsek Kāldırm in Galaṭa in the court of a mosque founded by him (cf. Hāfiz Hüsain, *Hadıkat al-Dıawāni*, i. 207; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 89, N^o. 445). A quarter of Sımbul bears his name but it is usually pronounced *Gürānī*. Mollā Kurānī wrote a number of poems and important works of exegesis, of which the most important are *Shāyāt al-Amānī fī Tafsīr sab'a al-Mathānī* and *al-Kawthar al-djāri 'alā Riyāḍ al-Bukhārī* on Bukhārī's work on *Hadıth* and other works on Kurānic studies. Mollā Kurānī was a Shāfi'ī but became a Ḥanafī at the request of Murād II.

Bibliography: Tashköprüzade-Medjdi, *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, i. 102—111; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādij al-Tawārikh*, ii. 441—449 (with numerous anecdotes); Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *Othmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 3; İlmīye Sālnāmesi, Sımbul 1334, p. 334 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 532, ii. 244, 589; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 228 sq. (with list of some of his works, more fully in Mehmed Tāhir, *op. cit.*); Rif'at, *Dawḥat al-Mashā'ikh*, Sımbul n. d., p. 20 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KURBĀN, sacrifice. The word goes back to the Hebrew *korban*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Mingana, *Syriac Influence on the Kurān* in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. xi, N^o. 1, p. 85; S. Fränkel, *De vocabulis in . . . corano peregrinis*, p. 20). The language of the Kurān, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in *-ān* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This is true of *kurban*, which occurs three times in the Kurān. In Sūra iii. 179 and v. 30 it obviously means sacrifice. In Sūra xlvı. 27, however we read: "Did

those help them, whom they had taken for *kurban* as gods to the exclusion of Allāh!" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *k-r-b* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" (cf. the article *SHAFĀ'A*).

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *hadıth*. The *Lisān* mentions two traditions which are striking enough: "The characteristic of the community (i. e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *kurban* is their blood", i. e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *şafā* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual to the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hıddja and the whole celebration on this and the following *tashrik* days is called '*İd al-Kurban*' (cf. '*İD AL-ADḤĀ*'), in Turkish speaking countries *Kurban-Bairam* (cf. *BAIRAM*).

In Christian-Arabic the word means the eucharist. — In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word *kurban*, plur. *karābin*, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king; the word probably comes directly from *k-r-b* "to be near" (see above). (A. J. WENSINCK)

KURBUKA, ABŪ SA'İD KAWĀM AL-DAWLĀ, lord of al-Mawşil. In the war waged by Tutush b. Alp Arslān, Barkiyārūk's uncle [q. v.], against the two rebellious governors Aḳ Sonḳor and Būzān which ended with the capture and execution of these two, the amir Kurbuḳa who had been sent to their help by Barkiyārūk was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Şafar 488 (February 1095) (cf. *BARKİYÄRÜK*), Kurbuḳa was released by his son Rıdqwān, and with his brother Altūntāsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Harrān. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Kuraish lord of Naşibin then applied to him for help against his brother 'Alī who had been appointed governor of al-Mawşil by Tutush; Kurbuḳa made an alliance with Muḥammad but had him murdered after he had seized Naşibin and set out against al-Mawşil, which 'Alī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhu 'l-Kāda 489 = Oct., Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawşil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altūntāsh and occupied al-Rāhla. In 491 (1098) Barkiyārūk sent him with a large army to retake Anṭākiya [q. v.] which had just been conquered by the Christians. Edessa, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuḳa on the way but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Anṭākiya. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers; Kurbuḳa's own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him. In the battle between Barkiyārūk and his brother Muḥammad in Radjab 493 (May—June 1100) which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuḳa commanded Barkiyārūk's left wing. In the following year he was sent to Aḡharbāldjān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country but when he was nearing the town of Khuwaiy, he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhu 'l-Kāda

495 (Aug—Sept. 1102) after appointing Soukordja his successor.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x., see index; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii. 290, 292, 308, 316, 322, 336; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 140, 151, 152, 154, 164—169. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

KURČI (from the Eastern Turkish, *kür*, "guard, defence", and suffix *-i* forming nouns indicating trades), he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. Turk. Or.*, p. 425), armourer; sword-cutter; troop of cavalry; captain of the watch; leader of a patrol; gendarmerie; governor of a fortress or of a town (Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughat-i Dhaḡhatāi*, p. 232); sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector (Vambéry, *Caghataische Sprachstudien*, p. 316).

Under the Šafawids, this word, borrowed by Persians, was applied to the bodyguard employed to protect the king's person, who accompanied him to war. After the battle of Čaldīrān, those who were taken prisoners were led before Selim I and massacred (J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottomane*, iv. 200).

Bibliography: Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, p. 25, N^o. 8 (Ch. Schefer).

(CL. HUART)

KURDISTAN, "land of the Kurds". The name can be regarded from two points of view: historical and ethnographical.

I. From the historical point of view the term Kurdistān seems to have been invented by the Salḡjuks as a name for the province including the lands between Āḡharbāidjān and Luristān (Senna, Dainawar, Hamadān, Kirmānshāh etc.) as well as certain a joining areas to the west of Zagros (Shahrizūr, Khuftiyan = Kōi-sandjak?). The capital of the province of Kurdistān was at first Bahār (N. E. of Hamadān) and later Sulṭānābād of Camčamāl (near Bisutūn). Its 16 cantons are enumerated by Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nushat al-Kulūb* (ed. Le Strange, p. 108).

This author also refers to western Kurdistān as Wilāyat-i Arman and Djazira (Arbil and Āmādiya forming part of the latter). In the Mongol period, we have in general little information about the mountainous region containing Hakkārī, Bohtān and Armenian Anti-Taurus. It is possible that in the west the term Kurdistān was at first applied to the region of Darsim, for according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 163, in official documents (*parwā-nadīāt wa-ahkām*) as well as among the Kurds themselves, the term *wilāyat-i Kurdistān* was applied particularly to the fief of Čamišgazak. But by the time of Timur, the *Zafar-nāma*, i. 686, speaks of the Amir of Bidlis as the most important man in all *bilād-i Kurdistān*. In the history of Selim I (*Selim-nāma*, MS. of the Bibl. Nat. Pers. 285, fol. 109, v.) its author Hākīm Idris says that after returning from Tabriz, Selim ordered him to go through the whole country "starting from the beginning of the land of the Kurds (*bilād-i Akrād*), i. e. from Urmia and Ushnū to Āmid and Malāṭiya" in order "to win over the princes and rulers of the country of Kurdistān (*ta'lif-i mulūk wa-hukkām-i mamālik-i Kurdistān*) and to ratify treaties and the protection granted them" (*uhūd wa-imān-i izzān*). Thus the use of the name became generalised and applied to the system of feudal Kurd fiefs, in Turkey as well as Persia; cf. the map in the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the *Travels* of Ewliyā-Čelebi,

iv. 74—75: *Kurdistān diyārī*. Gradually the affairs of Kurdistān were dealt with by the pashas of Diyārbakr, Vān, Baghdād, Erzerūm etc. (cf. Sāmī Bey, *Kāmiūs al-Ālām*, v. 3840). Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the administrative term "wilāyat of Kurdistān" is applied to the *livā* of Diyārbakr, Mush and Darsim; but as a general rule, official Ottoman nomenclature was based on the names of capitals and took no note of ethnographical terms (I have been unable to consult Mükrimin Kḡalil Bey's article on the scope of the term "Kurdistān" in *Yeni-Türk*, 1925, N^o. 21).

As regards early European maps (cf. the specimens in Khanzadian, *Rapport sur l'Unité géographique de l'Arménie*, *Atlas Historique*, Paris 1920, and the geographical analysis in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry by the League of Nations, c. 400, m. 147, 1925; vii., p. 23—28 and the map, N^o. 3), they seem to be based on the *Djihān-numā*, on memories of the ancient Corduene and perhaps on Armenian statements about the Korčaiḡh (cf. KURDS: Origins).

II. Whatever may have been the geographical application of the term "Kurdistān", it is evident that it has nothing to do with the actual dissemination of Kurdish people (cf. the article KURDS). The word Kurdistān in its common acceptance means simply the regions inhabited by Kurds, cf. the Persian expression *Kurdistān-i Khorāsān* referring to the Kurd colonies in Khorāsān. Now the country continuously occupied by Kurds is a strip of territory running from S. E. to N. W. Its length is about 600 miles (Luristān-Malāṭiya) and its breadth averaging 120 to 150 miles is greatest (250 miles) on the line Mawṣil-Ararat (cf. *Djihān-numā*, p. 445—449).

Before 1914, the Kurds were divided among Turkey, Persia and Russia. As a result of the treaty of March 16, 1921 concluded between Moscow and Angora, the majority of the Transcaucasian Kurds are now in Turkish territory. On the other hand by the final settlement of the Mawṣil problem, Turkey lost the Kurds of this wilāyet who are now in 'Irāḡ. In consequence the position at the present day is as follows:

A. In Persia where the position is best known, the Kurds occupy the provinces of Kirmānshāh [q. v.] and Senna [q. v.] as well as the southern part of Āḡharbāidjān (cf. SĀWDJ BULĀK) and the canton of Bidjān. The Kurds also occupy the mountainous region of the districts of Urmia (especially the cantons of: Ushnū, Mergewer, Dasht, Tergewer, Brādōst, Salmās [q. v.] (the cantons: Somāi [q. v.], Cahrik), Khōi (the cantons: Ķotūr, Aland) and Mākū (where the Kurds live on the slopes of Ararat). We find colonies of Kurds in Khorāsān (the khānats of Kūčān, Budjūnūd and Daragaz), in Kirmān, Fārs, northern Luristān, Pusht-i Kūh, Warāmin (near Teheran; cf. Brugsch, *Reise*, ii. 496), Ḳazwin, Mandjil (cf. Rabino, *R.M.M.*, xxvii., p. 259) etc. The number of Persian Kurds may be put at not more than 500,000.

B. As regards Turkey, it is at present (1927) impossible to evaluate fully the repercussions of the war on the geographical distribution of various peoples, such as the flight of the Kurds before Russian troops, the deportation of the Armenians, the expatriation to the 'Irāḡ of the Nestorians of Djūlāmerg, the punitive expeditions of the Turks into Darsim (1921) and to Kharpūt and Diyārbakr (1925). The map given by Sir Mark Sykes

(*The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 533) gives an approximate picture of the distribution of the Kurds in Turkey before the war. The principal centres of Kurds lie just along the Turco-Persian frontier (the cantons of Bāyazid, Bargîr, Maḥmūdiya, Albak, Gawar and Shamdinān). Kurds mingled with Christians inhabit the region round and south of Lake Wān as far as the Tigris. Between the Tigris and the Euphrates we find the Kurds mainly to the north of a line joining Feshābūr (below Djazīrat Ibn 'Omar) to Sumaisaṭ (above Biredjik). On the west the Kurds are found considerably across the Euphrates (Ritter, xi. 144). According to Trotter (1878) the limit of their expansion to the south-west was the line Diwrigi-Erzerūm-Ḳarş- (Eriwān). The Kurds are particularly numerous in the country south and west of Bidlis, in the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and in the fork formed by the two sources of the Euphrates. It should however be noted that between Arzingjan and Diyārbakr Kurds proper alternate with Zāzā [q. v.], an Iranian people, whose physical appearance, language and religion however prevent us assimilating them directly to the Kurds. On the high plateau of Erzerūm, the Kurds alternate with Turks and Muslim immigrants from the Caucasus (Čerkes, Ossetes etc.). They are found, particularly south and southwest of Erzerūm. In the lands recently incorporated in Turkey, Kurds occupy the western slopes of Ararat (the cantons of Surmali and Kaghizmān). There are outlying Kurd colonies far to the west in Cilicia, in the district of Siwās (the ḡaḡās of Ḳangāl, Ḳoç-ḡişar, Zara and Diwrigi where before the war there were 20,000 Kurds), south of Angora (G. Perrot, *Les Kurdes de l'Haimaneh, Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1/ii., 1865, p. 607—631) etc. According to statistics in Alboitin, *Nowi Wostok*, Moscow 1925, vii. 116, the number of Kurds in Turkey is 1,500,000. Turkish sources seem to put at 96,000 the number of tents of Kurds (nomads?); the publications of the Department for the Supervision of the Tribes ('*ashā'ir müdiriyyeti*) are not yet accessible in western Europe.

C. The Kurds of al-'Irāk (in the former wilāyet of Mawṣil) according to the census of 1923—1924 number 494,007; they occupy the whole of the liwā' of Sulaimāniya (189,900), form a considerable majority in the liwā' of Arbīl (170,650 out of 191,780) and a majority in Kirkūk. The ethnographical position and the migrations of the tribes are summed up in maps N^o. 6 and 8 prepared by the Commission of Enquiry of the League of Nations (c. 400, m. 157, 1925, vii.).

D. In Russian Transcaucasia the Kurds of Eriwān and of Ḳarş in 1910 numbered 125,000 including 25,000 Yazidis. Of the Kurds (speaking Kurdish) only a small number are incorporated in the Soviet Republic of Armenia. On the other hand the old Russian censuses did not reckon separately the Kurds of the cantons of Zangazūr, Djawānshir, Djibra'īl and Aresh in the government of Elizawetpol (= Gandja). These Kurds of Gandja (cf. the evidence of Arab authors on the presence of Kurds in Arrān) now form a separate canton (*uyezd*) in the Soviet Republic of Ādharbāidjān but it seems that their language is the ordinary Turkish of Ādharbāidjān (cf. Čursin, *Azerbaidjanskiye Kurdi in Izw. Kawh. Istor.-Arkheol. Instituta*, Tiflis 1925, iii).

E. As regards Northern Syria, the Kurds long

settled there in the wilāyet of Aleppo (especially at Kilis) before the war numbered 125,000 according to the Russian Consul Zimmermann (cf. also Cuinet, ii. 124; Hartmann, *Das Liwa Halab*, Berlin 1894, p. 83, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100 and 105). According to the *R. M. M.*, liii., p. 317 there are 20,000 Kurds in Syria under the French mandate (to the north of the 'Alawis and at Beilān). There is also a Kurdish quarter in Damascus. On the Kurds of Sindjār, where the administrative position is not quite clear, see the article YAZIDIS.

F. The Kurds had also advanced far to the west. In Balōčistān (q. v.; i., p. 636a) there is an important Kurd tribe settled among the Brahōi (and speaking Brahōi?). Recent researches (Tedesco) have ascertained a certain affinity between Kurdish and Balōči. As regards Afghānistān, the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 327, noted the move to Ḳharčistān of a part of the Čigāni tribe. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, p. 5 thinks it possible there are people speaking Kurdish west of Herāt.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles ARMENIA, BOHTĀN, SĀWDI-BULĀḲ, SENNA, SHAHRIZŪR, SHAKĀḲ, SHAMDINĀN, SŌMĀI and SULAIMĀNIYA. There is an excellent bibliography of Kurdistān to 1856, in Lerch, *Izslodovaniya*, St. Petersburg 1856, i., p. 5—19 (it is not included in the German translation).

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(V. MINORSKY)

KURDS, an Iranian people of Nearer Asia, living in Persia, Transcaucasia, Turkey and al-'Irāk (cf. KURDISTAN). Before 1914 the number of Kurds living in compact bodies or isolated colonies (Khorāsān, Asia Minor, Cilicia, southern Syria) was estimated at two to three millions.

Although many travellers have passed through Kurdistan and there are a large number of important works dealing with the Kurds from the linguistic, historical, ethnographical and political point of view, we still lack a general study devoted to this people. Its preparation is rendered difficult by the fragmentary and sporadic character of our information and by the diversity of the methods employed by the writers on the subject.

A. Origins.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistan) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistan, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Ḳardū) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B.C., Thureau Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v. 99; vi. 67) found a country *Kar-da-ka* mentioned (in which word the editor tells me privately the initial is *k* and not *ḳ* and the function of the element *ka* is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. *Z. A.*, xxxv. 230, note 3) which Driver locates south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Süy in the region of Bidlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called *Kur-ti-e* in the mountains of Azu, which Driver (*ibid.*, p. 400) identifies with the modern Ḳazō (Sasun). The reading *Kur-ti-e* is not certain however.

Herodotos in the fifth century mentions no name like this, but, according to him (iii. 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Περδική which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii.) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr.*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtān (= Bohtān).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401—400 B.C.) made famous the name of Carduks (Καρδοϋχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritēs (Bohtān). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Djūdī [q. v.]. In classical authors the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf. Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Ḳardū and the present town of Djazirat Ibn 'Omar, Gazartā of Ḳardū. The Armenians had the name Kordudh, the Arabs (Balādhūri, p. 176; Ṭabari, iii., p. 610), Baḳardā (Ḳardai). According to Yāḳūt (iv. 56) who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Aḥḥir, the canton of Baḳardā formed part of Djazirat Ibn 'Omar, contained two hundred villages (al-Thamānīn, Djūdī, Firūz-Shābūr) and was situated on the left bank

of the Tigris opposite Bāzabdā on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, p. 33—35). Later, the name which was only applied to the district disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by Djazīrat Ibn 'Omar, Bohtān etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of Ʒardū in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene; its three towns, Sareisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finik) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix. 12, 4) is remarkable, according to which the term Γορδουαία ὄρη was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern Diyārbakr and Mūsh.

Now, who were the Καρδοῦχοι whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination -χοι must represent the Armenian plural in -kh, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv. 3, 1) the Karduchoi recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes, nor that of Armenia. When in the first century B. C., Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II he had its king Zarbienus executed. In 115 A. D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 239 and *Arm. Gramm.*, 1897, 1/ii, p. 518—520, the province of Corduene was only superficially armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Karduchoi. The name has Semitic analogies (Accad. Assy. Ʒardu, "strong", "hero", Ʒarādū "to be strong"); on the other hand there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Khaldī, better known under the Assyrian form Urartu Urashṭu, in Hebrew Ararat, among the Greeks Αλαρδίοι, Χάλδοι and sometimes Χαλδαίοι. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the ixth century B. C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Vān which lasted until the beginning of the sixth century. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, p. 123, sees in them Khaldī immigrants from the west; E. Mayer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, 1/ii, 1913, § 474 seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the viith century, the Khaldī were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii. 1—3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Vān (the Byzantine theme Χαλδία near Trebizond the town of Khilāt = Akhlāt, etc.; cf. Belck and Lehmann, *Z. A.*, 1894, ix., p. 84; de Goeje, *ibid.*, x., p. 100; Streck, *ibid.*, xiv., p. 112). Parallels for the name Khaldī have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Khartu-eli-khart-ul-i* (in Svanian *khyard*; in Mingrelian, *khort-u*; cf. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, p. 398).

Whether we identify the Ʒardū as Semites or an indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the Karduchoi were identical with the Kurds and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the xth century; cf. *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 464.

Going a step further the Kurds were directly connected with the Χάλδοι; Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Ceremoniis*, B. 13 (713, 11) said "Chaldi et Kordi vel Curti, Gordyaei iidem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of Lerch's work (1856), *Récherches sur les Kurdes Iraniens et sur leurs Ancêtres, les Chaldéens Septentrionaux*.

A new turn was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Weissbach, who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Ʒardū*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the Κύρτιοι, Cyrtii mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi. 13, 3 and xv. 3, 1). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānian period (cf. *Kārnamak-i Artakhschir-i Pāpakān*, translated by Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, p. 37, 48 and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Ʒardū* does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Ʒardū and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sistān. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagartians in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zakruti*, cf. Streck, *Z. A.*, xiv. 146) and in the time of Darius (Bahistūn inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Citrantakhma executed, whose portrait on the rock of Bisutūn suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The Sculptures of Behistan*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B. C. we find Cyrtii mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (*Livy*, xlii. 58, 13; xxxvii. 40, 9; Polybius, v. 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa², s. v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les Mercenaires de Pergame*, *Revue Archéologique*, 1909, p. 115—119). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian Geography of the viith century, in the case of the province of Korčēkh (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 418: Korčēkh is from **kortīč-aikh* where *kortīč* means "Kurd" as *atrpātīč* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (ivth century) Korčēkh was only a canton near Salmās [q. v.]. As a province, Korčēkh stretched from Djūlāmerg to Djazīrat Ibn 'Omar and included the following cantons: Kordukh, the three Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aituanikh, Aigarkh, Mothoaukh (Othoaukh), Orsiraikh (Orisankh), Karathunikh (Sara-ponikh), Čahuk and Little Atbak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, p. 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 255—259).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordukh, Kordikh and Tmorikh, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordukh had become a mere canton of Korčēkh and Tmorikh disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordrikh (Kordikh) of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann (*l. c.*, p. 385) confines himself to

distinguishing between the Kordrikh (Kordikh) or the *Κόρριοι* but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *l. c.*, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nöldeke even distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic *Ḳartēwāyē* (Arabic *Ḳartāwiya*?), meaning the true Kurds; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, etc., p. 207, note 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnical term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or iranised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the *Ḳardū*; the *Tmorikh*/*Ṭamurayē* in the district of which *Alḳi* = Elk was the capital; the *Xodolṭrai* [= al-*Ḳhuwaithiya*] in the canton of *Khoit* of *Sāsūn*, the *Orṭayē* [= al-*Arṭān*] in the bend of the *Euphrates*); some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the *Kurd* tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the *Mamakān* tribe is of *Mamikonian* origin).

In the twentieth century the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds had been definitely established (the *Gürān-Zāzā* group). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers had been established (at *Sulaimāniya* [q.v.], at *Sāwdj-Bulāk* [q.v.], at *Ḳotūr* where we find remnants of the *Küresinli* [?]) in subjection to the *Shakāk*). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular Etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. *Mas'ūdi* already (*Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iii. 251) speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant *Dahḥāk*. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh-nāma* (Macan, i. 27—28; Mahl, i. 71; Vullers, i. 36, verses 29—38). In 1812 *Morier* (*Second Journey*, p. 357) mentions the celebration at *Damāwand* (on 31st August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of *Dahḥāk*, known as the '*Aid-i Kurdī*', "The *Kurd* festival". On the other hand the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii. 253) claimed as their ancestor *Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add*, others *Muḍar b. Nizār*, both eponyms of the districts of *Diyār-Rabī'a* (*Mōṣul*) and *Diyār-Muḍar* (*Raḳḳa*). They said the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the *Ghassānids* and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find *Kurd b. Mard* (cf. *oi Mapdoi* the neighbours of the Kurds) b. *Ṣa'sa'a b. Ḥarb b. Ḥawāzin* (*Mas'ūdi*, *ibid.* and *al-Ṭanbih*, p. 88—91: *Kurd b. Isfandiādh b. Manūshahr*; *Fbn Hawḳal*, p. 185—187: *Kurd b. Mard b. 'Amr*). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (iranisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of *Zagros* and of *Fārs*).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii. 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*; the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon *Djasad* ("driven out" by

Solomon). Very frequently (cf. Driver, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* (hero) although this root really had a *g* in *Pahlavi* and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, p. 200).

In later times the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Shāraf-nāma*, i. 158, makes all the Kurds (the *Badjnawī* and *Bokhtī* tribes) come from *Badjan* and *Bokht*; the former of these names may be connected with that of *Basn-āw*, a tributary of the *Tigris* (Andreas in Hartmann, p. 131) while the second recalls the *Πακρυκή* of *Herodotos*, or the "dragon-king" (*Kurd*?) *Haftān-Bokht* killed by *Artakhsir-i Pāpakān*; cf. Nöldeke, *Ṭabari*, p. 11. According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, *Milān* and *Zilān*, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the *Zilān* were regarded as an inferior race (cf. M. Sykes, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1908, xxxviii, p. 470).

Bibliography: F. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg 1880, p. xxii.; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun und d. Quellengebiet d. Tigris*, S. Ak. Wien, 1895, cxxxiii/iv.; M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell., 1896/2, 1897/1, p. 90—103; Nöldeke, *Kardu und Kurden*, in *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, Berlin 1898, p. 73—81; Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forsch.*, 1904, xvi., p. 255—259; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Καρδοχγοι* and *Κόρριοι*; Driver, *The name Kurd and its philological connexions*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 393—403.

B. History.

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the *Hidjra* the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several *Kurd* dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the vith to the xth century A.D. But the period of the wars between the *Ottoman Sultāns* and the *Safawī Shāhs* produced a state of affairs in *Kurdistān* favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful picture is given in the *Shāraf-nāma* (1003 = 1596). The *Turco-Persian* frontier became gradually stabilised and the *Persians* fell back behind the wall of the *Zagros* and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the xixth century the last *Kurdish* principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (*Hakkāri*, *Bidlis*, *Sulaimāniya*) and in *Persia* (*Ardalān*). But the great tribes still exist and their cadres assure the preservation of the *Kurdish* element with its social and ethnical peculiarities. *Persia* hardly ever interferes in the domestic affairs of her *Kurdish* tribes while *Turkey* tries to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds are overwhelmed with favours and sometimes they have to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the xixth century and towards the beginning of the xxth century a *Kurd* movement added one

more to the nationalist agitators within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the war of 1914—1918 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistan was first mooted by the Powers, but the plan has only been partially realised and only so far as the part of the old wilāyet of Mawṣil attached to the new state of Irāq is concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistan being unknown before the time of the Saldjūks, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, *Khilāt*, Armīniya, Ādharbāidjān, Dījal, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *Dispersion of the Kurds in Ancient Times*, *J.R.A.S.*, Oct. 1926, p. 563—572).

Mas'ūdī (about 332 = 943) and Iṣṭakhri (340 = 951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (iii. 253) Mas'ūdī enumerates the following tribes: at Dainawar and Hamadhān: *Shuhjdān*; at Kangawar: *Mādjurdān*; in Ādharbāidjān (so the text should be emended): *Hadhbāni* and *Sarāt* (probably *Shurāt* = "*Khāridjis* [q.v.]; cf. the story of Daisam below); in Dījal: *Shādandjān*, *Lazba* (Lurri?), *Mādandjān*, *Mazdānakān*, *Bārisān*, *Khālī* (Djalālī), *Djābārki*, *Djāwāni*, *Mustakān*; in Syria: *Dabābila* etc.; at Mawṣil and Dījūdi the Christian Kurds: *al-Ya'qūbiya* ("Jacobites") and the *Djurkān* (*Djurughān*). To this list the *Tanbih* of the same author (p. 88—91) only adds *Bāzindjān* (cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 115), *Nashawira*, *Būdhikān* and *Kikān* (at the present day found near Marāsh) but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*zumūm*?) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjīstān, *Khōrāsān* (Iṣṭakhri, p. 282: a Kurd village in the canton of Asadābād), *Iṣfahān* (a section of the *Bāzandjān* tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, *Ya'qūbi*, p. 275; Iṣṭakhri, p. 125), *Dījal*, notably *Māh Kūfa*, *Māh Baṣra*, *Māh Sabadhān* (*Māsabadhān*) and the two *Īghār* (i.e. *Karadj Ibn Dulaf* and *Burdj*), *Hamadhān*, *Shahrizūr*, with its dependencies *Darābād* and *Šamghān* (*Zimkān*), *Ādharbāidjān*, *Armenia* (at *Dwin* on the *Araxes* the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone; Muḳaddasī, p. 277), *Arrān* (one of the gates of *Barda'a* was called *Bāb al-Akrād* and *Ibn Miskawaihi* says that at the invasion of the *Rūs* in 332 [1042] the local governor had Kurds under his command), *Bailakān*, *Bāb al-Abwāb* (*Darband*), *Djazīra*, *Syria* and *al-Thughūr* (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Iṣṭakhri, p. 98 particularly mentions 5 *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, iv., p. 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramni-rumūm* [from Persian *ramm*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *zōma* could have given a plural *zumūm*). Each *ramm* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *khārādj* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were: 1. *Djilōya*, or *Rāmidjān*, bordered by *Iṣfahān* and *Khūzistān*; 2. *Lawālīdjān*, between *Shīrāz* and the Persian Gulf; 3. *Dīwān*, in the *Kūra* of *Sābur*; 4. *Kāriyān* in the direction of *Kirmān*; 5. *Shāhriyār*, alongside of *Iṣfahān* also called *Bāzandjān* after

the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of *Iṣfahān*. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Iṣṭakhri, p. 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*ḥayy*, plur. *ahyā*) of Fārs, based on the records of the *Diwān al-Šadāqāt* and reproduced by *Ibn Ḥawqāl*, p. 185—187 and *Muḳaddasī*, p. 446: *Kirmāni*, *Rāmāni*, *Mudaththir*, *Muḥammad b. Baṣhar*, *Baḳīli* (Muḳaddasī: *Tha'labi*), *Bundādmahri*, *Muḥammad b. Iṣhāk*, *Sabāhi*, *Iṣhāki*, *Adharkāni*, *Shahraki*, *Ṭahmādhni*, *Zabādi*, *Shahrawi*, *Bundādaki*, *Khusrawi*, *Zandji*, *Safari*, *Shahyāri*, *Mihraḳi*, *Mubāraki*, *Iṣhtāmharī*, *Shāhūni*, *Furāti*, *Salmūni*, *Širi*, *Āzāddokhti*, *Barāz-dokhti*, *Muṭallabi*, *Mamālī*, *Shāhkāni*, *Kadji*, *Djalili*, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (c. 500 = 1107) says, p. 168, that the Kurds of the old large *ramm* of *Djilōya*, *Dhiwān*, *Lawālīdjān*, *Kāriyān* and *Bāzandjān*, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islām, with the exception of a single 'Alak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from *Iṣfahān* to Fārs by 'Aḍud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regroupings among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *ramm* of *Djilōya* (*Kūh-Galū*) is now inhabited by *Lurs*; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest Iṣṭakhri's list mentions a tribe *al-Lurriya* (variant: *Lazba*?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the *Shabānkara* [q.v.] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last *Būyids*. The *Masālik al-Abṣār* of *al-'Umari* speaks of the *Shabānkara* under a separate heading and the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans however (*Rāmāni*) bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Iṣṭakhri. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistan (cf. *SHUL* and *LUR*).

The term *al-Zawzān* which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistan (*zōzān* in Kurdish "summer pasturages") is not well defined. According to *Ibn Ḥawqāl*, p. 250, the king of *Zawzān* was called *al-Dairāni* (= *Deranik*, Armenian king of *Was-purakān*). *Muḳaddasī*, p. 137 regards *Zawzān* as a *nāhiya* of *Djazīrat Ibn 'Omar*. Later this region which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population extended in area. According to *Ibn al-Athīr* (in *Yāqūt*, ii. 257) *al-Zawzān* began at two days' journey from *Mawṣil* and stretched to the borders of *Khilāt*; on the *Ādharbāidjān* side it extended to *Salmās*. Many strong places belonged to the *Bash-nawī* and *Bokhti* Kurds; the former held *Barkā*, *Bashīr* [and *Fanak*]; to the latter belonged: *Djur-dhakīl* (*Gurgil*) residence of their *malik* *Atil* (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 117: *Nash Atil*), *'Allūs*, *Bāz al-ḥamrā*. To the lords of *Mawṣil* (the *Zangi*) belonged: *Alkī* (= *Elk*), *Arwakh*, *Bakhauxha* (= *Bektūi* in *Barwāri*), *Barkhō*, *Kingawar* (?), *Nirwa* (east of 'Akr?) and *Khawshab*. The text of *Yāqūt* is not very certain; in any case the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the *Ḥamdānids* and the *Zangī* (see below).

The Kurds under the Caliphs and *Būyids*. Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Muḥammadan period of feuds between the Arab princes of *Ghassān* [q.v.]

and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrit and Ḥulwān in 16 (637). Sa'd b. Abī Wakkāṣ marched on Mawṣil where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (al-Mardī Bā-Nuḥadhrah, Bā-Adhrā, Ḥibtūn, Dāsīn etc.); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ii. 408. The conquest of the region was completed by 'Iyād b. Ghānam and 'Uṭba (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 331). The *Baṭriq* of al-Zawzān in 19 (640) obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *kharāj* (*Futūḥ*, p. 176). In Susiana in 18 (639) the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of al-Hurmuzān, Persian governor of Ahwāz (*Kāmil*, ii. 425). In Fārs likewise the Kurds supported the Persians in 23 (642) at the defence of Fasā and Darābdjird (*ibid.*, iii. 32). 'Omar had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of Ahwāz (*Futūḥ*, p. 382, 389; *Kāmil*, iii. 37). On the other hand in the reign of 'Omar the Kurds invaded the region of the central Karkhā (Ṣaimara, Māsabadhān) the language of which was still Persian in the time of Ya'qūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 236). The Arabs had reached Shahrizūr before Islām (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 130), but the final occupation of Shahrizūr, Dārahād and Ṣamghān in 22 (643) was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, p. 334; *Kāmil*, iii. 29). In the south Abū Mūsā, governor of Baṣra, had to put down risings of the Kurds at Berūdh and Balasdjān in 25 (645), but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islām, apostatised en masse (*Kāmil*, ii. 66, 76). Under the caliph 'Alī, the Kurds, along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of al-Khirrit near Ahwāz and in Fārs, but the chief was defeated at Rām-Hurmuz (*ibid.*, iii. 309).

Al-Mukhtār, who had seized Armenia and Ādharbāidjān in the reign of the Omayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, appointed in 66 (685) a governor at Ḥulwān whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv. 187) but the death of al-Mukhtār prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel 'Abd al-Rahmān made an alliance in 83 (702) with the Kurds of Sābūr in Fārs (*ibid.*, iv. 352). In 90 (708) the Kurds ravaged Fārs and were punished by al-Ḥadjjādī. In 129 (746) the Kurds of Sābūr resisted the ally of the Khārdjis, Sulaimān who had rebelled against the caliph Marwān II and had besieged Sābūr (*ibid.*, iv. 387, 341; v. 283). The caliph Marwān himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii. i. 51) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, London 1891, p. 429).

Under the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Manṣūr the invasion of Armenia by the Khazārs, 147 (764) resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*intishār al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at Mawṣil and its repercussions in Hamadān (*Kāmil*, v. 448; vi. 9). Dja'far, son of Manṣūr, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii. 442).

In the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225 (839); it broke out in the district of Mawṣil, led by Dja'far b. Fahardjis, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at Bābaghesh, Dja'far took refuge in the mountains of Dāsīn where he defeated the troops of the Caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk Aitākḥ put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi.

360—361). A Kurd rising broke out in 231 (845) in the regions of Iṣfahān, Djibāl and Fārs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Waṣif.

The Kurds of Mawṣil in 252 (866) joined the Khāridjī Musāwir who had seized Mawṣil. In 262 (875) they played a considerable part in the Zandjī slave-revolt (cf. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, London, p. 146—175: *A Servile War in the East*) led by an 'Alid Khāridjī (?) 'Alī Muḥammad called al-Khabīth and in the rising of Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [q. v.]. At Ahwāz, Ya'qūb appointed a Kurd lieutenant Muḥammad b. 'Ubaidallāh b. Hazārmard, who, cherishing ambitious plans, engaged in secret negotiations with al-Khabīth. With reinforcements sent by the latter, Muḥammad marched on Sūs but was defeated by Aḥmad b. Laithōya; the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the Caliph to put down Ya'qūb's rising (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv. 304—308). When Aḥmad had departed, Muḥammad, after securing from al-Khabīth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shustar where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *Khutba* read in the name of al-Khabīth, but instead he did it in the names of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid and his adversary Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār. His Zandjī allies deserted Muḥammad and Shustar was reoccupied by Ibn Laithōya. Muḥammad retired to Rām-Hurmuz but he was dislodged from it by al-Khabīth's generals. As a result of difficulties with the Dārnān Kurds, Muḥammad again sought the help of al-Khabīth. The latter sent him troops which Muḥammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabīth Muḥammad agreed to proclaim him Caliph. The death of Ya'qūb (265 = 879) and of al-Khabīth (270 = 883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii. 264).

About 281 (894) the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (cf. ḤAMDANIDS) when he established himself in Mawṣil. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284 (897) by Abū Lailī did not last long (*ibid.*, vii. 325, 337). In 293 (906) the Hadhbānī Kurds led by their chief Muḥammad b. Bilāl laid waste the region of Niniveh. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamdān, the new governor of Mawṣil, pursued them but suffered a reverse at Ma'qūba. With reinforcements sent by the Caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Hadhbānī families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Ādharbāidjān. 'Abdallāh returned to Mawṣil and with new troops set out once more against the Hadhbānī who had entrenched themselves at Djabal al-Salaḥ (probably Lāhidjān, cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀK). The Hadhbānī were forced to surrender and their pacification was followed by that of the Ḥumaidī tribe and of the people of Djabal Dāsīn (*ibid.*, vii. 371). In the reign of the Caliph al-Muktadir, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawṣil but were punished by the Ḥamdānīd government; the Djalālī tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii. 118). Under the year 337 (943) Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjarib al-Umam*, *G.M.S.*, vi. 105 speaks of the expedition of the Ḥamdānīd Husain against Ādharbāidjān; on this occasion he had as an ally Dja'far b. Shakkōya chief of the Hadhbānī who were settled at Salmās.

About this time Daisam b. Ibrāhīm appeared on the scene and his adventurous life is closely

associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Dailamis. Daisam was a *Khāridjī*. He seized Ādharbāidjān after Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj and in 327 (938) used his Kurds to drive out Lashkāri b. Mardi, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Washmīr. But the Musāfirid Marzubān, a noted *Shī'ī*, succeeded in taking Ādharbāidjān from Daisam and the latter took refuge with his friend Hādjik b. al-Dairānī (the Armenian king of Waspurakan Khačik-Gaghik, son of Deranik). Then the people of Tabriz appealed to Daisam but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Musāfirids fell back to Tārum. In 337, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla who sent a representative to Ādharbāidjān. Marzubān's brother Wahsūdān then thought of Daisam to whom his Kurds had remained faithful and sent him against Rukn al-Dawla's representative. Daisam was defeated but held out in Ardabil and Bardha'a. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daisam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdad where the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Ādharbāidjān, he went to the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daisam returned to Salmās in 344 where he had the *khutba* read in the name of Saif al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daisam sought refuge with his Armenian friends. Ibn al-Dairānī (Deranik b. Khačik) had to hand him over to Marzubān much against his will. Daisam was blinded and died in prison in 345 (*Tadjarib*, ed. Amedroz, i. 345; ii. 148—151; *Kāmil*, viii. 289, 361, 375—377).

During Marzubān's captivity in Raiy, several independent governors set up in the northwest of Persia. One of them (about 340/951) was Muḥammad Shaddād b. Kaṭṭū of the Rawādī tribe out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the Aiyūbids. The principal fiefs of the Shaddādids were Dabil and Gandja. The Shaddādids were allies of the Byzantines and of the Saljuqs. In 465 (1072) Abū Suwār bought Ani for his young son Manūče. From this time onwards the dynasty was divided into two branches: that of Gandja and that of Ani. In 1124, Ani was taken by the Georgians but between 520 (1126) and 557 (1161) and again from 1165 to 1174, Ani was again held by the Shaddādids. The Shaddādids were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles ARRĀN, DWĪN, GANDJA, SHADDĀD; the Armenian bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, i. 363—367; cf. also Barthold in the appendix to his Russian translation of *Muham. Dynasties*, by Lane-Poole, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 294; Barthold, *Pers. nadpis' na.... meketi Manūče*, Aniyskaya Seriya, N^o. 5; N. Marr, *Ešče o slove "celebi"* *Zapiski*, 1911, xx., p. 120; E. D. Ross, *On Three Muhammadan Dynasties*, Asia Major, 11/jii., 1925, p. 215.

In 349 (960) a pretender appeared in Ādharbāidjān. He was called Ishāk b. 'Isā and was supported by Faḍl, chief of the Kaṭṭānī (?) Kurds, while his adversary the Musāfirid Džastān b. Marzubān relied on Hādjbānī support. Ishāk was soon disposed of (*Tadjarib*, ii. 179). The Kurds and the Dailamis also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Džastān and his brother Našir al-Dawla and between Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān

and his cousin Ismā'īl b. Wahsūdān (*Tadjarib*, ii. 219, 229; *Kāmil*, viii. 420—423).

About 348 (959) the second Kurd dynasty arose in al-Djibāl (Lane-Poole, *Mohamm. Dynasties*, N^o. 57) founded by Ḥasanwaih (Ḥasanōya) b. Ḥasan (q.v.; cf. also the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 20—23), chief of the Barzikānī (Barzīnī) tribe who had assisted the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on his expedition to Khorāsān. Rukn al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Tadjarib*, ii. 281). Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 519) praises the noble character of Ḥasanwaih, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When Ḥasanwaih died in 369 (979) in his capital Sarmādj (south of Bisutūn), 'Aḍud al-Dawla overran his possessions (Hamadān, Dainawar, Nihāwand) to bring it under his authority, but in the end he granted investiture to Badr b. Ḥasanwaih (369—405 = 979—1014) [q. v.] who remained loyal to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel Fakhr al-Dawla. The Caliph gave Badr the title of *Nāṣir al-Din wa 'l-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on Badr; he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (*Tadjarib*, [Abū Shudjā], p. 287—299, 327; [Ibn Muḥassin], p. 429, 449—454; 'Utbi, *Kiṭābi Yamīnī*, transl. Reynolds, p. 424). Badr's successor Zāhir (Tāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406 (1015) was driven out by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla. Ḥasanwaih's uncle Wandād, chief of the 'Aishiya section, died in 349 (960), his brother Abū 'l-Ḥanā'im in 350 (961) and a little later his son Abū Salīm Daisam, the last of this collateral branch was dispossessed of his castles (Kaṣān or Kaṣān [Kaṣān? near Bābā Yādīgār on the Zohāb], Ḡhānim-ābād, etc.). 'Aḍud al-Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father Rukn al-Dawla. In 368 (978), the Kurd Ibn Bādōya with the help of the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib became an independent ruler at Ardamušt (= Kawāshī near Djabal-Djūdi, Yāqūt, i. 199) but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (*Tadjarib*, ii. 392). In 369 (979) the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of Shahrizūr whom he wished to separate from the Banū Shaibān Beduins who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of Shahrizūr was occupied and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Tadjarib*, ii. 398; *Kāmil*, viii. 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370 (980) against the Hakkāri Kurds who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five farsakhs between Ma'alḥāyā and Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, viii. 521).

Even in the lifetime of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the Ḥumaidī chief, Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥusain b. Duṣḥandj (or Abū Shudjā' Bādh b. Dustāk) known as Bādh has attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of Ardjīsh, Āmid and Maiyāfāriḳin. A rising in Naṣībīn brought him into conflict with Šamsām al-Dawla. Bādh defeated the latter's forces at Bā-Djulāiyā (on the Khabūr al-Ḥusainiya in the canton of Kawāshī = Ardamušt) seized Mawṣil and was planning a march on Baghdad to end Būyid rule

when he was defeated by Šamsām al-Dawla. He fell back on Maiyāfāriqin and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of Diyārbakr and the western part of Tur 'Abidin (374 = 984). Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379 (990) having collected a large number of Baṣhnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānid princes who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, secured the help of the Banū 'Uḡail Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and he was slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix. 25, 27, 38, 49; *Tad̲j̲ārīb* [Abū Shudjā'], p. 83—84, 176—178; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321—323).

In 380—390, Šamsām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b. Mundhir, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (*Tad̲j̲ārīb* [Abū Shudjā'], p. 184; on Ibn Fūlād see 'Utbi, *loc. cit.*, p. 424—425).

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Lane-Poole, No. 47) is closely connected with Bādh. After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū 'Alī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh's sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn-Kaifā [q.v.] where Bādh's Dailami wife lived. He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥamdāni who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself in Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380 (990) to 489 (1096). Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzān, Maiyāfāriqin, Ḥiṣn-Kaifā) but also to Khilāt, Melāzgerd, Ardjish and the canton to the northeast of Lake Vān. On the west they held Urfa for a time. Abū 'Alī Ḥasan in 381 (991) invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387 (997) by the people of Diyārbakr who had rebelled. His brother Abū Manṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla who after the death of Bādh had seized Maiyāfāriqin reigned there till 402 (1011) (Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii. 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (Ibn Khallikān, i. 157—158) succeeded him and reigned from 402 to 453. In 416 (1025), he seized Urfa but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422 (1031) (Abū 'l-Faradj, p. 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure. In 442 (1050) Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Saldjūk Tughril. His son and successor Abū 'l-Qāsim Naṣr, called Nizām al-Dawla (453—472), shared the power with his brother Sa'īd (d. in 457). He added to his possessions Harrān, Suwaidā etc. His successor was Manṣūr b. Sa'īd, who nominally reigned from 472 to 489 but by 478 (1085) the Saldjūk general Fakhr al-Dawla b. Džahir had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atābeg of Mawṣil (Abū 'l-Fidā', iii. 77—79, 87,

121, 125, 249). On the Marwānids cf. the special study by Amedroz, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 123—154.

On the eve of the Turkish invasion we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of al-Qādir (381—422) the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Aḥmad b. al-Daḥḥāk who killed the Emperor Basil II's general and thus stopped the Byzantine advance (*Tad̲j̲ārīb*, [Abū Shudjā'], p. 247). Between 366 and 388 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārids for the possession of Džurdjān ('Utbi, p. 298—302; Ibn Isfandiār, *G.M.S.*, p. 226—228). A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ghazna using Kurds against the Qarakḥānids ('Utbi, p. 336).

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū 'Uḡail for the possession of Mawṣil, etc. In 411 (1020) they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Ḥamadān. In 415—420 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālidjār (*Kāmil*, ix. 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 254, 265; *Tad̲j̲ārīb*, [Ibn Muḥassin], p. 348, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish Conquest. When in 420 (1029), the Ghuzz precursors of the Saldjūks reached Raiy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ghaznawids went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds being captured by the Ghuzz sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix. 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbāni Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Aḡharbāidjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz after a raid into Armenia returned to Urmia and the lands of Abū 'l-Haidjā Hadhbāni; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432 (1041) the Musāfirid Wahsūdān II b. Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabriz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkāri, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 1,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, 270—272).

On the approach of Tughrilbeg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawzān to Džazira. One section of the Ghuzz under Manṣūr b. Ghuzoghli remained to the east of Džazira while the other under Būkā marched on Diyārbakr and going on pillaged the districts of Qardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥusainiya (Yāktū, ii. 270: a town between Mawṣil and Džazira) and Fēshābūr. The Marwānid Sulaimān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Džazira, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Manṣūr and with the help of the Baṣhnawī Kurds of Finik, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix. 272—273).

Meanwhile the dynasty of the Ḥasanwaihids had perished and the power in Džibāl had passed

to a new family the Banū 'Annāz (cf. Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis Muham. Dynastien*, p. 19; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 22: 'Aiyār) which is often called Abu 'l-Shawk. Previously in 340 (951), during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abi 'l-Shawk, chief of Hulwān (*Tad̲j̲arib*, ii. 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Annāz (*Kāmil*, ix. 158) who ruled 380—401. His son Abu 'l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwaihids, Zāhir (Tāhir) in 406. The possessions of the Banū 'Annāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431; *Kāmil*, ix. 300, 316), Bilawā, Samghān, Daḳūka, Khuf-tidhakān. In 437, Tughril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Yanāl to pacify D̲j̲ibāl. Ibrāhīm drove the Būyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the D̲j̲uz̲k̲ān Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abū 'l-Shawk composed of Dailamis and Shād̲j̲and̲j̲ān Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū 'l-Shawk died in 438 (1046) at Sirwān. Ibrāhīm took Šamirān (Shamirān? Šaimara?) and subjugated the D̲j̲uz̲k̲ān. Sa'adī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the Sald̲j̲ūks. The dynasty lasted till 520 (1116) (Müned̲j̲im-bashi, quoted by Sachau, *loc. cit.*).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Melāzgerd (463 = 1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great Sald̲j̲ūks there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the Shabānkara [q.v.], but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421 to 756, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493 (1100) the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of Khilāt where the Turk Suḳmān Ḳuṭbi founded the dynasty of the Shāh Arman which lasted a century until the coming of the Aiyūbids. Under the date 495 (1101) Ibn al-Aṭhīr (x. 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of Surkhāb b. Badr, a scion of the Banū 'Annāz by the Turkomans of Salghūr Ḳarabulī. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of Surkhāb except Shahrizūr, Daḳūka and Khuf-tidhakān. In spite of these crushing blows the Kurds are often mentioned in the xith and xiith centuries. In his struggle with Kawurd of Kirmān, Malik Shāh employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x. 53) where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 88; Ibn Ḳhallikān, i. 516). Raids of Kurds took place at Dūd̲j̲ail, Mārdin etc. in 496, 498, 503. In Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's campaign against Syria 504 (1110) there took part the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadil b. Wahsūdhan, a Kurd of the tribe of Rawādī (cf. *Kāmil*, x. 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" Suḳmān. The campaign was a fiasco and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk Suḳmān (*Recueil des Hist. des Croisades, Docum. Orientaux*, iii. 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousāma b. Munqidh*). Under Sandjar the province of Kurdistān was formed of the western part of D̲j̲ibāl. Sulaimān, the nephew of Sandjar, became its ruler with Bahār (N. E. of Hamadān) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of Sandjar also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 513. In 516 a punitive expedition

passed through the Hakkārī, Zozān and Bashnawī districts (*Kāmil*, x. 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at Ṭūr 'Abidin (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, ii. 221).

The Atābaks of Mawṣil. The Atābaks, the immediate neighbours of Central Kurdistān, played an important part there. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded Kurd territory. In 528 (1134), he took Ṭanza (on the left bank of the Bokhtān) and to punish the Ḥumaidī who had supported the Caliph Mustarshid when he was besieging Mawṣil, seized their fortresses, al-'Akr, Shūsh etc. (Shams al-Dīn in *Recueil*, iii. 666—667; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Atābakīya*, *ibid.*, ii. 87). Abū 'l-Haidjā, lord of Arbil, Aṣhib etc. submitted to Zangī (he must have been a Hakkārī?; at this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 203). After the death of Abi 'l-Haidjā, Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Aṣhib and dismantled its defences; the fort of Djalāb received the name of 'Amādiya (= 'Imādiya, in honour of 'Imād al-Dīn). In 534 (1139) Zangī took Shahrizūr from Ḳifd̲j̲āk b. Arslān Tāsh the Turkoman. In 537 (1142) he sent a new expedition against the Hakkārī and took the fortress of al-Sha'bānī (= Aṣhib?) which he rebuilt. In 538 Irūn and Khizān were taken (Shams al-Dīn in *Recueil*, iii. 685). 'Alī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 284, Rābiya-bulak?), Farah and Alḳā (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the Bashnawī of Fanak (Finik) but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atābak 541 (1146) (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Atābakīya* in *Recueil*, ii. 86, 114, 129, 188). Karādja Tād̲j̲na Muḳta' (?) of Hakkārī, who was sent in 547 by the Atābak of Mawṣil against the Atābak of Ādharbāid̲j̲ān, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589) the Zangids consolidated their position in Central Kurdistān. In 607 (1211) 'Imād al-Dīn, a younger son of Arslān Shāh Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of Ḥumaidī ('Akr and Shūsh). In 615 (1218) the same prince seized 'Amādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkārī and Zawzān" which were ceded to him by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūri of Arbil (Abu 'l-Farād̲j̲, p. 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the Hakkārī to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zāb.

The Urtuḳids, Atābaks of Diyārbakr several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abu 'l-Fidā', iii. 583; Usāma, i. 321). The 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of 'Isā Ḥumaidī in 528 and *Kāmil*, xi. 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 581 (1185) under the Caliph al-Nāṣir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, iii. 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyārbakr, D̲j̲azira, Mawṣil, Shahrizūr, Khilāt and Ādharbāid̲j̲ān). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As

the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thel-muzen (?) and Arabthil (= Arabgir?) (Michael the Syrian, in *Recueil, Doc. Armen.*, p. 395).

The Aiyūbids. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well established (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 55—82). The Armenian historian Hayton (Hethum) says on this point: "Postea vero Sarraceni amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordins vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, Doc. Arm.*, ii. 225, 343). The grandfather of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn *Shādhī* b. Marwān was a Rawādī Kurd (Rāwādī, Rawanda, a clan of the Hadhbānī) of Dwīn [q. v.].

The important fact is that it was from Dwīn that the Shaddādī dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of *Shādhī*. Aiyūb [q. v.] and *Shirkūh* [q. v.], son of *Shādhī*, were born in the old home (the village of Adjdanakān). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q. v.] was born at Takrit but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Aiyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Saldjūk Atābaks, even when they became vassals of the Aiyūbids continued to rule in Diyārbakr (Urtūkids), Mawṣil (Zangids) and Arbīl (the Begteginids, at first deputies of the Zangids). By the treaty of 585 (1187), with 'Izz al-Dīn Zangī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn annexed only Aleppo and *Shahrizūr* (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakīya*, *Recueil*, ii. 334; *Kāmil*, xi. 340; Bahā' al-Dīn, *Recueil*, iii. 85). In 585, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave *Shahrizūr* to his Mamlūk *Keshtoḡhdī* (?) a relative of Ya'qūb b. Kīfjdāḡ. The only independent way by which the Aiyūbids penetrated into Kurdistān was that of *Khilāt*. This district was at first conquered by Taḡī al-Dīn in 587 (1191) (*Kāmil*, xii. 40) but it was only after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that his nephew Awhād Aiyūb installed himself there in 604 (1207). Later *Khilāt* passed to his brother Aṣṣraf, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother Muẓaffar who ruled there till 642 (1244). The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the *Khwarizmshāh* and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round *Khilāt* at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes Zakare and Iwane whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Khel Babirakan*, i. e. of the Kurd tribe of Bāpirakān; cf. Marr in *Zap.*, 1911, xx., p. 120.

The Aiyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583 (1187), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The *Djazira* forces were disbanded in 584 (1188) but the Diyārbakr detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (Bahā' al-Dīn, *Recueil*, iii. 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Aiyūbids but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When *Shirkūh* died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his successor (Ibn *Khalīkān*, iv. 494).

An important part was played by the family of Abu 'l-Haidjā (Hadhbānī) hereditary chief of Arbīl (?). He directed the defence of 'Akkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *isfahsālār* of the army and governor of Jerusalem. In 1196 he was transferred to Baghdād: he conducted an expedition against Hamadān and died at Daḡūka. His nephew Kuṭb al-Dīn built the Kuṭbiya madrasa in Cairo. Another Kurd, of the tribe of Hakkārī, Saif al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Maṣṣṭūb, succeeded Abu 'l-Haidjā at 'Akkā. His descendants had exciting careers; his son Aḥmad ended his days in the prison of Harrān; his grandson, the *Qādi* 'Imād al-Dīn plotted against al-Kāmil and had to go into exile.

Khwarizm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. In 614 (1217) the Kurds of Zagros inflicted a defeat on the troops of the *Khwarizmshāh* sent from Hamadān to Baghdād. Djalāl al-Dīn's operation against *Khilāt* (623—626) disorganised the life of the country and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Kāmil*, xii. 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge among the Kurds of Diyārbakr and in 628 (1321) was killed, probably by one of them (*Djuwaini*, ed. Muḥammad Kazwīnī, ii. 190; *Kāmil*, xii. 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 62). In 634 (1237) again the remnants of the *Khwarizm* hordes traversed and plundered the region of *Kharput* (Abu 'l-Faraj, *o. c.*, p. 477). After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, the Mongols laid waste the region of Diyārbakr and *Khilāt*. Another horde had descended from Marāgha on Arbīl; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645 (1245), *Shahrizūr* was laid waste and in 650 (1252) Diyārbakr.

The Mongol *Ilkhāns*. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the *Ilkhāns*. As these rulers — at first pagans and later Muslims — were on good terms with the Christians and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Aiyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the Saldjūks, the capital of which was Bahār (near Hamadān) was conquered by Malik b. Tūdān, father of the celebrated Amir Čoban. Leaving Hamadān in 655, Hülāḡū marched on Baghdād. At Kirmānshāh the Mongols began to murder and plunder (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 225, 255, 267). Before the capture of Baghdād, Hülāḡū sent troops to take Arbīl. The governor of this stronghold, Tādī al-Dīn Ṣalāba (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet p. 261), submitted to the Mongols but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. Arbīl was taken with the help of the Atābak of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' (d'Ohsson, iii. 256). The taking of Baghdād resulted in the depopulation of *Shahrizūr* [q. v.] and its Kurd inhabitants, according to *Shihāb* al-Dīn al-'Umārī, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii. 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawēn and Babīn (Ibn *Khalidūn*, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 461 and iii. 413).

Returning to *Adharbāidjān*, Hülāḡū set out for Syria in 657. In the Hakkārī country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 328). *Djazira*, Diyārbakr, Mayafāriḡin (held by the Aiyūbid *Kāmil*) and Mardīn were taken in succession.

After the death of the Atābak Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' who had remained faithful to Hūlagu, his son Šāliḥ went over to the side of Baibars, Sultān of Egypt and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around Mawṣil at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison of Mawṣil consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and *Shūls*, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the Mamlūks. In his letter to the Khān Berkaī, Baibars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii. 385). In the time of Abaka, the Armenian Hayton tells how after an invasion by Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 5,000 houses of Kurds (Gordins) living in Northern Syria (*Recueil, Doc. Armén.*, ii. 179). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680 (1281), a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste Cilicia. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant Fārs. Under Ūldjaitū there were Kurds in the troops that invaded Gilān in 706. A little later a Kurd, Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the *Shi'is* was executed by Ūldjaitū. In 712, Badr al-Dīn, the Kurd lord of Raḥba resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol Amirs. The fighting in Arbil never ceased. The "Kayači", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbil, brought a charge against their chief Zain al-Dīn Bālū and came into conflict with the Kurds whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 1297 but the situation came to a height in 1310. With great difficulty the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege but their amirs who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, transl. Chabot, Paris 1895, p. 152—177).

The country between Marāgha and Arbil was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. *SĀWUJ-BULĀK*).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistān" under Ūldjaitū was moved from Bahār to Sultānābād (of Čamčamāl). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (p. 107) according to which its revenues were reduced to one tenth of what they were under the Saldjūks.

When the *İlkhāns* had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Sulduz [q. v.] and *Djalā'ir* [q. v.] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Ḥasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistān and *Khūzistān* returned to the children of the amir Akrandj or Akraṣh (?). In 784—785 the *Djalā'ir* Bayazid carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistān and 'Irāk 'Adjamī (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, No. 86 and d'Ohsson, iv. 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlūk Sultāns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes but in Egypt where the Mamlūk Sultāns were cherishing secret plans against the *İlkhāns*, much interest was taken in

the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masālik al-Aḥṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī (d. 749 = 1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlūk Sultāns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-'Umārī there were Kurds near al-'Irāk and al-Diyār al-'Arab and in Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-'Djibāl) inhabited by the Kurds began near Hamadān and ended in Cilicia (*bilād al-Takfūr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds of al-'Djazira and Mārdīn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mārdīn however a certain Ibrāhīm al-'Ars Bālū (?) had shortly before proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadān and the part of al-'Djazira that lies between Mawṣil and Kawār (cf. Kēwar in the *Sharaf-nāma*).

1. The Gūrānī, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa-ra'īya*).

2. The Gilālī (cf. the mountain called Galāla among the Sohrān; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 286 and Rich, *Narrative*, i. 123: *Ghellali*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Sharaf al-Dīn was governor of Arbil under the Mongols but was killed by a Mongol.

3. The Zangalī (= Zangana?).

4. The Kūsa and the Mabir (?) of *Shahrizūr* [q. v.] migrated to Syria and Egypt.

5. The Sabūlī (Sutūnī?), lived in *Shahrizūr* and *Ushnū*. Near them lived the *Qartāwī* (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 207).

6. The Ḥasnānī (*Khushnāwī*?), several thousand in number divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkār alongside of the *Qartāwī* (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karabolī (the defile of the Little Zāb; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 263).

7. Near Karḥīn (= Kirkūk?) and Daḳūḳ lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*bain al-djabalain*) on the territory of Arbil in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Māzandjān[?] to the number of 500 lived near Arbil and Māzandjān, Nērwa and Bēkma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zāb east of 'Akr). The chiefs of Māzandjān also ruled the related tribe of the Ḥumaidī (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Māzandjān called Kak had received the title Mubārīz al-Dīn from the 'Abbāsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nā'ib* of Arbil. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghūn but according to the *Subḥ al-A'shā*, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief ('Akr and Shūsh).

10. Near Tell-Haftūn was the land of the numerous Sohrī tribe (Sohrān).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzāri ("children of gold"). They also possessed Malāzgirid (= Rubār-i Barāzgirid) and Rustāk (the southern part of *Shamdinān*).

12. The *Djūlāmerg*, of Omayyad origin, numbered 3,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawān (read Margawar) were allies of their *Djūlāmergī* and Zarzāri neighbours.

14. Near *Djūlāmerg* was the canton of Gawār.

15. Near *Djūlāmerg* beside 'Akr and 'Amādiya was the canton of Zibārī inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkārī lived at 'Amādiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkārī beside Mardj were the *Djabal al-'Amrani* and the cave of Kahf Dāwūd where lived the Besitki (??).

18. Near *Djūlāmerg* towards Mawṣil lived the Bokhtī, rivals of the Ḥumaidi.

19. The Dāsini had been very numerous but their chief Badr al-Din came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dāsini in the province of Mawṣil. 500 Dāsini lived at 'Akr.

20. The Dumbūlī (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masūlik* the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* basing on *al-Tathkif* composed by Taḳī al-Din about 748 (1347) adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Timūr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistan. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The *Qara-Koyunlu* dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistan, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extreme *Shi'a* of the *Qara-Koyunlu*) and provoked considerable movements of the population: it was at this period that the Mukri Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia (cf. *sāwuj-bulāk*). In contrast to this, the conquest by Timūr which temporarily swept aside the *Qara-Koyunlu* had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Ḥiṣn Kaifā and *Djazira* between 796—897 (1393—1491) are recorded in the Syriac Chronicle (written at Haidham) publ. by Behnisch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Timūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796 and 803. After overrunning Baghdad and Diyārbakr Timūr attacked *Djazira* which was destroyed. The dependencies of *Djazira* were likewise conquered. Timūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to *Sharaf al-Din* of Bidlis "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistan". In 803 Timūr returned from Baghdad to *Ādharbāidjan* and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Timūr, *Qara-Yūsuf Qara-Koyunlu* returned to Kurdistan and sought refuge at first with *Shams al-Din* of Bidlis. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820 *Qara Yūsuf* by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlis in their possessions. When in 824 (1421), *Shāhrukh*, son of Timūr arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by *Shams al-Din* of Bidlis, Malik Muḥammad Hakkārī, Malik Khalil of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, the amirs of *Khizān* etc. The Kurds of *Khōi* also remained loyal to *Shāhrukh's* governor (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, *N. E.*, xiv., p. 153).

The *Ak-Koyunlu* (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 164: *istiṣāl-i khānawādahā-yi Kurdistan*) and in general persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the *Qara-Koyunlu* like the great tribe of Čamishgezēk. Uzun Ḥasan's generals Ṣufi Khalil

and 'Arab-Shāh conquered Hakkārī, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbūlī tribe from Bohtān. In 875 (1470) (cf. Behnisch, *op. cit.*, p. 14) *Djazira* passed entirely into the power of the *Ak-Koyunlu* who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 123. The *Ak-Koyunlu* general Sulaimān b. Bīzan drove out of Bidlis the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Ya'qūb b. Uzun Ḥasan.

The *Ṣafawī Shāhs* and the Ottoman Sultāns. Shāh Ismā'il had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the *Ak-Koyunlu*. After the battle of *Sharūr* 907 (1502) he won all the country between Baghdad and Mar'ash. Ismā'il's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the *Ak-Koyunlu*. Like the latter the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes but being a zealous extreme *Shi'i* (cf. *KHAṬĀ'Ī*) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at *Khōi* to pay homage, Ismā'il imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the *Kizil-bash* tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistan became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sultāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat at Čaldirān (1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismā'il, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismā'il's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Ḥakīm Idris, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistan a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čaldirān deeply affected Kurdistan. Malik Khalil (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 155) the dispossessed prince of Ḥiṣn Kaifā had regained possession of Si'ird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muḥammad Beg of Ṣāṣūn was fighting against the Persians. Aḥmad Beg of Maiyafāriḳin, Qāsim Beg of Agil, *Djamshīd* Beg of Pālū, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of *Djazira* had succeeded in repulsing the Persians of Mawṣil. Sa'īd Beg Sohrān had taken Arbīl and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idris to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sultān.

When Selim had left Tabriz, Ismā'il sent reinforcements to Diyārbakr and Ḥiṣn Kaifā. Idris summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian Governor of Kurdistan. The Kurds of Diyārbakr resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Bīylklī Muḥammad Pāshā. Bīylklī and Idris met at Ḥiṣn-Kaifā and defeated the Persians. Then reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from 'Amādiya?) the Turks relieved Diyārbakr and took Mārdin, except the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdad and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdin drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Naṣibin-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated and Bīylklī forced Sulaimān Khān who was still at Mārdin to surrender. The occupation of Naṣibin, Dārā,

Maiyāfārīqin, Diyārbakr and Sindjār followed and Idris completed the administrative organisation of the sandjak. In the province of Diyārbakr eleven sandjaks were put under Turkish officials, eight under Kurds (*Akrād beyliği*). The wālis confirmed the investitures of the new begs but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *hukūmat* (*kürd-hükümeti*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, ch. ii. and iv., quoting 'Ain-i 'Alī Mū'adhinzāde who wrote at the beginning of the xith [xvith] century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistan from Malāṭiya to Bāyazīd and Shahrizūr (cf. below the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi [iv. 176—180 and 271—316]: on the 37 sandjaks joined to Wān by the law of Sulaimān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idris was liberally rewarded and the firmāns of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, i. 749).

In 936 (1530) Shāh Tahmāsp recovered Baghdad from Dhu 'l-Fakār, a Kurd of the tribe of Mūslū (Moşullu?). A long series of wars began again. Sulṭān Sulaimān led an army against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdad troops conquered the Kurds of Belkās and Shahrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 236).

By the peace of 999 (1590) 'Abbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces including Ādharbāidjān, Shahrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii. 559) but in 1010 (1061) fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021 (1612) Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahrizūr (*ibid.*, ii. 745). Shāh 'Abbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khorāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdad. During Hāfiz Pāshā's first campaign (1623) his army included the Kurdistan troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mārdin. After the death of Shāh 'Abbās, the grand vizier Khusraw Pāshā advanced on Baghdad in 1039 (1629). Saiyid Khān of 'Amādiya, Mīra Beg Sohrān and the mixed Kurdo-Arab tribe of Bādījilān took the side of Khusraw Pāshā while Aḥmad Khān Ardālān threatened the Turkish flank. Khusraw Pāshā advanced as far as Senna [q. v.] and Hamadān. On their way back the Turks defeated at Čamčāmāl and Dartang a Persian force. Baghdad still held out however and when Khusraw Pāshā had retired Aḥmad Khān Ardālān re-occupied Shahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii. 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048 (1638) did Murād IV finally take Baghdad and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia *prossio modo* which fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the sixteenth century (*Ta'rikh-i Na'imā*, i. 686). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain.

The great struggle between the Šafawis and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *Sharaf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the

Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005 (1596).

Sharaf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlis, Sharaf al-Din (cf. BIDLIS) finished in 1005 (1596) occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*ṣahīfa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*saṭṭanat*); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *khutba* recited in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*hukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlis. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [q. v.] of Diyārbakr and Djazira, the Ḥasan-waihidis [q. v.] of Dainawar and Shahrizūr; the Faḍlūyids of the Great Lur; the princes of little Lur [cf. LUR] and the Aiyūbids [q. v.].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Sharaf al-Din enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking Djazirat ibn 'Omar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bidlis) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Sharaf al-Din distinguishes as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistan. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*ashīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between Djazira and Darsīm.

1. The chiefs of Djazira* claimed Omaiya origin but gave as their ancestor Khālid b. Walid. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Omaiya with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general Khālid b. Walid [q. v.] whose tombs are shown near Si'ird (Hartmann, *Bohtān*, p. 19, 124). These chiefs were at first Yazidis and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnis. After the death of Sulaimān b. Khālid his three sons divided his possessions: Djazira fell to Mir 'Abd al-'Aziz, Gurgil to Mir Ḥadīdji Beg and Finik to Mir Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *Sharaf-nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyet-i Bokhtī* (i. 320) and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 nāhiya forming this important fief: Gurgil, Arwakh, Pirūz, Bādān and Tanzē (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kārsi; Finik; Tūr, Haitam (Hethum) and Shākḥ inhabited by Christians; Nīsh Atil; Aramshāt the tribe of which (Brāspi) is the chief among those of Bokht; Kēwar or Kamiz(?); Dair-dih which belongs to Tanzē.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtan, Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1896, 2 and 1897, 1, p. 1—163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Djazirat Ibn 'Omar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhtī were the

Sindiyañ (cf. under 'Amādiya) settled on the Khābūr.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of Khizān, Isbāyerd (Sparhet, Ispert; in Ewliya Çelebi: Isbā'ird) and Muks (Mukus) were three brothers who came from Balidjan (Khnis) in the time of the Saldjūks (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namiran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. Shirwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below Khizān and north-east of Si'ird). The ancestors of the "Shirawī" chiefs were in the services of the Aiyūbids and came to Shirwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Hişn-Kaifā. The Shirawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i. 155). The capital of Shirwān was Kufrā. The other dependencies were Awil, Shabistān (also called Garni = Kirnik?) and Irūn.

4. Bidlis. * The Rūzagi (Rōzagi) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūzi*) in the village of Tāb in the canton of Khoit (now the qaḍā of Mōdkī west of Bidlis), formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāsi and Kawālisi. Sharaf al-Dīn (i. 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of the Rūzagi, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers: Bilbāsi (10 clans) and Kawālisi (10 clans).

The Rūzagi took Bidlis and Hāzō (Şaşūn) from the Georgian king Tāvit (David the Courpalate, p. 984—1001?). Later they brought from Akhlat two brothers of Sāsānian origin. One became chief at Bidlis and the other at Şaşūn. 18 chiefs of the line of Diyā al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlis before 1005 (1596). The only interruptions took place under the Saldjūks (534—576), under the Aq-Koyunlu (871—900), under Shāh Ismā'il (913—920?) and between 941 and 986. In this last year Sultān Sulaimān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amir Shams al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. Shams al-Dīn had to leave Bidlis but fearing new intrigues went to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, who treated him with generosity. Shams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965. His son Sharaf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940, was carefully educated at the court (the Shāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismā'il II, Sharaf al-Dīn fell under suspicion and was sent to Nakhčuwān. From there he succeeded in reaching Wān and received from Murād I investiture for Bidlis, to which Mūsh was added in 991. For the year 1065 (1655) Ewliya Çelebi (iv. 81—121) gives us a detailed description of Bidlis. The last prince of Bidlis, Sharaf Beg was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii. 149).

5. The rulers of Şaşūn (Hāzō) were called 'Izzīn from their ancestor 'Izz al-Dīn, brother of Diyā al-Dīn of Bidlis. The 'ashirats of Şaşūn were at first Shirawī, Bābūsi, Sūsāni and Tamūki. The Rūzaki (cf. Bidlis) arrived afterwards; later after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district: Khālidi, Dair Mughāni, 'Azizān, who had at first belonged to Hişn Kaifā, came to join those of Şaşūn.

6. The Suwaidi chiefs claimed a Barmecide origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaidi tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaidi was

Ganj (this should be read for *Kikh* in Véliaminof-Zernof, i. 260).

7. The Pāzūkī tribe which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i. 328) is said to have been of Suwaidi origin. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafḍ wa-ilhād*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khālidi-beglu and Sheker-beglu, and one was under the Amirs of Bidlis. Khālidi received as fiefs Khnis, Malāzgerd and the canton of Uḥkān (?) of Mūsh. They grew so proud that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Čaldīrān the Suwaidi dispossessed the Pāzūkī from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i. 257). In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, Kīlīdj Beg appointed chief of the Pāzūkī received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later Pāzūkī were transferred to Alashkert where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsi chiefs (*Mirdāsi* in the *Selim-nāma*) claimed to be descended from the 'Abbāsids. Their ancestor was a religious man who came from Hakkāri to Agil and whose disciples the Mirdāsi became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kilāb from around Aleppo who migrated about 420 as a result of troubles with the Fātimids (cf. Lane-Poole, *The Muham. Dynasties*, No. 45: the Mirdāsids of Aleppo). The main one of the three branches, the Buldukāni, lived at Agil; it maintained good relations with the Aq-Koyunlu but under Shāh Ismā'il, Agil was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdāsi, one ruled at Pālū, at Bāghin (below Kighi) and at Kharput and the other first at Bardandj and later at Djarmūk (south of Arghana-ma'dan).

9. The rulers of Čamishgezек claimed to be of 'Abbāsid descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saldjūk). Their 'ashirat was called Malkishī (Malik-Shāhī?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malkishī in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malkishī were so numerous that the name *Kurdistan* had become synonymous with Čamishgezек (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 163). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Timūr and Kara Yūsuf but the Aq-Koyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Kara-Koyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Čamishgezек. Shaikh Hasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shāh Ismā'il. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selim I restored the hereditary amir Pir Husain.

Group B. Between Djazira and Kilis.

10. Hasan-keif* (cf. Hişn-Kaifā). The local chiefs (*malikān*) claimed to be of Aiyūbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was alleged to have received the fief of Hişn-Kaifā from the ruler of Mārdin. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma*, is Malik Sulaimān who died in 736 (1335). The Aq-Koyunlu seized Hişn-Kaifā but Malik Khālil who had taken refuge in Hamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khālil. Among the dependencies of Hişn Kaifā, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions Si'ird, Bishēri, Tūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Djazira, cf. *ibid.*, p. 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

11. Sulaimāni, rulers of Marwānid origin (Omāiyad), established themselves at first at Khūkh in

the canton of Ghazālī (between the ʔulp and the Baṭmān-ṣu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala-Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Bānūki, but the more enterprising was Basiyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyazid under their chief Shāhsawār. A number of these tribes professed Yazīdī doctrines. The Sulaimānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Ṣāṣūn. They were divided into two branches, that of ʔulp and Baṭmān and that of Maiyāfāriḳin.

12. Zraḳī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, *J. A.*, 1910, p. 119—139); according to Sharaf al-Dīn, Zraḳī, is a contraction of the Arabic Azraḳī. The ancestor of the family who was an Arab holy man from Syria of 'Alid origin arrived in Mārdīn in the time of Ortoḳ (d. 516 = 1122; Abu 'l-Faraj, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Ortoḳids and later with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. There were four branches of Zraḳī, the principal branches were those of Tardjīl (west of the Baṭmān-ṣu) and 'Atāḳ. The two other branches were that of Darzīnī (an old Christian convent Dei-Zir?) and that of Kurdikān (between Diyārbakr and Maiyāfāriḳin) the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zraḳī chief and a gipsy woman (*dukhtar-i kābuli*).

13. Kilis. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkāri and 'Amādiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantashā) had rendered services to the Aiyūbids who gave him the canton of ʔuşair (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazīdīs of ʔuşair and those living between Ḥamā and Mar'ash as well as the Kurds of Djōm and Kilis. Under the Mamlūk Sultāns and under Selim I disputes broke out between the Yazīdīs (Shāikh 'Izz al-Dīn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter, but the hereditary rights of this North Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Djazīra and ʔhoi.

14. Hakkāri* (cf. HAKKĀRĪ and SHAMDĪNĀN). Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around 'Amādiya from which the Zangid Atābegs had driven them northwards. The emīrs claimed to be of 'Abbāsīd descent.

The first Amīr mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* is 'Izz al-Dīn Shīr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yezdān-Shīr) who held out against Timūr in 789 (1387) in the fortress of Vān. Under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu the tribe of Dumbulī (of Djazīra) took possession of Hakkāri but the Christians or Diz (*Asūri* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dīn Zarrīn Čang ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shambō (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della lingua kurda*, Rome 1787, p. 4: *Sciambō*). In the time of Ismā'īl I, the Shambō chiefs lived in the castle of Bāi (in Shamdīnān); a member of the family ruled at Wostān (south-west of Vān) but the possession of the nāhiya of Kawāsh west of Wostān was disputed to the Hakkāri by the Rūzakī. Hakkāri rule extended to Albāḳ in the north. The last representative of the Hakkāri house, Nūr-Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān

Beg of Bokhtān and in 1845 Halime Khānīm surrendered Bash-ḳal'a to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānīsh (*ibid.* i. 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkāri.

15. The Maḥmūdī fief lies north of Hakkāri on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arčak. The rulers (Marwānī or 'Abbāsīd of Bokhtan) who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 307), settled there in the Kara-Ḳoyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkāri and Dumbulī.

16. The Dumbulī are a tribe of Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 118, 310: *Dumbul-i Bokht*) which for long remained Yazīdī). The Dumbulī later came into Ādharbāidjān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sögmanābād) north-west of ʔhoi (now: Zūrawā). Under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu the Dumbulī had seized the castle of Bāi (in Shamdīnān) and a part of Hakkāri (*ibid.*, i., p. 193). To their *odjaḳ* of Sukmanābād Shāh Tahmāsp added ʔhoi. Under Sultān Sulaimān the Dumbulī received ʔotur [q.v.] and Bārgiri, later they annexed Abaghā, Sulaimān-Sarāi (the modern Sarāi) and Cāldfrān. Zain al-'Abidin Shīrwānī in his *Bustān al-Siyāḥat* (beginning of the sixteenth century) says that all the Dumbulī are Shī'īs (cf. the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādōst. The ruling family was of Gūrān or Hasanwaihīd descent [q.v.]. Its lands lay west of Ūrmia. One branch ruled at Ṣōmāi [q.v.]; another at Tergewer and at ʔal'a Dāwūd. The remnants of the Brādōst tribe now live south of Shamdīnān on the Rūbār-i Brādōst (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter which is wanting in the manuscripts must certainly refer to the first dynasty of Shamdīnān, whose headquarters were Sutūnī in the nāhiya of Harkī (cf. SHAMDĪNĀN).

19. The history of the Zarzā (cf. the Zar-zari of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī) announced in the preface to the *Sharaf-nāma* is lacking in the text.

20. Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe.

Group D. South of Hakkāri.

21. 'Amādiya* [q.v.]. We have seen that the town of 'Amādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (521—541). The local dynasty of Bahdīnān mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (viii—viiith century). The chiefs of 'Amādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Timūrid period. Later (under Ismā'īl I) the Bahdīnān annexed the Zakhō district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaimānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*vilāyet-i Sindiyān*). In this way the fief of Bahdīnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawṣil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Tāsīnī (Dāsīnī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts but in the text we find a reference which shows that the Amīrs of 'Amādiya took Dohūk from the sandjāḳ-i Tāsīnī (i. 109) and that in 941 (1534) Sultān Selīm I gave the sandjāḳ of Arbīl and the whole wilāyet of Sohrān to Ḥusain Beg Dāsēnī, a Yazīdī chief" which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i. 274—277). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony

and Husain Beg was executed at Constantinople. On the region called Däsen, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 202—207.

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalūs, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hūdiyān in the nāhiya of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amir of Balakān (east of Rawānduz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i. 157) were Ḥarir (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawānduz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005 A.H. but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i. 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the Little Zāb and has as its capital Shāri-Bāzēr but in 1199 (1784) the Bābān built a new capital Sulaimāniya (q.v. for details).

25. Mukri, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀK) had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26. Bānā. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted Islām of their own free will (*ikhhtiyār*) (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀK).

27. Ardālān: see the articles, ARDILĀN, SHAH-RAZŪR, SENNA, SĪSAR.

28. Gāl-Bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii., suppl. 36—45, the addition is dated 1092). Their chief 'Abbās Āghā of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalū received a "spring of water" in Mariwān (cf. SENNA) from Bige-beg Ardālān (900—942). 'Abbās Āghā later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur. His followers were recruited from different tribes. Shāh Tahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Oimāk".

Later the Porte gave 'Alī-Khān Gālbāghī the sandjak consisting of Kirind, Shaikhān, Ākarān (?), Khorkhōra, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *timar* of Erekle(?), Rangrazān and Sahbānān (?).

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gudarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The *ashīrat* of the Kalhur is called Gūrān (i. 317) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii., suppl. 6). There were three branches of the Kalhur; those of Palangān (cf. SENNA), Dartang (cf. ZOHĀB) and Mahī-dasht (cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH).

The possessions of the chiefs of Darna and Dartang (now Ridjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to Shāraf al-Dīn, i. 319, corresponded to the older Hulwān [q.v.]. About 1005 the power of Kubād Beg stretched from Dainawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Mahīdasht and Bilāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*odjak*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Mahīdasht branch was nomadic. All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds.

The plan of the section (*fırka*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrādī Īrān* is not very clear. The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Maṣṣūr, Ġiganī and Zangana. Their eponyms

were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardālān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Shāraf al-Dīn there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dōrt*) of Karabāgh (in Transcaucasia), about 30,000 men under one ruler, and the Gil tribe in Khorāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Maṣṣūr. In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp its chief had become *Amir al-umara'* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Ġiganī emigrated to Ġharċistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-Īrāk and Khorāsān.

From 1650 to 1730. "Great Kurdistan", as it has been described by Shāraf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the sandjaks of Diyārbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049 (1639) put an end to Persian expansion westwards but Turkey during the reign of the Safawī epigones succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *G.O.R.*², iv. 235). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Aḥmad Pāshā, appointed governor-general of Diyārbakr in 1638, making an expedition against the Yazidī of Sindjār. Later (1065 = 1655) the same Pāshā after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1666 a Kurd, the son of a *shaikh*, declared himself *Mahdī* but was captured by the rulers of Mawṣil and 'Amādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sulṭān Muḥammad IV taking the *soi-disant* Mahdī into his personal service (v. Hammer, iii. 589).

In the reign of the feeble Shāh Ḥusain, the Kurds of al-Īrāk, in 1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1722 by order of Shāh Tahmāsp II an attempt to retake Isfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandun (Feridūn) but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (Hanway, *A Historical Account of the British Trade*, 1753, vol. iii). Fortune deserted the Safawīs. Even 'Abbās Ḡulī Khān Ardālān submitted to Ḥasan Pāshā (J. v. Hammer, iv. 211; cf. however, *R. M. M.*, xlix., p. 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Djawānrūd, Darna, Djāf, Harsin and finally by the *sipahsālār* 'Alī Mardān Bakhtiyārī [Fāilī?] (v. Hammer, iv. 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Isfahān, Ashraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1726) who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaimānoghlu (Sulaimān Bābān?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ashraf had lavished promises; indeed shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140 (1727) Ashraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Shāh. Towards the end of the reign

of Sulṭān Aḥmad III affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144 (1732) the Persians regained their western provinces and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1733 Topal ʿOṭmān Pāshā appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements he had raised in Mawṣil. Nādir was defeated. In 1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflis which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149 (1736), the old frontiers of 1049 (1639) were restored. In 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Senna where he was finally defeated (ibid. iv., 317, 398—399).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal ʿOṭmān Pāshā. Among the Ardalan, Nādir replaced Subḥān Werdi Khān by his brother which provoked a popular rising (*R. M. M.*, xlix., p. 88). In 1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans the Kurds of Khorāsān (Čamish-gezek and Karačorlu) refused their help to Nādir who punished them and transported them to Mashhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Khorāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, p. 118—120). The Kurds (Dumbuli etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Karim Khān Zand [q.v.], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Ighār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Khorāsān but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Tā'rikh-i Zandiya*, ed. Beer, p. xi., xviii.). With the death of Luṭf ʿAlī Khān in 1209 (1794) the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty but Karim Khān, like his predecessors had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistan to Shirāz (Aḥmadāwand, *R. M. M.*, xxxviii.; Kōrūnī, who live in a particular quarter in Shirāz, O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, xxix.).

The Kādĵars. On the death of Aghā Muḥammad Shāh Kādĵār (1211 = 1797) Šadik Khān Shākaĵi seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The Dynasty of the Kājars*, transl. by Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, p. 20, 27—32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, p. 107, 115, 125). In 1221 (1805) the Persians had intervened on behalf of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pāshā of Sulaimāniya [q.v.] (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i., 384; Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and the Mukrī Kurd song in the collection made by O. Mann, N^o. xvi.). In 1236 (1821) as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Haidarānlu and Sipkān the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlis and Mūsh; at the same time they advanced as far as Sherābān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238 (1823) signed at Erzerūm restored the frontier of 1049 (1639) but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kuris. The fate of Sulaimāniya remained in suspense. A

new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate and in 1246 (1847) a new treaty was signed at Erzerūm by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaimāniya in favour of Turkey. During 1848—1852, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwish Pāshā prevented an agreement being reached. Darwish Pāshā not only had the canton of Kōtūr occupied by soldiers but in a secret memoir (published at Constantinople in 1286 and 1321) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the sixteenth century. In 1826, the ruler of Siwās, Rashid Muḥammad Pāshā was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistan. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khān and Saʿid Beg, Ismāʿil Beg and Muḥammad Pāshā of Rawānduz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khoshnāw; in 1831 he seized Arbil, Altun-Köprü, Kōi-Sandĵak and Rāniya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawṣil; at Alkosh 172 Christians were put to death. ʿAkra, Zibar and ʿAmādiya, were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawānduz penetrated as far as Zakhō, and Djazira to re-establish Badr Khān in power there. The Yazidis were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief ʿAlī who refused to become a convert to Islām was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *J. A.*, 1910, p. 134—136), and a whole body of Yazidis were massacred on the hill of Koyundĵik. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Muḥammad Pāshā from Baghdād, Mawṣil and Siwās and in 1836 the Mir of Rawānduz was captured by a ruse. Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i. 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, p. 259—284).

The defeat at Nizib (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistan. In 1843 began the rising of Nūrullāh Beg of Hakkāri and of Badr Khān of Djazira. The Nestorians of Hakkāri had lodged a complaint in Mawṣil against the oppressions of Nūrullāh Beg. In reply the latter laid waste the Nestorian canton of Barwāri. The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The Powers made representations at Constantinople and in 1847 a large army under ʿOṭmān Pāshā attacked the Kurds. Badr Khān and Nurallāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistan (cf. Layard, *Nineveh*, chap. vii.; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1900, v. 649—653; Addai Scher in *J. A.*, 1910, *loc. cit.*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see: Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841; Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; Perkins, *A residence of 8 years among the Nestorian christians*, New York 1852; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1889; Heazell, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians*, New York 1906; H. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804—1805, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828—1829, 1853—1858, 1877—1878, each had far reaching effects in Kurdistān (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdī v. voinskikh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān-Shīr, nephew and a former rival of Badr Khān.

The war of 1877—1878 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdīnān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr Khān and later by the rebellion under Shaikh 'Ubaiddallāh of the Naḡshbandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sāwāj-Bulāk, Miyando-āb and Marāgha and threatened Tabriz itself. The chief victims were Shīrīs. Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier. Persia mobilised considerable forces including the Mākū [q. v.] cavalry. Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications. Finally the Shaikh returned to Shāmdīnān whence he was sent to Constantinople. He soon escaped from the capital and via the Caucasus returned to Shāmdīnān but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The Hāmīdiya troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn re-action of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shākīr Pāshā, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory for later the Hāmīdiya levies were transformed into regulars (*Khafīf suwārī*). The creation of the Hāmīdiya in any case by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relation. At the same time relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Śāṣūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talorī (Dalvorikh) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Śāṣūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppression in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt of a

rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the xxth century to the world war the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general see Abowian, *Kurdī* in the *Kawkaz* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte raspredeleniya armiansk. naseleniya, Zapis. Kavkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obshch.*, Tiflis 1895, xviii.; Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden, Deutsche Rundschau*, 1890, lxxvii., p. 216—231; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden, Verhand. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1900, p. 128—133; Contenson, *Chrétien et Musulmans*, Paris 1901; Lynch, *Armenia*, passim; Mayewski, *Opisaniye Wanskago i Bitlis. wilayetow*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work); N. Marr, *Yeshee o slove "celebi"*, *Zap.*, 1910, xx.; Zarzechi (consul of France at Wān), *La question kurdo-arménienne, La Revue de Paris*, N^o. of April 15, 1914 and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian Orange book of 1914.

The xxth century. At the beginning of the xxth century a new figure appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrāhīm Pāshā b. Maḥmūd b. Timawī b. Aiyūb, chief of the tribe Millī (Milān) in the canton of Shariwērān (between Diyārbakr and Aleppo). Ibrāhīm Pāshā had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of 'Abd al-'Azīz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende, Asien*, 1909, viii. 34—37, 52—54 and M. Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 317—327).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sāwāj-bulāk inhabited by Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912) but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoi and Urmia. Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia. On November 17, 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Constantinople and just before the World War, a four Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, England and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the sixteenth century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-persidsk. razgraničeniye, Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obshch.*, Petrograd 1916, lii., p. 351—392).

The War of 1914—1918. In the course of the war from 1914—1918 the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismā'il Agha Simko cf. the article SHAKĀK. — On the interallied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistān, cf. the documents in *Randel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, p. 185—187, 225.

After 1917—1918 the situation was radically changed. Kurd committees were formed every-

where (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Sharif Pāshā assumed the role of Kurd representative in Paris and on March 22, 1919 and March 1, 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie Française*, 1919, N^o. 175, p. 192—193). At the same time, on December 20, 1919, an arrangement was reached between Sharif Pāshā and the Armenian representatives and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Peyām-i Şabāh*, Constantinople, Feb. 24, 1920; cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, March 10, 1920). The Treaty of Sèvres of August 10, 1920 having created Armenia (Art. 88—93) of the four wilāyet (of Trebizond, Erzerüm, Vān and Bidlis), provided in articles 62—64 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned shows to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agrees to conform to the recommendation and in this case the allied Powers will raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the wilāyet of Mawşil. As a result of later events the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the wilāyet of Mawşil. The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of İsmet Paşa at the meeting of Jan. 23, 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on December 16, 1925 the wilāyet of Mawşil was allotted to İrak but with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawşil serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharput and Diyarbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shaikh Sa'īd Nakshbandi. Shaikh Sa'īd was captured on April 16, 1925 and executed at Diyarbakr. Since the settlement of the Mawşil question, the Angora government has enforced a policy the tendency of which is to eliminate from Kurdistan feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, *La Revue de Paris*, Oct. 15, 1925.

Bibliography: The writer has to thank Mr. G. R. Driver, who with the greatest disinterestedness put at his disposal a large quantity of historical material on the Kurds. A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic, and Georgian sources. A systematic

ransacking of sources like the *Selīm-nāma* of Hakim Idris and his son Abu 'l-Faql and the *Tārikh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Sharaf-nāma* (down to 1005 = 1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliaminof-Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, vol. i. (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860; vol. ii. (variants of volume i. and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005 = 1596), St. Petersburg 1862. The French translation by F. Charmoy: *Cheref-nūmah or Fastes de la nation Kurde* in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868—1875, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Dīkhān-numā* of Hādjdj Khalifa) but is now in many respects out of date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barb, *Über die Kurden-Chronik von Scheref; Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter; Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien; Gesch. v. weiteren Kurden-Dynastien; Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstentherrschaft in Bidlis*, which appeared respectively in the *Sitzungsb. A. W. Wien*, x., 1853, p. 258—276; xxii., 1857, p. 3—28; xxviii., 1858, p. 3—54; xxx./i., 1859; xxxii., 1859, p. 145—250. The lost history of Kurdistan by Muḥammad Efendi Şahrazūrī (d. 1073 = 1662 at Medina, cf. *Tādj al-'Arūs*, s. v. *Kurd*) has not yet come to light again (1927). For the histories of the house of Ardalān cf. SENNA where should be added the history (to 1254 = 1834) of Khusraw b. Muḥammad b. Minūchīr, cf. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, i., p. 305, N^o. 498. On the *Risālat Ansāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd cf. Romasiewicz, in the *Mélanges Asiatique*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, p. 392. The newspaper *Zar-i Kurmāndjī* (of Rawānduz) has published in Kurdish a short history *Ġhunā-yi Bahārīstān* (1926) and announces the early publication of the *Tārikh-i Kurdān* of Zain al-'Abidin Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi esistenti*, Naples 1818; Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masālik al-Abṣār*, N. E., xiii., 1838; Rich, *Narrative* (cf. SULAIMĀNIYA); Charmoy in the preface to his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*; Lerch, *Izsledowaniya ob iranskikh Kurдах*, St. Petersburg 1856, i., p. 20—33; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten*, 1880; Tomaschek, *Sasun, Sitzb. A. W. W.*, p. 133—134, 1895; Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnje, Sitzb. A. W. Wien*, p. 133, 1895; Rawlinson and Wilson in the *Encyclop. Britannica*, 1911, xv. 949—951; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, *J. A.*, 1910, xv., p. 119—140: the events of 1202, 1508, 1510—1512 (Djazīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 ('Amādiya), 1820—1836 (Rawānduz); Soane, *To Mesopotamia... in disguise*, London 1912, Chap. xvi.; Minorsky, *Kurdi*, St. Petersburg 1915; Driver, *Studies in Kurdish History*, *Bull. School of Orient Studies*, London 1922, II/3, p. 491—513. — In November 1926, Mr. Cl. Huart made several communications to the Institut des Inscriptions on the history of the Kurds but the death of the author has delayed their publication.

C. Anthropology, Sociology and Ethnography.

It is sufficient to compare the photographs of the Milli ("Arab type"), Girdî ("Mukri type"), Koçkiri ("Biblical Jew type"), Şamdinân ("Nestorian" and "Hakkârî" types) Kurds, that figure in Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, on p. 321, 343, 373, 425—429 or the types of northern Kurds given by Lynch, *Armenia*, ii., fig. 109 ("Turkoman" type) and fig. 114 (original and very marked type) to be able to say at once that any idea of finding a general formula for the "Kurd type" is quite illusory.

In consequence it is only as personal opinions that one can quote the generalisation of even the most careful observers like Duhoussset, *Etudes sur les populations de la Perse*, Paris 1863, p. 12—16; Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'ethnogr. de la Perse*, Paris 1866, p. 107; Chantre, *Aperçu sur les caractères ethniques des Ansariés et des Kurdes*, Bull. Soc. Anthropol. de Lyon, 1882, i., p. 162; v. Luschan, *Early inhabitants of Western Asia*, Annual Report Smithsonian Inst. for 1914, p. 561—562; do., *Die Wandervölker Kleinasiens*, Verh. d. Gesell. f. Anthropol., 1886 and *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, Berlin 1922; *Das Volk d. Kurden*, Globus, lviii., 25, p. 355—363; Pissou, *Races des hautes vallées du Tigre et de l'Euphrate*, Revue Scient., 1892, xlix., p. 557—560, 581—588.

All these characterisations with their contradictions evidently refer only to individuals that the authors had seen but no one has ever examined all the Kurd tribes. Scientific measurements have been rarely taken; cf. Duhoussset, *o. l.*, tables 7—8; Khanikoff, *o. l.*, p. 138, and the Russian works of Dr. Elisewew, *Anthropol. exkursiya, Izv. Geogr. Obsh.*, xxiii. and *Po belu Svétu*, St. Petersburg 1896, iii. 319, 332, of Dr. Danilow, A. A. Iwanowski (Yezidi, in *Russki Anthropol. Journal*, 1900, N° 3 with Russ. bibliography) and Dr. Pantukhow (cf. C. H., *Einige Notizen über die Kurden und Karapapachen nach Pantjuchow, Ausland*, 36, p. 719).

We now possess a fairly complete list of the names of Kurd tribes and their approximate distribution. But a complete survey, taking into account the facts of history and based on information collected on a uniform system would require a vast amount of preliminary work. We have the minute examination of the material available in 1856 in Lerch's work, *Izslédovaniya ob iranskikh Kurдах*, St. Petersburg 1856, i., p. 59—121 (this part of Lerch's book is omitted in the German translation *Forschungen über die Kurden*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858). Among later compilations may be mentioned: Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kourdes*, St. Petersburg 1860, p. 1—7; Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, i.; col. Kartsew, *Zamétki o kurдах*, in *Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1897, xix., p. 339—368 (with a map) and the very fullest (305 names) by Sir Mark Sykes, *The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire*, *J. R. Anthropol. Inst. of Gr. Brit.*, 1908, p. 451—480 (with a map) reprinted in his *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 553—592; Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel 1919, p. 19—74. For the Persian tribes see the articles KIRMĀNŞĀH, LAK, MĀKŪ, SĀWĎJ-BULĀK, SENNA and URMIA; for the Kurds in Transcaucasia see E. Kondratenko, *Ethnogr. karti Zakawkazya*,

Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh., Tiflis 1896, appendix to vol. xviii.

Three things are characteristic of the mode of life of the Kurds: the historical tendency of the Kurds to group themselves on territorial fiefs around strongholds occupied by their chiefs, who are often of origin foreign to the local tribes; the existence of a warrior caste which supports the chief and conserves the ethnic agglomeration formed; the presence among the Kurds of shepherds (nomads and semi-nomads) as well as of agriculturists (settled or semi-settled).

Completely nomad tribes living in tents the whole year round and spending the winter in the warm plains of Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Arabs are now rather rare (cf. the list given by Sir Mark Sykes). The majority of the Kurds are semi-nomadic or settled. The former, following the climatic conditions of the country, live in villages during 5 to 8 months of the year and in summer after the harvest go to the mountains where they occupy strictly defined areas. Even the stages of migration of tribes like the Džāf (cf. SENNA) are rigorously fixed. More often the Kurds of this class confine themselves to ascending the heights adjoining their villages (called *Sarān* in the region of SāwĎj-Bulāk).

The settled Kurds seem very often to represent the older population who were conquered by the 'ashīrat soldiers or accepted this domination to secure protection against their neighbours (cf. the article SĀWĎJ-BULĀK). Strabo, xvi. 3, 1 noted the presence of agriculturists among the Cyrtii of Fārs. At one time the nomad tribes of Mūsh found shelter in winter in the Armenian villages of the plains but gradually (since 1842) exclusively Kurd villages arose beside the Armenian villages; cf. *Correspondence respecting the condition of population in Asia Minor and Syria*, Blue Books, Turkey 1879, No. 10; 1880, N° 4 and 23; 1881, N° 6 [Trotter's reports were translated into Russian in *Izv. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1882, vii., appendix]; Lynch, *Armenia*, 1901, ii. 423; Mayewski, *Wanskii i Bitlis. Wilayet*, Tiflis 1904 (lists of Armenian and Kurd villages). The general tendency of the Kurds is towards a settled existence. In northern Mesopotamia the Kurds have shown themselves fairly skilful agriculturists and for this reason have an advantage over the Beduin Arab element; cf. the *Handbook* (N° 57) "Turkey in Asia" publ. by the Foreign Office, p. 104: "Northern Mesopotamia seems destined to become Kurdish land".

The statements of an ethnographic character (costume, occupation, games, etc.) differ from tribe to tribe in Kurdistan and a premature generalisation might prove misleading. Only the Kurds of Eriwān (living far from the great Kurd centres) have been made the subject of a complete monograph by Egiazarov (a professor of law speaking Kurdish from his infancy), *Kratkii ethnogr. očerĳ Kurdow Eriwan. gubernii*, *Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1891, xiii/2; cf. also Khačaturow, *Kurdi, čerti yikh kharaktera i bita*, *Sborn. mater. po Kawkaz.*, Tiflis 1894, xx/1, p. 64—90. For the Kurds of Sulaimāniya see the remarkable work of Rich, *Narrative of a residence*, and Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, chap. xvi.; for the region of Mukri and Urmia: Arakelian, *Kurdi v Persii*, *Izv. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, xvii/1, 1904; de Morgan, *Miss. scientifique, Etudes geogr.*, ii.; Nikitine, *Quelques observations sur les*

Kurdes, Mercure de France, I, ii., 1921, p. 662—674; *La vie domestique kurde, Revue ethnogr. et des traditions populaires*, 1923, p. 334—344.

In the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 98, 131, 173—174, 381; ii., add., p. 44) we find curious features showing the part played by women among the Kurds; they enjoyed less liberty than among the Turkomans but interfered actively in affairs and even (among the Kalhur) ruled their tribes. On Ḥalime-khānīm of Hakkārī cf. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 717; on 'Ādila-khānīm of Alabēa (d. 1924 with the title "Khān bahādūr" conferred by the British government) cf. Soane, *To Mesopotamia*², 1926 and Minorsky, *Kurd*², St. Petersburg 1915, p. 37. Cf. also Rich, *Narrative*, ii. 285 and *passim*; Jaba, *Recueil*, p. 89, 99; Hyvernāt, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, 1892, p. 174.

Bibliography: Other articles relating to the life of the Kurds: de Morgan, *La féodalité en Perse, Revue d'ethnogr. et de sociol.*, Paris 1912, p. 180—182; Nikitine, *La féodalité kurde*, R. M. M., ix., p. 1—27; *Kurdische Textil- und Bekleid.-Industrie, Österr. Monatsschrift f. d. Orient*, 1876, p. 126—127; v. Luschan, *Zwei mit Menschenhaaren besetzte Teppiche, Zeitschr. Ethnol.*, xx., 1888, 6, p. 439; *Kustarn. promish. na Kawkaze, Kowrow. promish. Kurdow. Eriwan. gubernii*, Tiflis 1903 (Kurd carpets of Eriwān); Berliner and Borchart, *Silberschmiedarbeiten aus Kurdistan*, 1922; Volland, *Beiträge z. Ethnogr. d. Bewohner v. Armenien und Kurdistan*, Arch. f. Anthrop., 36, 1909, p. 183—196; Mirza M. Djewād al-Kāzi, *Studien aus dem Rechtsleben, in Kurdistan*, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss., xxii., 1909, p. 321—347; do., *Der Kurdenstamm Manggur*, Globus, 98, p. 213—215; E. Noel, *The Character of the Kurds as illustrated by their Proverbs and Popular Sayings*, Bull. School of Orient. Stud., i./iv., 1921, p. 79—90.

D. Religion.

The Kurds themselves believe that their ancestors were *madjūsī* (Zoroastrians), cf. M. Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 425, and perhaps the name Bahdinān ('Amādiya) may be a relic of Mazdaean terminology (*bīhdīn* "orthodox, layman"). Aramaic Christian sources however rather suggest that the Kurds at first professed some kind of paganism. In the third century Mār Mārī of Urfa (d. 226) made converts to Christianity at Shāhgert (Shahrgert between Dakūkā and Arbīl, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 270) of the king and the people who "worshipped trees and sacrificed to the idol of copper" (Raabe, *Mār Mārī*, p. 26). Ishō'yabī built a convent near Thāmānīn (near Djazirat Ibn 'Omar) at the "spot where the Kurds had sacrificed to devils". The Kurds whom Mār Sābhā (d. 485) converted to Christianity were worshippers of the sun, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 75.

Statements regarding the attempts at evangelizing the Kurds are very scanty but it is a fact that Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 254, mentions among the Kurds al-Ya'qūbiya and al-Djūrḡān Christians living near Mawṣil and Djabal al-Djūdī (cf. Marco Polo, Ch. xxiv.). After their conversion to Islām, the Kurds frequently supported the Khāridjī movement (the rising of the Zandjī slaves in the region of Baṣra, that of Daisam in Ādharbāidjān; cf. Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, v., p. 231: the Kurds scattered through Ādharbāidjān are known as *shurāt* = Khāridjīs). There were also Kurds who denied the authority

of the Caliphs 'Othmān and 'Alī (Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, iii. 233). According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 14, all the Muslim Kurds followed the Shāfi'ī Sunna rite (Ewliyā Çelebi, iv. 75, says the same). It is however certain that there were Shi'is among the Kurds under Persian rule. In the reign of Uldjāitū there was even a Kurd *mahdī*. The Shāḡakī [q.v.] living among the Shāh-sewan Turks became Shi'is; cf. also the evidence of the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 316 on the Dumbulī following Shi'a doctrine (the meaning of the term *husainī* which the same author, i. 117 applies to four tribes of Djazīra in contrast to the three Yazidī tribes is not very clear).

On the other hand the testimony of the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 14, is very convincing on the spread among the Kurds of Yazidī doctrines (the Dāseni, Khālidi, Basiyān tribes and parts of the Bokhtī, Maḥmūdī and Dumbulī, not to speak of the Sindjār which the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention); cf. YAZIDIS.

Of the Pāzūkī tribe, the *Sharaf-nāma* remarks (i. 328) that it has no definite religion; from its close connection with the Šafawīs, one might suppose that it held extreme Shi'a views.

At the present day the great majority of the Kurds are still Shāfi'ī Sunnis. Even in Senna only the former ruling family of the Walī Ardalān was Shi'ī. The Shi'ī tribes of the provinces of Kirmānshāh are for the most part extremists; cf. Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahlī-Haḡḡ*, R. M. M., 1920, xi., p. 59; for the district of Mawṣil see the articles SARLĪ and SHABAK. As a general rule extremist views, more or less Shi'ī, find adherents rather among the Īrānian tribes of Kurdistan who are not true Kurds (Gūrān, Zāzā). On the other hand the Kurds are much under the influence of Shaikh's of the various Sunni orders (especially the Naḡshbandī and Kādīriya whose head-quarters are at Awrāmān, Sulaimāniya, Mukri, Shāmdinān, Kharpūt, etc.). Their influence was apparent in the risings of Badr Khān (cf. Layard, *Discoveries*, London 1853, p. 375), 'Ubadallāh (1880), Shaikh Sa'īd (1926) etc.; cf. SHAMDINĀN and the articles by Nikitine there mentioned.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted, cf. N. Marr, *Yeshēe o slove "čelebi"*, Zap., 1910, xx. (the author studies the cultural part played by the Kurd nation in the history of Nearer Asia and thinks he can find among the Kurds [Yazidīs?] survivals of pagan beliefs; cf. ÇELEBİ); S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie* (in Kurdistan), L'Anthropologie, 1906, xvii., p. 633; Volland, *Aberglauben in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Globus, 1907, xci., N^o 22, p. 341—344 (on cups covered with magical inscriptions); Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, Bull. School of Orient. Studies, 1922, II/ii., p. 197—215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, R. H. R., 1922.

E. The Kurdish Language.

Kurdish, like Persian, is a western Īrānian language but its descent is different from that of Persian. The history of the separation of western Īrānian into a northern and a southern branch has been traced by Andreas, Salemann, O. Mann (*Die Tajik Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. i.—xxvi.), Meillet, *M. S. L.*, 1911—1912, xvii.; Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in d. neupers. Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, Z. für Indologie und Iranistik, 1926, iv. But P. Tedesco, in

his *Dialektologie d. westiranischen Turfantexte*, *Le Monde Oriental*, 1921, xv., fasc. 1—3, has shown that "western" Iranian (distinguished from Eastern Iranian: Soghdian, Saka) shows a considerable interpenetration of its northern and southern branches and this result has been corroborated by the work of W. Lentz quoted above.

In spite of this confusion and the co-existence of heterodox elements in the modern languages Kurdish as a whole shows a character clearly distinct from that of Persian. This fact would be more obvious if our Kurdish documents were not of much later date than the period in which the Persian literary language established its supremacy. The main characteristics of Kurdish compared with Persian are as follows:

a. Its specific pronunciation, the frequency of the Semitic ε and ζ even in Iranian words like *asp* (horse), *hawt* (seven); the velar *l* (a little different from the Slav and Turkish *l*), the rolled *r* distinguished from the weak *r*; the bilabial *w*; two consonants tolerated at the beginning (e.g. *brā*, *shēk*), and the sonant *n* and *r* acquiring a vocalic character (almost *b'ṛ*, *k'ṛ*).

b. The fundamental difference in the phonetic treatment of the same Iranian material is illustrated by the following examples:

Persian	Kurdish
<i>dil</i>	<i>zird</i>
<i>ādhar</i> (<i>ātash</i>)	<i>āhir</i> and <i>āgir</i>
<i>māhi</i>	<i>māsi</i>
<i>namāz</i>	<i>nuwēz</i>

c. Morphological differences: the survival of the oblique case; determinative suffix ("definite article") in *ākā*; different personal inflections: 3 pers. pron. poss. *-i/-ian*, plur. of the present: 1st person in *in*, 2nd and 3rd *in*; a form of *iṭāfat* (especially in the plural) in *t* (*-d*) (cf. the Ossetic plural in *tā*), e.g. *yār-i te* "thy friend", *yārid te*, "thy friends"; the old passive in *-ya* (cf. Salemann, *Zum mittelpers. Passiv*, St. Petersburg 1900; Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, p. 102) and a passive in *re*.

d. Syntactical differences: survival of the passive construction of transitive verbs in the preterite, particularly complicated in verbs compounded with prepositions (*kūestān-iān lē briwīn* "they have cut us off from the mountains" literally; "the mountains [by them] from we have-been-cut").

e. Lexicological differences: Not only, like the majority of the dialects of the north-west, does the Kurdish oppose *kar-*, *kap-* (and *vāč-*) respectively to the *kun-*, *uft-* (and *gō-*) of the south-west but it has *hāt* for *amad*, *āni* for *āvard*, *bist* for *shimīd*, *nārd* for *firistād* etc. The many borrowings from literary Arabic form an element connecting Kurdish with Persian but Kurdish also borrows from spoken Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Aramaic and Armenian. In addition, Kurdish and Armenian may have borrowed from the same indigenous sources not yet identified.

While then the Iranian dialects of the north-west and south-west are not separated by an abyss, for all practical purposes Kurdish has its own well-marked type, which differentiates it not only from Modern Persian but from the other dialects of the north-west (Samnāni, "central" dialects, etc.).

Kurdish itself moreover includes very different

dialects. The majority of the Kurdish dialects are included under the term *Kurmāndjī*. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, the Kurdish nation consists of four sections: *Kurmāndjī*, *Lur*, *Kalhur*, and *Gūrān*. Of these tribes the *Lurs* [q.v.] as far as their physical appearance and their language are concerned gravitate towards the south-west group (O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910) and form a unity apart. The *Gūrān* (cf. *ZOHĀB*) like their relatives the *Awramī* (cf. *SENNA*), *Zāzā* [q.v.] etc. speak dialects of the north-west differing considerably from Kurdish (cf. "three" in *Gūrāni yeri*, in *Zāzā*: *hirye* agreeing with the Samnāni *heirā*, while Kurdish has *sē*); the *Zāzā*, according to Andreas (recorded by Christiansen) are related to the old Dailamites and this hypothesis is corroborated by traditions still alive among the *Awramī* (E. Soane, *In Disguise to ... Kurdistan*, p. 377).

According to the *Sharaf-nāma* the *Kalhurs* occupied the region between *Senna*, *Kirmānshāh* and *Zohāb*. The term *Kalhur* seems therefore to correspond in the *Sharaf-nāma*, p. 13, to the Kurd group "non-Kurmāndjī" of the districts of *Senna* and *Kirmānshāh*. These dialects have been studied by O. Mann but this part of his collections has not yet been published. According to the prospectus of his *Kurdisch-persische Forschungen* (the publication of which has been taken up by K. Hadank) one volume is to include the southern dialects of the province of *Kirmānshāh*: *Kirmānshāhi*, *Kalhuri*, *Lakki*, *Pahrawandī*, *Nānakali* and *Kulyāi*, the latter in the district of *Sunḡur* [q.v.]; another volume will be devoted to the dialects of the province of *Kurdistan* [cf. *SENNA*] and to those of *Kirind* [q.v.] and *Garrūs* (otherwise *Biḡār*, east of *Senna*). The people who speak these dialects usually call them *Kurdi* or by the name of the tribe concerned. On the borders of *Luristan* (in *Lakistan*) the southern Kurdish dialects are known as *Lakki* (cf. O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze der Luridialekte* S. B. A. W., 1904, xxxix.; Čirikow, *Putewoi journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 227). There are *Lak* at *Salmās* [q.v.] and in the Province of *Fārs* (but the Kurd dialect of *Kalūn-Abdū*, described by O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten*, p. 135 is not *Lakki*). The southern Kurd dialects of western Persia have lost the important features of Kurdish (e.g. the passive formation of the preterite in transitive verbs). The existence of these non-Kurmāndjī dialects may prove to be of some importance in settling the problem of the *Ḳardū-Kūptioi*.

We do not know the origin of the name *Kurmāndjī*. Is it a compound of *Kurd* with the name of another tribe of Media? In the *Kurmāndjī* area properly so-called two groups of dialects are distinguished: the eastern group (or rather south-east) and the western. Their exact boundaries are not yet defined. Eastern *Kurmāndjī* is spoken in the *Mukrī* region [cf. *SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ*] and in the region of the tributaries of the *Tigris*: the *Little Zāb*, *ʿAḡaim* [q.v.] and the *Diylā* [q.v.]. It is a very pure dialect and rich from the morphological point of view. The western branch includes the remainder of the *Kurmāndjī* dialects with their local peculiarities (*Diyārbakr*, *Mārdin*, *Bokhtān*, *Bahdīnān*, *Hakkāri*, *Urmia*, *Eriwān*, *Erzerūm* and the Kurd colonies in Asia Minor and *Khorāsān*). The Kurds of Northern Syria seem to use various dialects full of borrowings from Turkish (cf. *Le Coq's* collection).

Ewliyā Ćelebi, iv. 75, enumerates 15 Kurdish dialects (*lisan*).

Garzoni, *Grammatica*, distinguishes the dialect of Amādiya from those of Bidlis, Džulāmerg, okhtān and Sulaimāniya. Cf. also the scheme of assification in Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji*.

Bibliography: A list of all studies of Kurdish from 1783 to date is given in Lerch: *Izslədovaniya*, iii., p. i.—xxxi. and in the *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.*, 1/2., 253—254. The only scientific Kurdish grammars are: Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg 1880, and Socin, *Die Sprache d. Kurden in Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, 1/2, p. 249—286; these two are mainly concerned with Western Kurmāndji. In Eastern Kurmāndji the fundamental work is: O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, Berlin 1909, i., p. xxxiii.—cv.: *Grammatische Skizze*; cf. also Soane, *Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, p. 199—226. The only Kurdish dictionary in existence is that of A. Jaba—F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; it sums up all that had been published before this date (the supplement by H. Schindler appeared in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxviii/1) but it is not sufficient for practical purposes. On the manuscript of a voluminous Kurdish dictionary compiled by E. B. Soane and belonging to the School of Oriental Studies, cf. E. D. Ross in the *Times*, Feb. 19, 1926.

The following is a list of the specimens of Kurdish dialects that are so far available:

I. Persian group: A. Senna—Kirmānshāh: Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858, bibliography, a fragment of the *Gulistan* in the dialect of Senna; H. Schindler, *Beiträge z. kurdischen Wortschatze*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1884, xxxviii., words and phrases in Zangana and Kalhuri; do., *Weitere Beiträge*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1888, xlii., p. 73—79, analysis of a Sennāi vocabulary; Soane, *Southern Kurdish Folk-Song in Kermānshāhi*, *J. A. R. S.*, 1909, p. 35; cf. also De Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, V, cf. the review by O. Mann, in *Die Mundart d. Mukri-Kurden*, i., p. xxi.

B. Scattered Dialects: A. Querry, *La dialecte guerrouci*, *M. S. L.*, 1895, ix., p. 1—23, Garrūsi of the Khodjāwand in Māzandarān; O. Mann, *Die Tājik-Mundarten*, Berlin 1909, p. 135—155, Kurdish dialect of Kalūn Abdū in Fārs; W. Iwanow, *Khurasāni Kurdish*, to appear in the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society: this dialect is near to the Kurmāndji of Erzerūm; cf. also Bérézine, *Etudes*, phrases in Khorāsān Kurdish; H. Schindler, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxviii/1, Amarlu dialect in Khorāsān, and various books of travels; Brugsch, *Reise d. preussischen Gesandtschaft*, 1863, ii. 496—498: Kurds of the environs of Teherān.

II. Eastern Kurmāndji: Chodzko, *Etudes philologiques sur la langue Kurde*, *J. A.*, 1857, p. 297—356, dialect of Sulaimāniya collected in Paris; O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, Berlin 1906, i., complete grammar, text, Berlin 1909, ii., translations, essay on the ballads of the Eastern Kurds; E. B. Soane, *Notes on a Kurdish dialect (Sulaimania)*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 891—940; do., *Grammar of the Kurmanji Language*, London 1913, xvi. 289; Bittner, *Die heiligen Bücher d. Fesiden, Denksch. Wien. Akad.*, lv/iv., 1913; Soane, *Elementary Kurmanji*

grammar, Baghdad 1919, 194 pages; do., *Kitāb-i Awwalamini Qiraat-i Kurdi*, Baghdad 1920; L. O. Fossum, *A practical Kurdish grammar* (Mukri), Minneapolis 1919; cf. also: Bérézine, *Recherches sur les dialectes musulmans*, Kazan 1853; H. Schindler, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1884, xxxviii.; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique* V, 1904; von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, ii., under Bābā = Bābān.

III. Northern and Western Kurmāndji.

Eriwān: S. A. Egiazarow, *Kratkii etnograficheski očerok Kurdow*, *Zap. Kavkaz. otd. Geogr. Obsčestwa*, xiii/1, Tiflis 1891, compte-rendu *W. Z. K. M.*, vi., p. 178; Khačaturow, *Kurdskie teksti*, *Soornik materialow dlia opisaniya Kawkaza*, Tiflis 1894, xi., p. 1—16, the language of the Barukli Kurds, near Mount Ararat; Adjarian, *Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet*, *M. S. L.*, 1911, xvi., p. 349—383. Erzerūm-Bāyazid: Jaba, *Recueil des notices et extraits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; Jaba—Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879, based principally on texts from Bāyazid but utilising all available materials; Jaba, *Dialogues kurde-français*, manuscript in my possession. Urmia—Hakkāri—Shamdinān: F. Müller, *Kurdisches und syrisches Wörterverzeichnis, Orient und Occident*, publ. by Benfey, iii., p. 104; S. Rhea, *Brief grammar and vocabulary of the Kurdish language of the Hakkāri district*, *J. A. O. S.*, 1872, x., p. 118—155; Makas, *Kurdische Studien*, Heidelberg 1900, p. 16—18; *Ein Gedicht aus Gawar*, on other materials from Gawar, cf. M. Hartmann in *Bull. Acad.*, St. Petersburg 1900; Nikitine, *Kratkii russko-kurdsii voyennii perevodnik*, Urmia 1916; Noel, *The Character of the Kurds as illustrated by their Proverbs* (Hakkāri), *Bull. School Oriental Studies*, 1/iv., 1921, p. 79—90; Agha Petros Ellow, *Assyrian, Kurdish and Yezidi*, Baghdad 1920, 87 pages; Nikitine and Soane, *The Tale of Suto and Tato*, *Bull. School Oriental Studies*, 1923, iii/1, p. 69—106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, *ibid.*, 1926, iv/1, p. 121—138. Bahdinān—Bohtān: M. Garzoni, *Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda*, Rome 1787, materials collected at Amādiya; on the peculiarity of this dialect, cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 107; A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890, ii-a and ii-b, text and translation in the dialect of "Bohtān" collected at Zākhō; Jardine, *Bahdinan Kurmanji*, Baghdad 1922, materials collected at Zākhō and presented as the "Kurmanji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistan"; Dufresne, *Un comte kurde de la région de Sö'örd*, *J. A.*, 1910, p. 107—118, in the dialect of Bohtān but dictated by a "Sa'id Hikkari effendi"; Yūsuf Diyā al-Din pāshā al-Khālidi, *al-Hadiya Hal-amidiya fi 'l-Lughati 'l-Kurdiya*, Stambul 1310, the author was Kā'im-makām at Mōtki (Mōdki), cf. the compte-rendu *J. A.*, series ix., vol. 2, p. 545 and M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*; P. Beidar, *Grammaire Kurde*, Paris 1926: the dialect of Zākhō-Djazīra. Tūr 'Abdīn—Mārdīn—Diyārbakr: P. Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858, texts collected at Roslawl from prisoners of war natives of the environs of Diyārbakr; Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1887, i-a and i-b, texts and translations, dialect of Tūr

‘Abdin; Makas, *Kurdische Studien*, Heidelberg 1900, p. 1—16: *Eine Probe des Dialektes v. Diyarbakir*; do., *Kurdische Texte*, St. Petersburg-Leningrad 1897—1926, collected in Budapest, dialect of Mardin. Northern Syria: von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903, not for sale, i., p. 1—81, texts collected at Zendjirli, + 1—92, phototype of the *Nawbahār* and *Mawlid-i Nabī*; ii. 1—115, transcription of texts of vol. i. and phrases in Zāzā, Lölö (?) and Bābā = Mukrī. Cf. also Bérézine, *Etudes sur les dialectes musulmans*, Kazan 1853; Soane, *The Shādī branch of Kurmanji*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 895; Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji*, 1913.

Folklore, Literature, Newspapers.

The collections of Kurdish stories made by Jaba, Lerch, Prym-Socin, von Le Coq, O. Mann, Makas and Nikitine give a fair idea of the Kurds as story-tellers. The themes are often taken from folklore common to the Nearer East (fables, fairytales, stories of fools; cf. Mirza M. Djewad al-Kazi, *Ein Kurdisches Märchen*, *Globus*, 96, p. 187); more numerous and more interesting are the stories of the loves of popular heroes, of the wars of the clans etc. Prym-Socin and Makas have given detailed commentaries on the subject matter of stories of this category. O. Mann illustrated the ballad of the siege of Dīmdīmkaʿa in 1017 (1608) from the evidence of the official history of ‘Abbās I. Many popular subjects are treated both in prose and verse. Some cycles with their variants form regular epics like the *Mem-u Zin*, the story of a pair of lovers at the court of the emir of Bohtān, of which we have Aḥmad-khānī’s version and very numerous popular variants: Lerch, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii. 242—255; Prym-Socin, N^o. xxxi.; Mann, N^o. ii.; Makas, N^o. i. Cf. also: B. Chalatiān, *Kurdische Sagen*, *Zeitsch. d. Vereins. f. Völkerkunde*, 15, 1905, p. 322—330; 16, 1906, p. 35—46 and 402—414; 17, 1907, p. 76—80.

Jaba’s informant (*Recueil de notices*, p. 7—9) furnished him with a list of 9 Kurd poets but the data must be taken with some caution. These poets are:

‘Alī of Ḥarīr (in Shamdīnān) who lived 400—471 (1009—1078), which almost makes him contemporary with Firdawsī (?). He is the author of a Kurdish *diwān*ca.

Shaikh Aḥmad Malā-i Djizrī, a native of Djazira where his tomb is still to be seen. He is said to have flourished between 540 and 556 (1145—1160) in the time of a chief ‘Imād al-Dīn. But the *Diwān* of Malā-i Djizrī publ. in phototype by M. Hartmann, *Das Kurdische Diwan des Schēch Ahmed*, Berlin 1904, mentions the name (fol. 221) of the Persian poet Djāmi, who died in 898 (1492) so that he cannot be earlier than the end of the xvth century. An ode dedicated to Khān-i Khānān, who is the Shāh of Kurdistān (f. 171) who rules at Tabriz and who is greater than the Shāh of Khorāsān (f. 177) may refer to some Ak-Ḳoyunlu [q. v.] ruler.

Faḳī Teirān (707—777 = 1302—1375), born and buried at Mukus, was really called Muḥammad and used the *takhalluṣ* of Mīm Haiy. He wrote the *Hikāyata Shaikh Senāna* (*Ṣan‘ān*), “Stories of Barsisa”, the *Ḳawli hasp-i rash* (“The words of the black colour of the Prophet”) and other poems.

Malā-i Batē (Mullā Aḥmad), born and buried

in the village of Batē in Hakkārī (820—900 = 1417—1494), is the author of a *Diwān* and a *Mawlid*. The latter has been published in phototype by H. von Le Coq (*Kurd. Texte*, i. 49—96).

Aḥmad Khānī of Hakkārī flourished between 1000 and 1063 (1591—1652) and was buried at Bāyazīd near the mosque bearing his name. He wrote the poem *Mem-u Zin*, analysed by Jaba-Lerch, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii. 242—255 and publ. in 1338 (1920) at Constantinople by the publishers of the *Zin* newspaper. His rhymed Arabic Kurdish glossary *Naw-bār* (“Firstlings”) has been published by Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn, who gives it the date of 1094 (*al-Ḥadiya al-Ḥamīdiyya*, p. 279—297), and in facsimile by Le Coq, i. 1—47. Aḥmad Khānī also wrote many poems in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish.

Ismā‘īl of Bāyazīd, an imitator of Aḥmad Khānī (1065—1121 = 1654—1709), is the author of a Kurmāndjī-Arabic-Persian glossary *Gulzār* and many ghazals and poems. Sharīf-Khān, born and buried in Djulāmerg (1101—1161 = 1689—1748), belonged to the family of the Amirs of Hakkārī. He is the author of a large number of verses in Kurmāndjī and in Persian. Murād Khān of Bāyazīd (1150—1190 = 1737—1784) wrote lyric poems.

On the collections of Kurd poetry belonging to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, cf. Lerch, *Iszlédovaniya*, iii., p. xxvi. In 1322 (1904) appeared in Cairo the *Mawlid al-Nabī bi ‘l-Lughā al-Kurdiya* of Kurdi-zāda Aḥmad Rāmiz.

In the Kurdish newspaper (cf. below) we find biographical information about and specimens of the poetry of the following poets: Shāh Partau of Hakkārī whose *diwān* was finished in 1221 (1806); Nālī who is very popular in the region of Eastern Kurmāndjī, flourished towards the middle of the sixteenth century; a selection of his poems appeared at Constantinople in the anthology entitled *Shu‘a‘āt* (by Amin Faiḍī); Ḥājjdī Qādir Kō‘ī, very conscious of his Kurdish nationality (xixth century); ‘Abdullāh Beg Miṣbah al-Diwan (“Adab”), d. in Sāwdj-Bulāk during the world war; Shaikh Razāy (Riḍā) of the family of Ṭala-bānī (on the Sirwān), d. about 1910; Ṭahir Bey Djāf, son of ‘Othmān Pasha of Alabča, d. about 1920. The contemporary poets are: ‘Alī Kāmil of Sulaimāniya, ‘Abd al-Kādir Zahawī of Baghdād, Aḥmad Beg Fattāḥ Ṣāhibkīrān of Sulaimāniya, Muṣṭafā Bey Djāf (a satirical poet), Aḥmad Beg Djāf, son of ‘Ādila Khānīm Kirkūki (“Athir”). Other poets, whose names are found in the newspapers are: Shaikh Nūri Bābā ‘Alī, ‘Alī Beg Sālār Sa‘īd, Mullā Raḥīm Mukrī (Wafā‘ī’), Kāka Minī (= Amin) Mukrī, Kāk Muṣṭafā Irānī (= “Murshid-i Kāmil”), ‘Abd al-Khālīk, Sālīm etc.

Jaba’s authority (*Recueil*, p. 12) gives several authors of textbooks in Kurdish (‘Alī of Taramākḥ [after 1000 = 1591] wrote an Arabic grammar in Kurdish and Malā Yunis of Ḥalkaṭīn wrote three grammatical works on *taṣrif*, *zurūf* and *tarkīb*). To the same category belongs the “canonical Muslim prayer” written down about 1783 and published by C. Huart in *J. A.*, 1895, N^o. 1, p. 86—109, as well as the works already mentioned by Aḥmad Khānī etc. But as a rule Kurd authors writing on general subjects prefer Arabic, Persian or Turkish.

Among those who wrote in Arabic were the celebrated jurists and theologians: ‘Isā Hakkārī, d. 585 (1189); Taḳī al-Dīn Shahrāzūrī, d. at

Damascus in 643 (1245) (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii. 188, 430); 'Abdullāh al-Kurdi of Sindjār (Ibn Battūta, ii. 142). On the Aiyūbid prince Abu 'l-Fidā', historian and geographer, see the article on him. Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 49, quotes the Arabic ode of Husain Bashnawī, a poet at the court of the Marwānids and mentions (xi. 7—8) the existence among the Kurds of men versed in local traditions. The *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 341—342) mentions among the natives of Bidlis Mawlānā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Mawlānā Muḥammad Bar-kaḥī and Shaikh 'Ammār Yāsir (cf. *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau-Lees, p. 479) and speaks of the 'ulamā' and *fuḍalā'* of 'Amādiya. On the Kurd theologians of the modern period see the review *Rōzā-kurd*, N^o. 2, p. 23.

Many historical works have been written by Kurds in Persian (cf. above). The *Diwān* of the Kurd poetess Māh Sharaf-khānīm, d. 1264 (1847) (cf. SENNA), was published with a biographical notice at Teherān in 1926.

Among writers in Turkish of Kurdish origin was reckoned the very celebrated poet Fuḍūlī [q. v.] of Baghdad, d. 968 (1556). But Köprülü-zāde Mehmed Fūād, *Fuḍūlī, Ḥayātī we-Etherī*, Stambul 1924, p. 13—14 says that Fuḍūlī was a Turk of the Bayāt tribe. The Bayāts are certainly Turks, but it may be noted that Khurshid Efendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i Hudūd*, Russ. transl., p. 193—194 mentions the Bayāt clans (*fırka*) of Kifri and Tuz-Khurmatū among the Kurds. Modern Turkish literature has quite a number of writers of Kurd origin (cf. J. Deny on the origin of the sociologist Diyā Gök Alp, *R. M. M.*, 1925, lxi., p. 3).

The publications of the Christian missionaries form a special category in Kurdish literature. The Gospel has been translated into several dialects: the Kirmānshāhi version was published in London in 1900. The Gospel according to St. Mark in Mukrī was published at Philippopolis in 1909. M. Fossum has published a Protestant catechism in Mukrī and in his grammar has given a rhymed translation of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" adapted to local conditions. Several of these publications are printed in the Armenian alphabet (Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, p. xxix.) and seem to be intended for the Armenians (of Diyārbakr) whose usual language is Kurdish. In April 1914 the Protestant missionaries of Urmia published the first number of the magazine *Kurdistan* (in Mukrī).

The first Kurd newspaper that we know of is *Kurdistan* published successively in Cairo, London and Folkestone, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Beg, son of Badr Khān Beg of Bohtān. The Preussische Staatsbibliothek has Nos. 1—31, 1315—1320 (1892—1902); cf. *W. Z. K. M.*, xii., p. 112 and Makas, *Kurd. Stud.*, p. 19. After the Young Turk revolution, the Kurd students (*tullāb*) who had formed an association called *Hiwī* (Unity) founded the monthly review *Rōzā Kurd* (The Kurd Day) of which the first two Nos. embellished with portraits of Ṣalāh al-Dīn and Karīm Khān Zand appeared in Stambul on June 6 and July 6, 1329 (1912) under the editorship of 'Abd al-Karīm of Sulaimāniya; later this review got the name *Ḥatāwī Kurd* (The Kurd Sun). The magazine *Kurdistan* published by the missionaries of Urmia has already been mentioned above. The renewal of Kurd activity after the war of 1914—1918 was marked by the production of several newspapers in Constantinople, Egypt and Kurdistan (Diyārbakr, etc.). The earliest was

the weekly *Zin* ("Life") founded in 1919, which, though published in Turkish and in Constantinople, was dedicated to the propagation of the idea "Kurdistan for the Kurds". N^o. 32 appeared on 1st Djumādā I, 1338 = Jan. 23, 1920. As to Kurdish newspapers, in default of a complete list we may mention *Kurdistan*, a bi-monthly published in Cairo by Aḥmad 'Azīzī (i. e. of the tribe of Badr Khān); N^o. 2 is dated 15th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja, 1335; N^o. 11, 15th Rabī' I, 1336. The first newspaper published in Sulaimāniya was *Pishkawtin* ("Progress"), later replaced by *Bāng-i Kurdistan*, which was edited, before the English evacuation, by Hādjdji Muṣṭafā Pasha (13 Nos. between Aug. 2 and Oct. 1922); *Rōz-i Kurdistan*, organ of the "king of Kurdistan" (Mahmūd I = Shaikh Mahmūd), publ. at Sulaimāniya by Muḥammad Nūrī, N^o. 1 dated 15th ix. 1922 and N^o. 15 8th iii. 1923. *Bāng-i Haqq*, publ. by Shaikh Mahmūd after his flight (Nos. 1—8, iii.; N^o. 3—12, iv., 1923); cf. Edmonds *A Kurdish Newspaper, Journal Centr. As. Soc.*, 1925, i., p. 83—90; *Żiyānawue* ("Resurrection"), official (*hukūmatī*) weekly of Sulaimāniya (N^o. 1—18, viii., 1924); *Diyārī-yi Kurdistan* ("The Gift of K."), a weekly review in three languages publ. at Baghdad by Ṣāhibkīrān-zāde and Rashid Shawkī, Nos. 1—11, March 1925; *Zār-i Kirmāndjī*, a weekly review publ. at Rawānduz by Saiyid Husain Mukrī and 'Abd al-Raḥīm Gēw, founded 12th Dhu 'l-Ka'da, 1344. (V. MINORSKY)

KURKŪB, a town in Khūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statements regarding distances given by the Arab geographers are now collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geograph.*, 1921, iv., p. 396 sq.; cf. also p. 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a *fīrāz* of the Sūltān there. A material called *sūsandjird* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *B. G. A.*, iv., s. v. Al-Iṣṭakhrī says that the *sūsandjird* of Fasā [q. v.] is better than that of Kurkūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton while in the former wool was used.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 241, 246; Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, ii. 98, where all the important quotations from the Arab geographers are given.

(M. PLESSNER)

KURRA B. SHARĪK B. MARTHAD B. ḤAZIM B. AL-ḤARITH AL-'ABSĪ AL-ḲAISĪ, governor of Egypt, belonged to the tribe of Kais b. Ghailān and was therefore a north Arabian. His native town was Kinnesrin in Syria. We do not know whether he had already held a high office before his appointment as governor of Egypt, but it is exceedingly probable, especially as the Umayyads were particularly careful only to appoint to this important office men of proved ability. As conditions then were, only a tried man in whom the caliphs had entire confidence could be considered for the governorship rendered vacant by the departure of prince 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik. Kurra entered al-Fuṣṭāṭ on the 3rd or 13th Rabī' I, 90 (Jan. 20 or 30, 709) and assumed complete control of the country, including its financial administration. He remained in office till his death on 23rd Rabī' I, 96 (Dec. 6, 714). Later biased historians have given us a very erroneous picture of the man. He is put alongside of the notorious al-Ḥādjdjādī b. Yūsuf, which meant that he was of the lowest moral character and is described as

a brutal tyrant and heretic. The historian loves to dwell on the story that he did not hesitate to have a drinking bout with music in the newly built mosque of 'Amr. We get a very different picture of this undoubtedly important figure from contemporary documents, yielded by the finds of papyri in the last fifty years. They reveal him as a conscientious and faithful official, strict towards his subordinates, lenient towards the people, the ruthless exploitation and oppression of whom by the minor officials he did his best to check. He devoted all his energies to a just and wise rule, always keeping the future of the land in view. That there were occasional hardships is easily understood, they never became a system with him, as with other amirs of the land. The serious economic damage which the famine of 86/87 (705/706) inflicted on the land with its terrible increase in prices, which was not made good even in 88, forced Kūrā to devote his whole energy to increasing agricultural production in Egypt. A measure as effective as it was farseeing was the recultivation of fallow lands, and great public works, of which the name *Iṣṭabl Kūrā* for the *Birkat al-Ḥabash* still reminds us, which Kūrā restored to cultivation in its entirety. He is said to have planted fields of sugar-cane. In these circumstances quite a different light is thrown on the fact that Kūrā found himself forced to depart from a very old tradition in the distribution of taxation and to make newly converted Copts pay the *ḡizya*, from which they had hitherto been exempt, by making them share in the cumulative quota of their community. Kūrā's name is also connected with the rebuilding of the mosque of 'Amr in al-Fuṣṭāṭ (old Cairo). In the year 63 Maslama b. Mukhallad had carried out the first and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān the second extension of this notable building and Kūrā was ordered by the Caliph al-Walid I to remove the whole mosque and erect a new one on its site. The work under the direction of Yaḥyā b. Ḥanzala took from Sha'bān 92 till Ramaḍān 93 to complete.

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KURS. [See AKRĀS.]

KURSI, an Arabic loan-word from the Aramaic *kurseyā* (Syriac form; Hebrew: *kissē*; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 128; S. Fraenkel, *De*

vocalibus peregrinis, p. 22), throne. It is only found twice in the Kūrān (ii. 256; xxxviii. 33); its occurrence in the first of these has given the verse the name of the Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī*); the reference is to the throne of God, which is large enough to embrace the heavens and the earth. In the second passage the reference is to the throne of Solomon. The use of two different words, 'arsh and kursi, for the throne of God, very early troubled the exegists; some have seen in the second the stool placed in front of a throne on which a sovereign rests his feet; cf. the sculptures of Persepolis (Abū Mūsā, Asbāt, according to Soddi etc., in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 7) while others took it to be only a synonym of 'arsh (al-Ḥasan al-Baḡrī, *ibid.*), and one school interpreted it allegorically, saying that the kursi of God is simply his knowledge (Sa'īd b. Djubair according to Ibn 'Abbās, *ibid.*). The use of this word in the second passage for "a throne on which one sits" shows clearly that it is a synonym of 'arsh.

The idea of an erection square in shape (which is also the origin of the word 'arsh) is retained in the different meanings assumed by the word. The four sides of the rectangle intended to enclose the letters forming a word or a number of phrases is so called. In Persian, these four sides are called *khufū-i kursi* and the rectangle itself, *kursi-bendī* (Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 352). The Persians use it to describe a frame on which a carpet of wool or felt is stretched and under which a brazier is placed; the legs are slipped under the carpet to warm them in winter time (the *tandīr* of the Turks; Polak, *Persien*, i. 65; Fraser, ii. 188). The Arabs apply the name to the following objects: At Mecca, a kind of gangway or movable staircase on 4 wheels (now 6) which had nine steps and was placed against the wall of the Ka'ba so that its upper end was level with the threshold (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 91; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 309; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 455); a lectern on which the Kūrān is placed (Maḳḳarī, i. 404); the stand for an astrolabe; the carriage of a ballista; a seat with a back for 3 or 4 persons; a table on which a plate is placed (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 195); a stand on which a turban is laid at night (*kursī al-ināma*; Dozy, *Vêtements*, p. 343, N^o. 1; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 50, 221); a holder into which is put the lower end of a pointed instrument (*J. A.*, 1850, i. 251); the card for pulling a ṭonbūr (*Description de l'Égypte*, xiii. 251).

The Moors give the name to lockets, silver boxes, square or triangular, which they wear in necklaces, on account of their shape (Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, s. v.; Beaussier, p. 584). It is also the support for the pan and percussion apparatus in a flint lock; the bezel of a ring, conning bench (naut.) (Beaussier, *l. c.*); a chair of a particular shape on which a woman sits when about to give birth to a child (*kursī al-wilāda*) (Lane, ii. 275). Figuratively it is the capital of an empire, royal residence, see of a patriarch or a bishop (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 456; Cuḥe, *Dict. ar.-frang.*, s. v.). (CL. HUART)

KŪṢ, a town in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile. The form Kūṣ (Kūs in al-Farḡānī and Ibn Rusta) comes from the Coptic Kōs (or Kōs Berbir) which a popular etymology later connected with the Coptic verb meaning "to bury". In the Roman period the town was

called Apollinopolis Parva and sometimes Dioeletianopolis. In the early centuries of Islām, Kuş seems to have been of much less importance than the adjoining town of Kift [q.v.]. Some of the early geographers like Ibn Khurdādhbih do not mention it although it is found in the tables of al-Khwārizmī (ed. by von Mzik, p. 9) and al-Farghānī (ed. Golius, p. 36), who place it in the second climate. It is only after the beginning of the fifth century of the Hidjra that Kuş began to supplant Kift (Maḳrīzī, Būlāk 1270, p. 236) to become, in the eighth century, the largest town of al-Ṣaʿīd and the second city in importance in all Egypt (Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 110—111). This development is no doubt to be attributed to the changes caused by the Crusades in the great trade-routes from west to east. We can see the beginning of this prosperity in Ibn Djubair (ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 64—65) who passed through it in 1183 and describes it as an emporium for all the goods from Central Africa and the Yemen. It was also the rendez-vous of pilgrims from Egypt and the Maghrib who went from there to the Hidjāz through the port of 'Aidhāb (Ibn Djubair, p. 67). Later this route was supplanted by that of al-Kuṣair (Abu 'l-Fida'). Yāḳūt (iv. 201) already calls it the third town of Egypt. In the first centuries of the Mamlūk period, the governorship of the *muḍirīya* of Kuş (al-Kuṣīya) was extremely important and coins were struck there. At the same time it was a place of exile for individuals of importance, for example several of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs at the Mamlūk court. Kuş was also noted as a centre of Muslim learning. The town had 6 madrasas and produced a number of scholars. A section of the inhabitants however always remained Christian. The Copts had several churches there. From 800 A.H. the town began to decline, especially after the plague of 806 in which 17,000 are said to have died. In the sixteenth century Kuş was half an hour's journey from the Nile. It is still an important market for simples, aromatic herbs and all kinds of vegetables. The Christian element is still considerable (cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ḍjādīda*, xiv. 134).

Bibliography: al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courville, iii. 50; al-Maḳdīsī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 47, 194; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 61; Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, i. 192 sqq.; 'Alī Paṣha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ḍjādīda*, Būlāk 1305, xiv. 128 sqq.; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919, p. 155 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS).

KUSAILA B. LEMZEM AL-AWRABī, successor or colleague of Sakardīd al-Awrabī in the chieftainship of the great tribe of Awraba which occupied the country west of Tlemcen (the passage in al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, text, p. 50, which makes Kusaila reign at Ṭubna in the time of Mūsā b. Nuṣair, is certainly a mistake unless there were two Kusailas). During the Arab conquest, he led the resistance against Abu 'l-Muhādīr, successor to 'Oḳba, was defeated by him in 55 (674—675) at the "springs of Tlemcen" (now Al-Urīṭ), abjured Christianity and became a Muslim. He was able to win the favour of the conqueror and gained his confidence, which exposed him to the hatred of 'Oḳba, when the latter again was given the governorship of Ifrīḳīya and the Maghrib. He took a delight in humiliating

Kusaila, in spite of the sage warnings of Abu 'l-Muhādīr. Therefore when after his epic cavalry campaign in the west, the Arab general, on his return to Ḳairawān made the mistake of dividing his army, Kusaila, who accompanied him as a living trophy, came to an arrangement with the Greeks and Berbers who were following the Muslim march. The latter were surprised near Tahūda (63 = 682—683) and almost all including 'Oḳba and Abu 'l-Muhādīr died fighting. Kusaila entered Ḳairawān as a conqueror whence he governed Ifrīḳīya for five years, Arabs as well as Greeks and Berbers. When the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik was suddenly relieved of the difficulties, caused by the civil wars in the east, he sent an army to Zubair b. Ḳais, at Barka, with which the latter fought Kusaila at Mems, west of Ḳairawān. He defeated and slew him and regained the lost territory (69 = 688/689).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vi. 108—109, 146—148; *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 211—213, 286—289; *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. and transl. Desvergers, text, p. 2, 4—5, transl. p. 16, 20—23; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i. 15—17; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, text, p. 74; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-sāhira*, i. 176—178; al-Nuwairī, ap. *Histoire des Berbères*, i., app. ii., p. 334—336, 337; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Cairo, iv. 54—55; Ibn al-Nadīj, *Ma'ālim al-Imān*, Tunis 1320, i. 47—50, 51—53; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ḳairawānī, *Kitāb al-Mu'nis*, p. 29—30; Aḥmad al-Dīra'ī, *Riḥla*, Fās, n.d., p. 44—47; transl. de Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le sud de l'Algérie*, Paris 1846, p. 226—231; Maḥmūd b. Sa'īd Maḳdīsh al-Safāḳusī, *Nuṣḥat al-Andār*, Tunis 1321, i. 71, 73, 75; al-Urṭhilānī, *Nuṣḥat al-Andār*, Algiers 1326, p. 97—100; W. Roth, *Oḳba ibn Nafī*, Göttingen 1859, p. 59—61; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. 160—162, 174—177, 181, 194—196; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, i. 204—211. (RENÉ BASSET)

KUŞAIR or AL-KUŞAIR, a seaport on the African coast of the Red Sea. There is no reason to doubt that all the references of Oriental and European writers to Kuşair on the Red Sea are to the same place; the contradictions between different authors are simply due to inaccuracies as, in the first place there is not sufficient ground for supposing that there were two places called Kuşair and secondly Kuşair is unanimously described as the harbour of Kuş. If we were to have two places called Kuşair, they would have to be so far apart that one of them could not be described as the port of Kuş; but the place marked on our modern maps as Kuşair fulfils the condition of having been the port of Kuş perfectly so far as its position is concerned. The references therefore must be to this place which lies a little north of Lat. 26°. Yāḳūt is unreliable because he makes Kuşair lie near 'Aidhāb and then puts the distance from Kuş at 5 and from 'Aidhāb at 8 days' journey. Even in Egypt where they are used to great distances, two places 8 days' journey apart would not be described as near one another. A glance at the map shows that if it is five days from Kuşair to Kuş, it cannot be 8 from Kuşair to 'Aidhāb. The distance could not be covered in 18 days if the first statement is correct. As a matter of fact from 'Aidhāb to Kuş is according to al-Maḳrīzī 17, according to al-Idrīsī 20 days' journey so that it cannot be only 8 to Kuşair.

Even if we put 'Aidhāb farther north, as C. H. Becker (cf. 'AIDHĀB) and S. Lane-Poole have rightly done, the contradiction between these figures is not disposed of.

The significance of the harbours on the Red Sea for European trade with India and China and for the pilgrims to Mecca has often been described. At the same time the relative importance of the different harbours varied considerably in the course of centuries (cf. BAHR AL-KULZUM). While Kuṣair flourished particularly in the 'Abbāsid period, 'Aidhāb later became the principal port and still later al-Ṭūr. After Selim I had conquered Egypt, he tried again to revive Kuṣair and built a fortress there. The further history of the town to 1876 with a very full description of its condition in the seventies was given by C. A. Klunzinger, who was Egyptian medical officer there. He calls particular attention to the disastrous effect on its fortunes of the building of the railway to Suez and then of the Suez Canal. While in the fifties the traffic at Kuṣair along with that of Suez was "steadily increasing" (v. Neimans), the port is now only important for traffic to and from Egypt; through traffic through the Red Sea has no longer any inducement to touch Kuṣair; the decline of the town is most clearly seen from the figures given by Sāmī Bey at the end of the century in the *Kāmūs al-A'lām*.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, s. v.; al-Kalkashandī, *Die Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, transl. by Wüstenfeld, *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1879, xxv., p. 169; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, ed. Reinaud, p. 23, 111; 'Maqrizī, *Khitaṭ*, ed. Wiet, I, 61; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 1901, p. 304 and map; C. B. Klunzinger, *Bilder aus Oberägypten, der Wüste und dem Rothen Meere* 2, 1878, p. 265 sqq.; do., *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben als Arzt und Naturforscher zu Koseir am Roten Meere*, 1915 (with a map of the town, many views and a bibliography of the author's works containing 89 numbers); v. Neimans, *Das rothe Meer und die Küstenländer im Jahre 1857 in handelspolitischer Beziehung*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1858, xii, p. 398, 399, 418; Sāmī Bey Frasherī, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, s. v. — For the history of its commercial relations the fundamental work is: Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, Index s.v., and more recently studies by C. H. Becker (art. 'AIDHĀB, BAHR AL-KULZUM, EGYPT, the latter is reprinted in *Islamstudien*, 1924, i. esp. p. 185 sqq.; also *Grundlinien der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Ägyptens in den ersten Jahrhunderten des Islam*, in *Klio*, ix., 206 sqq., reprinted in *Islamstudien*, i., esp. p. 213 sqq.). (M. PLESSNER)

KUṢAIR 'AMRA. [See 'AMRA.]

KUṢAIY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islāmic worship of the Ka'ba in Mecca. His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as Kuṣaiy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Fihr-Kuraish (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, O.-T.), and his life and exploits are recorded by our sources in three recensions which only differ from each other in trifling details; these go back to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146), Ibn Ishāq (d. 150) and 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Djuraidj al-Makkī (d. 150). Kuṣaiy is represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who founds a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far

from his native land and in obscurity: a younger son of Kilāb b. Murra, a descendant of the Kuraish whose supremacy in Mecca had been replaced by that of the Banū Khuḏā'a, he loses his father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother Fātima bint Sa'd b. Sayal who had married again, her second husband being a member of the tribe of Banū 'Udhra, to his tribe in the north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood of Sargh according to al-Kalbī in Ibn Sa'd, i/i., 36, 25, a place on the Syrian frontier of the Hidjāz, near Tabūk [Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 77], or right into Syrian territory near Yarmuk [al-Bakrī, p. 773]); here his original name of Zaid was changed to Kuṣaiy from the root *k-ṣ-y*, "to go away". Having learned his true origin from his mother, he returned to Mecca where as a result of his marriage with Hubbā, the daughter of the Khuḏā'i chief Hulail b. Hubshiya, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the Ka'ba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an important position in the city. On the death of his father-in-law, Kuṣaiy managed to succeed him in his offices, either after a long struggle with the Khuḏā'a, or as a less reliable tradition has it by means of a tricky bargain like that of Jacob and Esau, which he made with (Abū) Ghubshān, son of Hulail or only some more distant relative of his (cf. Ibn Dūraid, *al-Ishṭikāk*, 277, line 7 with 282, line 2; the two complete genealogies are given in the source used by Ibn Dūraid, the *Djamharat al-Ansāb* of Ibn al-Kalbī). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Kuṣaiy to fame is given in the article KHUḌĀ'A [q. v.].

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Ka'ba, Kuṣaiy rebuilt the latter and organised its worship; he united the clans of the Kuraish, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which assured them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Kuraish (from *taḡarrasha*, to combine) replaced the old name Banu 'l-Naḍr; Kuṣaiy is said to have been called Muḏjammi', the "re-uniter". On his death the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons 'Abd al-Dār, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd al-'Uzzā, 'Abd Kuṣaiy, the second of whom through his son Hāshim was a direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Kuṣaiy had built himself quite close to the Ka'ba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Kuraish under the name *Dār al-Nadwa* [q. v.]; the interesting description of the working of the Dār al-Nadwa goes back to Muḥammad b. Djubair b. Mu'ṭim, d. circa 100 (cf. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre d. Mohammed*, iii., note clx). To Kuṣaiy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-'Adjūl (Kuṭb al-Dīn [Chron. Stadt Mekka, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii.], p. 107 infra; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 48; Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 19—20; Bakrī, p. 646, cf. 766).

From what has been said above it is evident that the Kuraish regarded Kuṣaiy as their true founder and the founder of the Ka'ba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-A'shā (Bakrī, p. 489) and by several of Ḥassān b. Thābit. Later historiography has tried to harmonise this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Kuraish = Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, N.) as well

as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Ka'ba (q. v., ii., p. 587^a) and its vicissitudes under the Djurhum [q. v.] and the *Khuḏā'a*. Kuşaiy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say whether he should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab onomasticon: a Nahik b. Kuşaiy al-Salūli, a contemporary of Muḥammad, is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v. 14—15; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Isāba*, ed. Cairo, vi. 257; another contemporary of Muḥammad, whom Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v. 205 calls Kaṣlī (?) and Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Isāba*, v. 212, 241 Fuḏail or Kaṣl b. Zālim al-Sinbiṣī, according to the *Djama'harat al-Anṣāb* of Ibn Kalbī occurs in the Escorial manuscript (f. 58 r) of the latter as *Kuşaiy*. Lastly the same work (MS. British Museum, f. 162 v) mentions a tribe Kuşaiy b. Mālik b. Ṭha'laba b. Buhtha b. Sulaim. The fact that this name is to be recognised in the קִשְׁי of the Nabataean inscriptions and probably also in the *Kovrac* of a parchment from Dura on the Euphrates (cf. Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, p. 320) does not justify us in concluding that it is of northern origin, since as we have seen, it is found among different tribes. The tradition which makes Kuşaiy pass his childhood in Syria is in favour of the hypothesis which makes the worship of the Ka'ba introduced, or at least renewed, as a result of influences from the north; perhaps in some statements of tradition (e.g. al-Kalbī quoted by Ibn Sa'd, i. 39, 1—11) we have an echo of an actual fact, namely that on the old cult of Hubal, "the idol of the *Khuḏā'a*" (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, p. 28), there was super-imposed that of al-'Uzzā and Manāf-Manāt, for which we have definite evidence in Northern Arabia in particular.

In any case the figure of Kuşaiy soon became legendary; his story, as we have seen, has the characteristic features of the legends of eponymous heroes; his alleged sons are only symbols of the part played by Kuşaiy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name 'Abd al-Kuşaiy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship, which certainly existed in pre-Muḥammadan Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al-Ṭā'if, Ṭhakīf is analogous in character to Kuşaiy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dār al-Nadwa, which Lammens, developing a suggestion by M. Hartmann, has shown was not the "senate of Kuraish", as tradition has it, but rather a place for the celebration of rites, essentially social and religious in their origins. Its proximity to the Ka'ba, with which it is however never confounded, suggests that it was one of these private dwellings built beside Semitic temples, which, without being identified with the temple itself, came in time to acquire a religious character and certain religious functions. We have an example of this type of house in the "house of Lysias" in the precincts of the temple of the Palmyran deities at Dura (Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura*, p. 36—37).

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the sixth century A. D. the control of the Ka'ba and of the *ḥadīdī* was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Kuşaiy and that the Kuraish were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Kuraish, among others the Banū Umaiyā, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands; the Banū Makhzūm for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Kuşaiy. It seems probable then that the Meccan republic was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banū Kuşaiy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banū Kuşaiy; it is a process which presents striking analogies with that which may, we think, be noted in the formation of national unity among the Israelites, as a result of the fusion of the tribes of Judah and Levi with the Ephraimite tribes.

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KUŞDAR, or KUẒDĀR, is the name of a town in 27° 48' N. and 66° 37' E. and of the district in which it is situated, a long, narrow valley, important by reason of its central position at the point of convergence of roads from Kalāt on the north, Karāḥī and Bela on the south, Kaḥī on the east, and Makrān and *Khārān* on the west. Yāqūt describes it as a small town in a fertile district, which he calls Ṭūrān, producing grapes, pomegranates, and other fruits, but not dates. It is a city of India, or rather, he says, of Sind, situated at a distance of eighty farsakhs from Bust. It was conquered by the 'Arabs shortly after their conquest of Makrān, and Ibn Hawkal says that it was governed by an 'Arab residing at Kaikanān, who admitted the name of the 'Abbāsīd *Khalīfa* into the public prayers, but Yāqūt quotes a traveller who describes the district as the abode of the *Khawāridj*, and its capital as the seat of their *Khalīfa*. In A. D. 977—978 it was taken by Subuktigin, and its ruler was captured, but was restored on condition of his agreeing to pay tribute and causing the *Khutba* to be recited in Subuktigin's name. At a later date he was again attacked by Subuktigin,

owing to his failure to remit tribute. Kuşdar is now the principal town of the Jhalawān division of the Kalāt State in Balūčistān.

Bibliography: Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, i., Register in vol. iv.; *The Oriental Geography of Ibn Hawkal*, translated by Sir William Ouseley, London 1800; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; al-'Utbi, *Ta'rikh-i Yamini*, MSS.; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908.

(T. W. HAIG)

KUŞHAIR, an Arab tribe forming part of the great group of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a [q. v.] whose fortunes we find them almost continuously sharing in the period before as well as after Islām. They had particularly close associations with the tribes of 'Ukail and Dja'da [q. v.] whose genealogical table makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Kuşhair b. Ka'b b. Rabia' b. 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a. Tradition makes the mother of Kuşhair Raiṭa bint Kuṣfudh b. Mālik of the tribe of the Banū Sulaim [q. v.]. During the pre-Muḥammadan period, the Banū Kuşhair settled in al-Yamāma were involved in all the wars of the 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a especially in those against the Tamim, the Shaiḅān, whose chief Ḥāḍij b. Zurāra was made prisoner by Mālik b. Salama al-Khair b. Kuşhair, called Dhu 'l-Ruḳaiba, at the battle of Djabala, and against the kings of al-Hira (cf. *Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 70, 404—405). After Muḥammad's successes in Central Arabia, the Kuşhair joined with the other tribes of the 'Āmir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islām (cf. the texts in Cāetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i./i., 297 [9 A. H., § 78]). Later they took part without particularly distinguishing themselves in the wars of conquest in Syria and the 'Irāk, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Omayyad period, they were very numerous and powerful in Khurāsān, of which several Kuşhairis were governors (among others Zurāra b. 'Uḳba whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Kuşhairī colony had as its founder and common ancestor Ḥaida b. Mu'āwiya b. Kuşhair, a half-mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣṭāḥa*, Cairo 1325, ii. 56, N^o. 1890; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Mu'annarin*, in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Phil.*, ii. 97). On the other hand we find in Mubarrad, ed. Wright, p. 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu 'l-Ruḳaiba, the Kuşhairī chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Kuşhairis of note settled in Khurāsān, recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khair to which Dhu 'l-Ruḳaiba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe.

The Kuşhair did not number many poets of note among them; the best known is Yazid Ibn al-Taḥṭriya who lived between the end of the Omayyad period and the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period.

The genealogical sources and in particular Ibn al-Kalbī also mention other ethnical groups bearing the name Banū Kuşhair, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the Aslam and the Aws (Anṣār).

Bibliography: Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Anṣāb* (MS. British Museum, Add. 23, 297), f. 134r—7r; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische*

Tabellen, D. 117 (*Register*, p. 140—141); Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Iṣṭiḳāḥ* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 181; Ibn Qutaiba, *K. al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 43.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

KUŞHAIRĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'ABD AL-KARIM B. HAWĀZIN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK B. ṬAIḤA B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 376 (986), died in 465 (1074), was in dogmatic theology the pupil of the Ash'arī Abū Bakr b. Fūrak and in mysticism a follower of al-Sulamī and 'Abū 'Alī al-Daḳḳāk, whose daughter Fāṭima (d. 480 = 1087) he married. He was persecuted by the other Ash'arīs, by Ḥanbalī jurists and the Saldjūk officials from 440 (1048) to 455 (1063). His best known works are the two manifestoes, the *Risāla ilā Djamād'at al-ṣūfiya bi-Buldān al-Islām*, written in 438 (1046) to adapt Ṣūfism to Ash'arī metaphysics and the *Shakāya ilā Ahl al-Sunna bi-Hikāya mā nālahum min al-Mihna* written in 446 (1054) to clear the memory of al-Ash'arī from the charge of heterodoxy laid against his atomist metaphysics (publ. in Subkī, *Ṭabakāt*, first ed. Cairo, n. d., ii. 276—288). We also have from Kuşhairī's pen a mystical commentary on the Kur'an entitled *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt* and a manual of mystic paths, *Tarīḥ al-Sulūk*, the esotericism of which is deliberately obscure. The *Risāla*, a classical manual of Muslim mysticism was criticised from the Imāmi point of view by Ibn al-Dā'ī (*Tabṣira*, lith. Teherān 1312, p. 405—409) and published with the *Sharḥ* of al-Anṣārī at Cairo in 1290 in 4 volumes. — This is the only useful edition; the little editions in one volume (1318 A. H., etc.) are swarming with typographical mistakes.

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(L. MASSIGNON)

KUSKUSU (Couscous), a dish prepared with semolina. Throughout northwest Africa (Tripolitania, Sahara, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) it is the basis of the food of the people. It is sometimes called *ṭa'am* i. e. food par excellence. The Beduins of Eastern Algeria also call it *na'ama*, which has the same meaning; those of Western Algeria, *ma'ash*; those of the South and of the Sahara, *aish*, also with the same sense. In Tunisia, the name *ṭa'am* has even become applied to feasts at which this dish is particularly used, feasts known elsewhere as *zarda* (Eastern Algeria), *wa'ada* (Western Algeria) and *mussem* (Morocco). In the Judaeo-Arabic of Africa *kuskusu* is called *fiṭl*.

Kuskusu may be prepared at any time. Some however prepare it in the nights of Monday and Friday, which according to the sunna are peculiarly auspicious nights. The ceremony of preparation, which has been given a kind of religious character, at which certain rites have to be performed, always begins with an invocation or pious formula. The woman preparing it must not hear or see anything which might be a bad omen. Those near her avoid speaking of anything except saints or agricultural prosperity, the wealth of the produce of the land or of the family in which she is.

To make kuskusu, the woman sits on the ground, puts in front of her a wooden dish called *djafna* or *ksa'a* according to the district. Beside her is the bag of semolina and a vessel of slightly salted water. Some add to the salted water two or three drops of water of Nisān (the rain that falls at the beginning of May, which is kept in a flask) which

has peculiar virtues. She then takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the *djafna*, sprinkles salt water over it with the hollow of her hand and rolls it under her fingers in the dish to right and left until little pellets are formed like lead drops. She goes on in this way, handful by handful. From time to time she stirs the *djafna* to separate the little pellets from the large and rolls the latter to make them smaller.

In the meanwhile she is boiling on a brazier, in the *kedra* (a kind of earthenware saucepan) water and meat, if the kuskusu is to be prepared with meat, or vegetables (chick peas, turnips, wild chard) if it is to be made with vegetables, water alone if it is to be with sugar. Finally the required quantity of semolina for the kuskusu having been prepared, the woman shuts it up for some time in a bag or bottle of leather. In this the little pellets run together as they dry up and form a kind of rough grained paste. The cook then turns out this paste into a special sieve and taking up her pestle crushes it through the sieve. The round grains that pass through the holes of the sieve are the real grains of kuskusu; the grains too large to go through are used to make *bar-kūkes* (cf. below) or semolina cakes called *mokāffa*.

In the meanwhile the *kedra* half filled with water has been boiling on the brazier. The cook then takes the *keskas*, a kind of earthenware pot shaped like a funnel without a neck and pierced with little holes in the bottom. The *keskas* is placed on the *kedra*, the edges of which are wrapped in cloth to prevent the steam escaping between the two vessels. The *keskas* is filled with grains of kuskusu. The steam in order to escape has to pass through the holes in the bottom of the *keskas* and through the grains of kuskusu which it cooks. From time to time the cook puts her finger in the middle of it to see if it is done to a nicety. When it is she pours the grains into the *djafna*, rolls them again with her hand to prevent them forming a paste or clotting, then steams them again in the *keskas*. This time as soon as the kuskusu begins to give off steam, she puts it finally in the *djafna*.

Now if the cook wishes to make *masfūf* or sweet kuskusu she powders it with sugar and puts here and there little pieces of butter which melt and impregnate the little pellets of semolina under the influence of the heat. The water is thrown from the *kedra*. If the kuskusu is to be made with meat or vegetables the woman adds water to the *kedra* so that the bouillon or *sakīya* may go farther and a little salt. This bouillon is used to sprinkle on dishes before they are served.

Whatever be the number of courses to a meal, the kuskusu is always served last. According to the manner of its preparation the kuskusu has different names, which vary also in the different linguistic areas. To those already mentioned may be added: 1. *masfūf*, very fine grained with sugar, 2. *ma'ūar*, very fine grained with meat, 3. *barbūkeh* (Tunis, Constantine), fine grained, eaten cold with butter or fat of any kind, sprinkled with buttermilk, in the west called *sikūh*, 4. *maḥammša*, kuskusu with very large grains, 5. *bar-kūkes* or *bar-kūkes*h or *mardūd* of large grains swollen by steam and cooked in bouillon or milk — called *aish* in Southern Algeria, 6. *barbūsha*, made with barley semolina, in place of wheat semolina — in the west called *brīūl*.

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KUSS IBN SĀ'IDA of the tribe of Yād, a half legendary figure, called "the sage, the arbiter (*hakam*) of the Arabs". His eloquence is proverbial. He seems to have been a Christian, but not Bishop of Nadjrān as has been said. There was a proverbial expression: "eloquent as the bishop of Nadjrān". This must have facilitated the confusion, of which there is no trace in the oldest references. The *Sira* and *Hadīth* take an interest in Kuss because his personality, surrounded with a halo of asceticism, increased by one the lamentably small group of the *ḥanīf*. He is also said to have predicted the imminent coming of the Prophet. The latter is said to have heard him preach at the fair of 'Ukāz. If Kuss really was a historical individual, he must have lived at a much earlier period than the generation contemporary with Muḥammad; it is impossible to think that he could have become a legendary figure if he lived about the time of the *Hidjra*. At this time the tribe of Yād had ceased to exist as a separate group.

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(H. LAMMENS)

KUSŪF, **KHUSŪF**, eclipse of the sun or of the moon. As regards linguistic usage, it may be noted that *al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the moon (*kusūf al-ḥamar*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-ḥams*), e.g. in al-Farghānī, *Qoṣṭā b. Lūkā*, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī; but they are often distinguished as *al-khusūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf* of the sun; e.g. by al-Kazwīnī (on the linguistic usage, it should be noted that according to the *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, the viith form should not be used, although this is very often done; e.g. by al-Kazwīnī and others).

The eclipse of the sun and of the moon have from the earliest times attracted the liveliest attention. Ptolemy, following Hipparchus, studied the theory of eclipses, and following him the Arabs and Syrians, etc. We shall deal first with the eclipse of the moon. It must be premised that the apparent path of the moon — we must adhere to the geocentric view — cuts the ecliptic in two opposite points, which however in course of time come to move on to the ecliptic. These points are called *al-djāw'ahar* (Persian *djāwz čīhr*, nut-shape, or less correctly *guy čīhr*, globe-shape); they are also called *al-tinnin*, "dragon" (see below). All the planets have of course such *djāwzahar*; without an addition the word always refers to the moon. Their positions are given in the Ephemerides. The massive ball into which according to Ibn al-Haiṭham the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves, is called *falak al-djāwzahar*.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon. Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i. e. the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, *al-ra's*" and "tail, *al-dhanab*", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign Ω for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horoscope. But Severus Sebokt (c. 650) (I. Nau, *Notes d'Astronomie Syrienne*, J. A. [Ser. 10], 1910, xvi., p. 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the nodes. But we still find in al-Birūnī's *Tafhīm* etc. the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates increase (of property etc.). The tail is cold, brings misfortune, and indicates diminution of wealth etc. Eclipses of the sun or of the moon are really caused by the earth coming between the sun and moon or the moon coming between the earth and the sun. Instead of *djawzahar* we often have the word "node" *'akd* and *'ukda* used, also in combination with *ra's* and *dhanab*.

The shadow of the earth arising in the first instance, because the sun is considerably larger than the earth, consists of a cone-shaped convergent shadow (the shadow) on one side and a divergent shadow (penumbra) on the other side. Only in the shadow is there absolute darkness. As the diameter of the shadow at the place of the moon's path is considerably greater than that of the moon at the same point, under certain conditions, the moon may remain some time in the shadow and therefore be perfectly eclipsed for the period. Ibn al-Haitham, for example, investigated these conditions very fully (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xiii., *Über eine Schrift von Ibn al-Haitham*, "Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten", S. B. P. M. S., *Erig.*, 1907, xxxix., p. 226).

If earth, sun and moon were very small bodies, mere points, eclipses would only take place when the sun and moon were exactly in the nodes. But as they are large, eclipses also occur when these bodies have passed beyond the nodes, i. e. have experienced an alteration in latitude and longitude. A total eclipse occurs when the breadth is smaller than the difference between the diameter of the shadow and that of the moon, a partial eclipse when it is larger than the latter but smaller than the sum of the diameters; if it is however equal to the latter, there is only a contact but no eclipse.

Taking into consideration the shadow alone, the *makhṛūt* (cone) or *ṣanawbar* (pine-apple) — its cross-section is called *dā'irat al-zill* — we have the following: the entrance into the shadow is called *bad'* *al-kusuf*, beginning of the eclipse; the phase from the beginning of the eclipse, to the beginning of totality, is called *subūt* (falling, the *ἐπιπνοίς* of Ptolemy), the middle of the path covered in shadow is called *wasf* (middle). The phase which corresponds to complete emergence

is called *tamām al-inḍjilā'* (the completion of disappearance); *al-makṭh* (stop, stay) means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed; in a partial eclipse there is no such stop. A *kusuf kull al-ḥamar bilā makṭh*, a total eclipse without a stop is said to occur when the moon's path is such that the darkened moon touches the cone of the shadow at only one point; then a total eclipse exists at this point only. For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al-makṭh* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ākhir al-makṭh*.

A diminution of light but no complete extinction also occurs when the moon moves through the half-shadow. In his classical work on the shadows Ibn al-Haitham (see above) discussed the theory of this question and checked it by observation. In very rare cases, however, the whole of the eclipsed moon does not appear quite black but shows different colours, especially a dark red; this was observed by various early astronomers and minutely described by Ibn al-Haitham (his statements agree with modern observation, e.g. Joh. Müller, *Lehrbuch der kosmischen Physik* 5, § 9, p. 196). Al-Birūnī further studied these colours (*al-Ḳānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, *maḳāla* vii., *bāb* vii., *faṣl* iii.); he also examines critically earlier views and particularly Indian ideas on the astrological significance of the colours (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Birūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, etc., 1914). This light on the completely eclipsed moon is explained by the fact that the sun's rays are diverted in passing through the earth's atmosphere and thus enter the shadow and illuminate the moon. According to the amount of moisture in the atmosphere, these diverted rays are more or less coloured. For the possibility of a solar eclipse, the conditions are the same as for a lunar one.

Solar Eclipse: As the angle at which the moon appears to us is smaller, although only slightly, than that at which the sun appears, the moon can never completely cover the sun. Therefore even at a so-called total eclipse of the sun, even if the centres of sun and moon and earth all lie on a straight line, a narrow rim of light still remains. Bright formations, the corona and the protuberances radiate from this. They are described by al-Birūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, *maḳāla*, viii., *bāb*, xi. (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und Sonnenfinsternis*, in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xv., 1923, p. 43).

The local times at which the same lunar or solar eclipse appears at different places is obtained from the difference of their geographical longitudes. The calculations are made difficult by the fact that these bodies show a considerable parallax. This partly explains the great differences between the calculated and true values.

It would take us too far to go into the details of the theoretical considerations, for example when each eclipse begins, how long it lasts, its periodicity, etc. In the works of al-Farghānī, Ḳoṣṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Djaghminī, al-Ḳhīrākī, and particularly in that of Abu 'l-Faradj, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. F. Nau, Paris 1849, also in the *Kitāb Tafhīm* etc. of al-Birūnī we find more or less full general descriptions while the works on astronomical theory like the *Zīj* (tables) of al-Ḳhwārizmī, of al-Battānī, the *Ḳānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*

of al-Birūnī, the *Zīj* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī etc. give information about mathematical considerations and the particular observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber in Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, Heft x., 1900).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called "fingers" (*iṣbaʿ* or *iṣbaʿ al-kusuf*) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of "digits". In the same way the surface is imagined to be divided into 12 equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battānī, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The diopter of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. The one with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount *a* of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, is measured, and the magnitude *b* of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as *a* : *b*. The amount *g* in fingers of the eclipse is $g = \frac{a}{b} \cdot 12$.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, a place in al-ʿIrāq, on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and ʿAmāra, 100 miles S. E. of Baghdād as the crow flies. *Kūt* is the Hindustānī word *koṭ* meaning "fortress" found in other place-names in al-ʿIrāq, like *Kūt al-Muʿammar*; *Kūt al-ʿAmāra* is often simply called *Kūt*. *Kūt* lies opposite the mouth of the *Shaṭṭ al-Haij*, also called al-*Gharrāf*, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e. g. at Nāṣiriya and *Sūk al-Shuyūkh*. The plains to the north of *Kūt* are inhabited by the Banū Rabīʿa, a division of the great tribe of Banū Lām. *Kūt* is not an old town; it has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhār mentioned by Yaḳūt (iv. 275; cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Culiphate*, p. 38 and H. H. Schaefer in *Islam*, xiv. 17). In the beginning of the sixteenth century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Keppel in 1824, according to Ritter; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, ii. 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdād and Baṣra, *Kūt* became an important station on the river and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (1861), *Kūt* was the capital of a *ḥaḍā* of the same name in the *sandjak* of Baghdād (and it still is under the new ʿIrāq government). About 1890 the population was estimated at 4,115 (Cuinet) almost all Shīʿīs (about 100 Sunnis and 100 Jews). The *ḥaḍā* extends northwards as far as the mountains of Luristān. The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Kallāl and contains several villages the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the

ḥaḍā likewise grew after 1861 and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnis (except the population of *Kūt* itself).

The strategic importance of the site of *Kūt* made it play a prominent part in the Great War. During the first English advance against the Turks, General Townshend occupied *Kūt* in September 1915. Soon after, it became the base for an advance on Baghdād, which ended in the retreat of the English troops, soon followed by the siege of *Kūt* by the Turks, which began on Dec. 8, 1915. As attempts to relieve it failed, *Kūt* was taken on April 29, 1916. The Turks entrenched themselves in their turn in *Kūt* until in December 1916 it again fell into English hands and in 1920 was incorporated in the new kingdom of ʿIrāq.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

KŪṬAʿ. [See **KŪṬAʿ**.]

KUTĀHIYA (the ancient Cotyaeum), a town in Asia Minor, the capital of a *sandjak* in the province of Khudāwendigīār, on the river Pursaḳ, which enters the Saḳariya, near it. It is 3,000 feet above sea-level, has 22,266 inhabitants, of whom 4,000 are Greek Orthodox and 3,000 Armenians; it contains 24 mosques, 21 madrasas, 2 libraries, 16 dervish monasteries, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths, 12 potteries. It is a station on the Baghdād railway. In the sixteenth century it was the capital of the Germiyanoghlu; the mosques of this period are in ruins; other notable buildings are the Medjidie Medrese (704 = 1304), the *Ḳurshūn-lu Djamīʿ* (777 = 1375—1376), another mosque (783 = 1381), the mosque of Yaḳūb Čelebi (837 = 1433—1434); the great mosque, *Ülū-Djamīʿ*, the building of which is attributed to the Germiyanoghlu, but is not earlier than Bāyazid I. It has an old citadel in ruins built on a height. The marble lion and the Byzantine sarcophagus mentioned by Texier no longer exist. There are promenades called Aḳ-ṣū, Sultān bāghi, Kebgir, Sultān Bāyazid Baghçe-si; there are hot springs in the neighbourhood. It was once an important centre for the manufacture of glazed pottery with floral decorations (the so-called Rhodian pottery); an attempt has been made to revive this industry but the recent products are not so good as the old ones.

The town formed the dowry of the daughter of the Germiyanoghlu who married Bāyazid I; it was taken by Timūr after the battle of Anycra (1402). The conqueror left his son Shāhruḳh there as governor, while he advanced on Ephesus (H. A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 156, 258).

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(CL. HUART)

KUTAI, an independent district (sultanate) in Eastern Borneo, belonging to the

administrative division of Samarinda in the residency of "Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo". It comprises mainly the valley of the very important and for a great part navigable river Mahakam as far as Muara Mujub. The road from Makassar marks the eastern frontier. The Dutch assistant resident lives in Samarinda on the Mahakam; the capital of the Sultān, Tengggarung, is a little farther up the river. The country is prosperous; the land is rich in anthracite and petroleum and under normal conditions there is a busy trade in forest products and dried and salt fish. The opinion has been expressed that in the name of the sultanate the name Yava-koṭi (Sanskrit *koṭi* = end, point), known from Indian geographical works, survives. It is certain that even before the fifth century A. D. Hindus had founded a colony here directly from India and not through Java. The inscriptions, written in pure Sanskrit, found in Kutai on four stone dedicatory pillars prove the existence of a flourishing Hindu kingdom here under a king Mūlavarman, and very probably other antiquities, notably the Brahmanistic images of deities found in a cave on Mount Kombeng have also to be traced to this kingdom. Any later Hindu civilisation that existed in Borneo came through Java; in the xvth century Kutai formed part of the territories of the Javanese empire of Majapahit. A native tradition of the origin of the kingdom and the genealogy of the royal house of Kutai is known to us from a Malay manuscript in the possession of the Sultān in Tengggarung (there is another copy in Berlin); according to this "*salasila*", the first part of which, largely mythical, has been published with a Dutch translation, Islām was introduced here about 1600 in the reign of Radja Makoeta from Celebes.

The population is of a very mixed character. The Dayaks, the original inhabitants of the country, are for the most part still pagan. Along the Mahakam there are practically no settlements of them left; they are being more and more driven into the interior by other peoples who are settling there. The chiefs of the tribe of Tundjung Dayaks are said to be related to the royal house of Kutai; according to the *salasila* already mentioned, the Tundjung prince Kērna married a sister of the reigning chief Radja Putēri about 1450. There are still a few nomadic tribes away in the interior. The other peoples, Kutainese, Buginese, Bandjarese and Badjau all profess Islām, although in many customs and even in court ceremonies at Tengggarung old animistic conceptions are still very predominant. The Kutainese who form the principal element in the population are probably descendants of early immigrant Malays of various stocks; they are found all over the country. As to the origin of the Buginese settlements we again have a native tradition preserved in a work entitled *Salasila Bugis*; this immigration had probably begun by 1686 mainly from Wadjo and it is still going on. The Buginese lived at first exclusively in Samarinda; they formed a well defined section of the population, who were practically independent of the Sultān of Kutai, and were ruled by a chief of their own (*pua adu*), who was elected by the elders of the different groups of families. This Buginese republic in Kutai no longer exists and at the present day the Buginese stand in the same relation to the Sultān as all other inhabitants; they have settled in the whole country and are mainly engaged in

trade. The numbers of the Bandjarese immigrants from the south of Borneo are also increasing; their main industry is the collection of forest products. The Badjau come from the Sulu Islands; they used to be pirates but now they have permanent settlements at the mouth of the Mahakam where they live by fishing. The heterogeneous composition of the population is reflected in the language, a not yet sufficiently investigated variety of Malay; one feature is the large number of Javanese words that occur in it. The first contact of the Dutch with Kutai took place in 1635, when the Dutch East India Company made their first treaty with the chief. By treaties of the years 1825 and 1844, the Sultān recognised Dutch suzerainty. The Sultān governs with the help of four notables. The Dayaks are under their own chiefs, whose rank is hereditary with the approval of the Sultān.

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KUTAIBA B. MUSLIM, ABŪ ḤAFṢ al-BAḤILĪ, an Arab general. Kūtaiba was born in 49 (669/670). In the war against ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [q. v.], al-Ḥadjjādī recognised his ability and when the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 85 (704) had to fill the vacant governorship of Khorāsān, he gave the post to Kūtaiba on the advice of al-Ḥadjjādī, to whom the governors of Khorāsān were subordinate. After his arrival in Merw, Kūtaiba was able to make full use of his military gifts and by a series of successful expeditions against the neighbouring Turkish tribes, he extended the frontiers of the Arab caliphate to such an extent that he must be reckoned one of the greatest conquerors of the Umayyad period. In 86 (705) he undertook his campaign against Tokhāristān, where the lord of Akhrūn and Shūmān bought peace. According to some historians, Kūtaiba first attacked Saghāniyān, the king of which surrendered at once, and next Tokhāristān from which he returned to Merw. In the following year he turned his attention to Bukhārā. After he had succeeded in concluding a peace with Nēzak, king of Bādaghīs, against whom the previous governor of Khorāsān Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab had conducted a campaign, he crossed the Oxus and advanced on Baikand. The people of the town however sought help from the adjoining states: the latter barred the routes and for two months Kūtaiba was completely surrounded. He finally succeeded in defeating the enemy and the town had to surrender. But, as soon as he had gone, the people rebelled and killed the governor appointed by him, whereupon Kūtaiba returned and stormed the town. After he had put down all resistance he returned to Merw. In 88 (706/707) a campaign against Bukhārā was undertaken, in which he took the towns of Nūmushakāth and Rāmīthana. Fighting was renewed next year but seems to have been indecisive. In any case Kūtaiba returned in 90 (708/709) and defeated the people of Bukhārā after a stubborn resistance and the king of Soghdiana had to sue for peace. Nēzak then rebelled, imprisoned his suzerain, the king of Tokhāristān and called upon several neighbouring rulers to join with him against Kūtaiba. As winter was approaching, the latter himself could do nothing, but he sent his brother ʿAbd al-Rahmān to occupy Balkh. In 91 (710) he took the field again and after bringing the rebels to terms, advanced on Nēzak. The latter fought his way to Farghāna and entrenched himself in the citadel of al-Kurz. After a two months' siege, Kūtaiba captured him through treachery and had him put to death, although he had definitely promised him a pardon. In the same year he conquered Shūmān, which had rebelled against him, along with Kiss and Nasaf, and installed a king loyal to him in Bukhārā [q. v.]. In 92 (710/711) Kūtaiba is said to have undertaken an expedition against Sijīstān, but the ruler there sought peace, and he returned without a blow being struck. Next year he helped the king of Khwārizm against his rebellious brother. He then advanced on Sa-

markand, defeated the forces from al-Shāsh and Farghāna, which had hurried to the help of the Soghdians and seized the town, which was occupied by his troops in spite of the terms of peace. In 94 (712/713) he sent an army against al-Shāsh and advanced victoriously as far as Khodjande and Kāshān in Farghāna. In the summer of 95 (714) he had advanced as far as al-Shāsh or Kushmāhan, when the news of the death of al-Ḥadjjādī reached him. He therefore returned to Merw but in 96 (715) he began a new campaign of conquest against Farghāna. Here he heard of the death of the Caliph al-Walid and as Kūtaiba feared the vengeance of his brother Sulaimān [q. v.] because he had supported the plan of excluding the latter from the succession, he declined to pay homage to the new caliph. This however incited his troops to mutiny and in Dhū l-Ḥijja 96 (Aug.-Sept. 715) or, according to another statement not till the beginning of 97, Kūtaiba was killed by the mutinous soldiers (cf. FARGHĀNA).

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-KUTĀMĪ, epithet ("culture-like") of the Arab poet ʿUmayr b. Shūyaim b. ʿAmr of the clan of Taim b. Usāma of the Taghlib, a contemporary and fellow-tribesman of the poet al-Akhtal and like the latter played a part in the feuds which raged in the second half of the first century A. H. between the tribes of Taghlib and the Kais ʿAilān. His own experiences in battle and the glorification of the exploits of his tribe in war form the main themes of his poems. In contrast to al-Akhtal however he does justice to his opponents, while venting particular hatred on the Yamanīs. His panegyrics are mainly devoted to the Umayyads, e. g. one to Walid I. The date of his death is not known; according to Ḥadjjādī Khalifa, iii. 5619, he died in 101 A. H. According to several sources he was a convert from Christianity to Islām, but in his poems he shows himself a thorough Beduin, always ready for a fight, anxious about his property in camels, not averse to wine drinking, and looking down upon the townsmen with the haughty pride of the nomad.

The name al-Kutāmī is also borne by two otherwise little known or quoted poets, one of the tribe of Kalb and the other of the tribe of Dubaīʿa, but in practically all references al-Kutāmī without further names means the Taghlibī first mentioned.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xx. 118 sqq.; *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 170; much quoted in lexicographical and *Adab* works; his *Diwān* with the commentary of an unknown writer was edited by J. Barth, Leyden 1902, mainly from the Berlin MS., Pm 589 Ahlwardt, *Katal.*, vi. 548. (H. H. BRÄU)

AL-KUTB, the pole (Latin *alchitot*), in addition to the usual meanings has also the following: In a circle the poles lie on the perpendicular erected in its centre thus the poles of the

meridian are the north and south point of the horizon. In places on the equator they lie on it. The poles of the equator (*ḡuṭb mu'adil al-nahār*) are the north and south poles of the earth (*al-ḡuṭb al-shamālī* and *al-ḡuṭb al-djāmūbī* also *ḡuṭb al-ālam*); they are also called poles of the first movement. They are transferred to the globe of heaven. The circle of the four poles goes through them and the poles of the ecliptic (*ḡuṭb falak al-burūdī*). The north pole is also called *ḡuṭb al-djuddaīy* (Pole Star) or *ḡuṭb banāt al-na'sh* (Great Bear) and the south pole *ḡuṭb al-suhail*. For the north pole we also find the term *ḡuṭb al-djāh* (pole of the place). (On these last names cf. G. Ferrand, *Contributions à l'histoire de la boussole*, *Publ. de l'Inst. des Hautes Etudes Marocaines*, *Mélanges*, R. Basset, i. 1923, p. 1—10). The poles of revolving spheres are always the point in which the line around which the sphere revolves intersects the globe of the heavens.

Technically *al-ḡuṭb* means the axis, i. e. if two opposite points of a ring have cylinders attached to them outwards which revolve in corresponding directions as in the case of the rings of the armillary sphere inserted in one another. For axes in the usual sense the word *al-miḡwar* is generally used, but *al-ḡuṭb* is also found. Thus for example the round rod placed through the cylindrical hole of an astrolabe holding the spider on the north side and the alidade on the back is called *al-ḡuṭb* or *al-miḡwar*. The axis is prevented by a pin from slipping out of the instrument. The latter is called from its shape *al-faras* i. e. horse. The pin which connects the separate parts of the parallelactic lineal, is called *al-ḡuṭb* by al-Battānī who says that he uses a *ḡuṭb* like that on the astrolabe. The hole or pin in the centre of the astronomical quadrant is also called *al-ḡuṭb*, to which is fastened the measuring thread.

In theological and mystical language (cf. the article TAṢAWWUF) *al-ḡuṭb* is the name for the holiest of saints, who however is unknown to the world. The founders of the dervish orders are also called *Ḳuṭb* (for the literature, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.). *Ḳuṭb* was the name given by Tipū Sultan of Mysore (1783—1799) to his smallest copper coin = 1/8 paise. (E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN. [See MAWḌUD B. ZENGĪ.]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD KHẒĀRIZMŠĀH, founder of a dynasty in KhẒārizm [q. v.]. His father Anūshtagīn (or Nūshtagīn) *gharča* was in charge of the silver and crockery (*tasht-khāna*) at the court of the Saldjūks; the expenses of this branch of the court household were defrayed out of the tribute from KhẒārizm just as the expenses of administration of the clothing-depot (*djāma-khāna*) were defrayed by the tribute from Khūzistān; Anūshtagīn therefore, without actually governing KhẒārizm, held the title of a military governor (*shakhne*) of this country. He had his son educated in Merw. After the assassination of the KhẒārizmshāh Ikinči b. Kočkar in 490 (1097) or 491 (1098) Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was appointed governor of KhẒārizm with the title KhẒārizmshāh and ruled till his death in 521 (1127) or 522 (1128). He was succeeded by his son Atsız [q. v.]. As KhẒārizmshāh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was a faithful vassal of Sulṭān Sandjar [q. v.]. Every two years he went himself to the court of the Sulṭān and in the interval he was represented there by his son. He is reputed to have been a patron of learned men.

The medical textbook *Dhakhira-i KhẒārizmshāhi* by Djurdjānī [q. v.] is dedicated to him (cf. Rieu, *Catal. Pers. MSS.*, p. 466). [The statement in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 487, also given above under DJURDJĀNĪ, ISMĀ'IL, from the Catalogue of the Yeñi Djāmi' that this work is extant in two Arabic MSS. (No. 915 and 916) is probably due to a mistake by the author of the Turkish Catalogue, especially as the title is also given there in the above Persian form, impossible in Arabic].

Bibliography: Djuwainī in *G. M. S.*, xvi/ii, p. 2 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 346. (W. BARTHOLD)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ. [See AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ.]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN, AL-SHĪRĀZĪ MAḤMUD B. MAS'UD B. MUSLIḤ, was born in Šafar 634 (1236) in Shīrāz and died in Tabriz on 17th Ramaḍān 710 (1311). Like many Muslim medical men, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn belonged to a family of distinguished physicians; at the same time however he was not only a prominent medical man, at least as regards his writings but he distinguished himself in astronomy, philosophy, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu 'l-Fidā' to give him the name *al-mutaḡannin* "experienced in many fields". He received his medical training with his father Dīyā' al-Dīn Mas'ud al-Ḳāzīrūnī, i. e. of Ḳāzīrūn (a town west of Shīrāz), in the hospital of Shīrāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncles Kamāl al-Dīn Khair al-Ḳāzīrūnī and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Rushkānī (Suyūṭī has: Rukshawī) and Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī; he then went to Našīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Našīr al-Dīn also who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still quite young he conceived the idea of editing the *Kulliyāt*, the first theoretical part of the *Kānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in Shīrāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in Khurāsān, the two 'Irāqs, Persia, Asia Minor, and Syria. Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the *Kulliyāt*, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably after these journeys that he became associated with the Tatar rulers of Persia, the Īl-Khāns; in what year and under which ruler this happened, we do not know. In any case in 681 (1282—1283) he was Ḳāḍī of Sīwās and of Malatya (in Asia Minor) under Aḡmad (Nikudar, 680—683 = 1281—1284). There he was still engaged on the *Kulliyāt*; he must have played a part in politics, as Aḡmad sent him with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalā'ūn (678—689 = 1279—1290). He was sent to report the former's conversion to Islām, no doubt the result of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's influence and to conclude a peace between Muslims and Tatars. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the *Kulliyāt*. He dedicated the work, probably finished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḡammad Sa'd al-Dīn, Aḡmad Khān's vizier, and called it *al-Tuḡfa al-Sa'dīya*, "the present to Sa'd", or *Nuḡhat al-Hukamā' wa-Rawḡat al-Aṭibbā'*, "the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians".

In his later years Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retired to Tabriz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied Ḥadīth and made critical notes on the subject,

e. g. on the *Ḍjam' al-Uṣūl*, "Encyclopaedia of principles", and to the *Sharḥ al-Sunna* (Commentary on the *Sunna*). Ibn Shubha or al-Subkī gives a sketch of the character of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was clean; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians". It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects he lived remote from the court. He also led the life of a Ṣūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils; among these was Kamāl al-Dīn (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough: he also induced al-Taḥṭānī (d. 766 = 1364; see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 209) to come to critical decisions (*Muḥākamat*) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and al-Fakhr al-Rāzī (Ḥādjdjī *Khalifa*, No. 743). He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabriz he always performed his *ṣalāt*'s with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chess-player and played continuously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small violin (*rabāba*). His commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāk* ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless al-Ḥādjdjī *Khalifa* (No. 1169) emphasises, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the *Qur'ān* very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Faṭḥ al-Mannān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*; in the *Fī Mushkilāt al-Qur'ān* he also dealt with passages in the *Qur'ān* difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaḳā'ik al-Tanzīl* of al-Zamakhsharī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q. v.] (d. c. 720 = 1320) to the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haiṭham, with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haiṭham's expositions that he based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works *Nihāyat al-Idrāk fi Dirāyat al-Aflāk*, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiya fi 'l-Ha'fa*, which are very similar to each other, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn has in my opinion given the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the *al-Tadhkira al-Naṣiriya*, the memoranda of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, his teacher. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The *Nihāya* discusses, for example, details of the cosmography of al-Khiraḳī or Ibn al-Haiṭham which are again found in Roger Bacon. I have discussed the following passages from these works:

Zu den optischen Kenntnissen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissensch.* etc., iii., 1912, p. 187—193. *Über die Gestalt, Lage und Bewegung der Erde, sowie philosophisch-astronomische Betrachtungen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī*, *ibid.*, p. 395—422. *Beiträge*,

xxvii., *Auszüge aus al-Shirāzī's Werk über Astronomie*, in *S. B. P. M. S. Ergl.*, xlv., 1912, p. 27—35. *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xv., 1923, p. 47—48. *Inhalt eines Gefäßes in verschiedenen Abständen vom Erdmittelpunkt*, in *Z. S. für Physik.*, xiii., 1923, S. 59—60.

One work is entitled *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira al-Naṣiriya*. As an appendix to the *Nihāya*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn wrote the *Fī Harakāt al-Dahradja wa 'l-Nisba bain al-mustawī wa 'l-munḥani*, "On the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-Ha'fa* and a work with a very peculiar title: *Kitāb fa'altu fa 'lā talum fi 'l-Ha'fa*, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not".

Besides the works by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn already mentioned there are also recorded a treatise on diseases of the eye and a commentary on the *Urdjūza* of Ibn Sīnā; also commentaries on the work, mainly grammatical of al-Sakkākī and on a work of Ibn al-Ḥādjbī.

After his death Zain al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī wrote verses on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in which he expresses surprise that the mill (*raḥan*) of knowledge still turns after it has lost its axis (*Ḳuṭb*).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales musulmici*, ed. J. J. Reiske, 1794, v., p. 63, 243; Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Shubha, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'ya* (Cod. Goth. 1763). The larger work by al-Subkī on the *Shāfi'is* according to Prof. Dr. Schaade hardly contains any more; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, 1840, No. 247; H. Suter, *Die arabischen Mathematiker und Astronomen*, No. 387 and the supplement; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (contains the substance of the autobiography at the beginning of the *Kulliyāt*), 1876, ii., p. 129—130; *G. A. L.*, ii. 211 sq.; According to Brockelmann also contain biographical information *Khwāndamīr*, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii., p. 1, 67, 112 (Lith. Bombay 1857) and Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, p. 389.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK, the fifth and last king of the Khaldjī dynasty of Dihli, was the third son of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. When his father died, on Jan. 2, 1316, the minister Malik Nā'ib raised to the throne Mubārak's youngest brother, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, a child of six, blinded his two elder brothers, Khidr Khān and Shādī Khān, and would have blinded Mubārak, had he not persuaded the soldiers sent to perform the task to put Malik Nā'ib to death. He assumed the regency, but on April 1, 1316, blinded his infant brother and ascended the throne as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. He began his reign by releasing all prisoners, by rescinding all the harsher edicts of his father, including the compulsory tariff, and by restoring confiscated lands. He was addicted to the grossest immorality and appointed his vile favourite, a scavenger who had been named Ḥasan on his nominal conversion to Islām, and was entitled *Khusraw Khān*, minister of the kingdom. Mubārak sent an officer to restore the royal authority in Gudjarāt, and marched to Devagīr, where he slew the rebellious Harpāl, restored order throughout the Dakan and the Peninsula, and built the

great mosque. During his absence a conspiracy was formed, with the object of putting him to death and raising to the throne a son of his brother, *Khidr Khān*, but he discovered the plot, executed the conspirators, and on his return to the capital put all his relatives, including his blind brothers, to death, and married *Khidr Khān's* widow, the beautiful *Deval Devi* of *Gudjarāt*.

His court was a scene of the most disgusting debauchery and buffoonery, and he arrogated to himself the style of Caliph and the pontifical title of *al-Waṭiḥ bi 'llāh*.

Rebellions broke out in *Gudjarāt* and *Devagir*, but were suppressed, and *Khusraw Khān*, absent on an expedition to *Madura*, meditated rebellion in that region, but abandoned the design as hopeless and, returning to the capital, succeeded in persuading the king that he had been falsely accused.

Mubārak's infatuation permitted *Khusraw Khān* to surround himself with a large body of troops and to acquire supreme power in the state, and on the night of April 14, 1320, the favourite caused his master to be assassinated in his palace, seized the throne, and married *Deval Devi*.

The usurper, who assumed the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw Shāh*, was defeated and slain on Sept. 5, 1320, by the warden of the north-western frontier, *Ghiyāth al-Dīn*, entitled *Ghāzī Malik*, who, on the following day, ascended the throne as *Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh*.

Bibliography: *Diya' al-Dīn . Baranī, Tarīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*; *Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*; *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhab al-Tawārikh*, and translation by G. S. A. Ranking (all in the *Bibl. Ind. Series of the A. S. B.*); *Muḥammad Kāsim Firishṭa, Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

KUṬB MĪNĀR, a lofty tower of red sandstone, said by *Fergusson* (ii. 206) and *Diez* (p. 165) to be one of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world, is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of *Dihlī* [q. v.], in the ruins of the first city of that name, — about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by *Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg* [v. AIBEG, i. 209] in 1193, just after the capture of the city from the Hindu king, *Prithirādj*. Like the *Minār* at *Ghazna* [q. v.] and the *Minār* at *Koel* (no longer in existence), it is an isolated structure, from which the *mu'adhdhin* gave the call to prayer, and is 238 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the S. E. corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 1225 to *Aibeg's* mosque by *İltutmish* [q. v.]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement story appears to have been built while *Aibeg* still recognised the overlordship of *Mu'izz al-Dīn* (i. e. before 1205); the second, third and fourth stories were built by *İltutmish*, but during the reign of *Firūz Shāh* [q. v.] the building was struck by lightning and this king in 1368 had it repaired and added a fifth story. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of *Firūz Shāh*, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the tower is entirely of red sandstone, and is not round but made up of flutings, which in the base-

ment story are alternately round and angular, in the second rounded only, and in the third angular only. The line of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each story. The inscriptions are partly historical in character and partly made up of quotations from the *Kur'ān*; they have been reproduced and translated in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911—12.

The tower derives its name from the saint *Khwādja Kuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī*, who was held in high honour by *İltutmish*; he died at *Dihlī* in 1235 and his tomb is not far from the *Minār*.

Bibliography: *Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Athār al-Sanādīd*, i. 128—133, *Dihlī* 1847, i. 54—57 *Lakhnau* 1876; G. Le Bon, *Les Monuments de l'Inde*, p. 183—184, Paris 1893; H. C. Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present*, p. 265—268, London 1902; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. by J. Burgess, ii. 205—206, London 1910; J. Horowitz, *The Inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām, Qutbuddin Aibeg and İltutmish* (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911—1912, p. 12 sqq.), Calcutta 1914; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, p. 165, Berlin 1915; G. Sanderson, *Archaeological Work at the Qutb, Delhi 1912—13* (*Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1912—13*, p. 120 sqq.), Calcutta 1916. (T. W. ARNOLD)

KUṬBSHĀHĪ, one of the five independent Muslim dynasties of the *Dakan*, which arose on the ruins of the *Bahmanī* Kingdom, named, like the others, from the title (*Kuṭb al-Mulk*) borne under the *Bahmanī* kings by its founder, *Sultān Qūlī*, a *Qarakūyunlū* Turk of *Sa'd-ābād*, near *Hamadān*, who, entering the service of *Muḥammad III*, was entitled by his son, *Maḥmūd*, *Khawāṣṣ Khān*. When, in 1490, the provincial governors of *Aḥmadnagar*, *Bidjāpūr*, and *Barār* proclaimed their independence of *Bidar*, *Sultān Qūlī* was still at *Maḥmūd's* court. After the death of *Kuṭb al-Mulk* the *Dakanī*, before *Djāmshādī* in 1493, *Sultān Qūlī* received his title, captured the fortress from the rebels, and in 1495 was rewarded with the government of *Telingāna*. He maintained a semblance of loyalty to *Bidar* until 1512, when he declared himself independent in *Golkonda*, but never assumed the royal title, though historians usually style him *Sultān Qūlī Kuṭb Shāh*. He was assassinated in 1543 at the instance of his son *Djāmshīd*, who succeeded him. The names of the Kings of his house, with the dates of their succession, are as follows:

<i>Sultān Qūlī</i>	1512
<i>Djāmshīd</i>	1543
<i>Subḥān Qūlī</i>	1550
<i>Ibrāhīm</i>	1550
<i>Muḥammad Qūlī</i>	1580
<i>Muḥammad</i>	1612
' <i>Abd Allāh</i>	1626
<i>Abu 'l-Ḥasan</i>	1672

Each was distinguished by the title *Kuṭb Shāh*, which, however, was never accorded to them by the *Mughul* emperors, who invariably addressed them as *Kuṭb al-Mulk*. All were *Shī'ī's*, and their religion, the grievances of *Mir Djumla*, and the licence accorded to *Hindus* were *Awrangzēb's* pretexts, if any were needed, for the destruction of the independent state of *Golkonda*, effected by the capture of the fortress and the imprisonment of *Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kuṭb Shāh* in 1687.

Golkonda was the third in importance of the five independent kingdoms of the Dakan.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāsim Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; *Tārīkh-i Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāhī* (MSS.); Mir 'Ālam, *Ḥadīqat al-Ālam*, Haidarābād 1309; N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, transl. W. Irvine, *Indian Texts Series*, London 1907—1908; D. Havart, *Op- en Ondergang van Cormandel*, Amsterdam 1693; T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, Allahabad 1907; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1908; *The Cambridge History of India*, vols. iii. and iv.

(T. W. HAIG)

KUTHĀ is a very old town in the 'Irāq, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920—1925, Indices, s. v. Kuta or Kutū and the map by Schwenzner in the first volume). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in Kings ii., xvii. 24, from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincides with that of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm; on the most recent maps (e.g. *Karte von Mesopotamien* [temporary edition for official use only], prepared by the Map Dept. of the German General Staff, Dec. 1917, 1:400,000, Sheet 5d) the Ḥabl Ibrāhīm ends in the Shaṭṭ al-Nōl; the Arab geographers make no reference to this but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map ii.). In other respects also the statements of the geographers regarding the canal vary considerably; and when Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i. 28, in his description of the canal relies solely on Ibn Serapion, it must be pointed out that al-Iṣṭakhṛī for example (*B.G.A.*, i., p. 85) makes such confused statements about the canal that one is forced to assume that in the period of the Caliphs the canals were not unchanging, but the canals and their courses in three centuries had a history which is reflected in the contradictory statements of the geographers and has to be reconstructed. But little progress can be made in this direction without archaeological research.

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kūthā in al-'Irāq, Kūthā Rabbā and Kūthā al-Ṭarīq but only give further information about the former. The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūthā and the Ibrāhīm legends, which are associated with the town; al-Muḥaddasī (*B.G.A.*, iii. 1, p. 121) actually calls the town Madinat Ibrāhīm and to this day the ruins of the town are located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūthā; and the name of the town comes from that of his maternal great-grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yākūt writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūthā; the Talmud, *Babā batrā*, 91a, אמלתיכי כרנו; for other names see Eisenberg, art. IBRĀHĪM and *Das Leben der Propheten nach d. arab. Legende*, II: *Das Leben Abrahams* [Hebr., 1912], p. 9 note) was about to give him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace; therefore in the

time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūthā is also the name of the *ṭassūdī* around the town in the district of Ardashīr Ḥābgān and is in turn divided into 10 rustāks. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, *B.G.A.*, viii., p. 79), Ūr Kashd (the Biblical Ūr Kasdim) from which Abraham migrated is a place *min bilād Kūthā*.

The nisba from Kūthā is *Kūthī* or *Kūthānī*. Besides Kūthā in Mesopotamia Yākūt and al-Bakrī also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Ibn Serapion, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 75; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B.G.A.*, ii., p. 168; al-Muḥaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 1, p. 26, 121 sq.; Ibn Khordadbeh, *B.G.A.*, vi., p. 7, 9, 125, 185, 236 sq.; Ibn Rusta, *B.G.A.*, vii., p. 174, 182; Yākūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 317 sq.; do., *Muḥṭarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 377; al-Bakrī, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 485; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i. 11, 16, 24; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 68 sq. — On the question of the canals cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 771; M. Hartmann, art. 'IRĀQ, esp. p. 549. — The map in P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, i., 1921, is very instructive for the different periods of oriental history.

(M. PLESSNER)

KUTHAIYIR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN ABŪ ṢAKHR AL-KHUZĀ'Ī also called IBN ABĪ DĪUM'Ā after his maternal grandfather, one of the great poets of the Umayyad period. From his beloved 'Azza whose praises he sang he was called KUTHAIYIR 'AZZA.

He lived as a ruler in Medīna but also in the Ḥidjāz. A member of the Khuzā'a he was fond of connecting himself with al-Ṣalt b. al-Nadr b. Kināna, a group which, according to al-Ya'qūbī (i. 268, 8—11), had joined the Khuzā'a. He was on this account despised by some. His unpleasing, dwarflike figure also readily provoked ridicule. His stupidity and foolishness are also said to have people caused to ridicule him.

He held extreme Shī'a views and under the influence of his friend the poet Khindif followed the doctrines of the return (*radf'a*, q. v.) and transmigration (*tanāsukh*, q. v.); but his utterances on these matters seem hardly to have been taken seriously by his contemporaries. He professed loyalty to the son of the 'Alids as the "little prophet". The Imām (Mahdī) was for him Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya [q. v.] and he was one of those Kaisānis who expected his return from concealment in the mountains of Raḍwā [q. v.] (see KAISĀNIYA, KHASHABĪYA, KURABĪYA).

But his opinions did not prevent him addressing panegyrics to the Marwānids. The Caliph 'Abd al-Malik thought highly of his poetry and several times rewarded the poet richly. He devoted an elegy to the Caliph on his death. After a long period of waiting he was admitted with other poets to 'Umar II and was able to strike the right note with him also. 'Umar however is said to have distrusted those 'Alids who showed sympathy with Kuthaiyir. The Muhallabids were also patrons of the poet.

There are contradictory anecdotes about Kuthaiyir's relationship to 'Azza, whom he mentions in many verses. Critics asserted that, in contrast

to Djamil's [q. v.] emotions, his love was not a real passion but a simulated one.

Kuthaiyir was the *rāwīya* of Djamil, whom he regarded as the greatest of poets and took as his model. The *rāwīya* of Kuthaiyir was Sā'ib b. Dhakwān (e. g. *al-Aghānī*, xi. 18, 3, 11; xiv. 155, 5; *ibid.*, xi. 50 *infra*: al-Sā'ib b. al-Ḥukaim al-Sadūsī).

Kuthaiyir died in the reign of Yazīd II in 105 (723), as is often mentioned, on the same day as the theologian 'Ikrima (cf. however Ibn Ḥajjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1325—1327, vii. 271).

Some scholars of the iind (viiith) century regarded Kuthaiyir as the greatest poet of Islām. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī says that the people of the Ḥidjāz regarded him as the greatest of poets while he was less esteemed in al-'Irāk. According to some his talent was best displayed in the panegyric (*madīḥ*), according to others in the part of the poem dedicated to his beloved (*nasīb*) although Djamil surpassed him in this. Many of Kuthaiyir's poems were set to music and sung.

Al-Zubair b. Bakkār and Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī collected information about Kuthaiyir (*Akhbār Kuthaiyir*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 111, 10, 142, 20). There was also a *Kitāb Kuthaiyir wa-Azza* in circulation (*op. cit.*, p. 306, 11). MSS. of the *Diwān* of Kuthaiyir, two parts of which al-Kālī had read in Ibn Duraid (Ibn Khair, *Fihrist*, etc., i. [B. A.-H., ix], p. 396, 4) and which is also mentioned by Ḥādjdī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, iii. 303, N^o. 5630), do not seem now to be known. The MS. Escorial N^o. 409 (H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris 1884, i, p. 273) does not contain the *Diwān*, but only one *Qaṣida* (see P. Schwarz, *Escorial-Studien zur arab. Literatur- und Sprachkunde*, Stuttgart 1922, i, p. 1—17). A few *Qaṣida*'s exist in MS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, N^o. 7524, 2; 8255, 41; 8471, 6).

Bibliography: Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, *Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell, p. 121, 8 *sqq.*, 122—125; Ibn Kūtaiba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, p. 316—329, cf. 18, 8 *sqq.*, 59, 11 *sqq.*, 62, 6 *sqq.*, 261—263; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 320 *sqq.*, 416, 9, 497, 9 *sqq.*, 554, 6 *sqq.*; al-Kālī, *al-Maālī*, Cairo 1344, i. 46 *sq.*, 65 *sq.*, 178; ii. 5, 56, 62—65, 107—110, 129; iii. 67, 119 *sq.*, 220 *sq.*; *al-Aghānī*¹, viii. 27—44; cf. i. 142, 5—144, 5, 146, 22 *sqq.*; ii. 61, 16 *sqq.*; iii. 101, 22 *sqq.*; iv. 53, 4 *sqq.*, 58, 3 *sqq.*; vi. 37, 2 *sqq.*, 143; vii. 30, 20 *sqq.*, 78, 8 *sq.*, 79, 24 *sqq.*, 80, 85, 13 *sqq.*, 86 *sq.*, 94 *sqq.*; viii. 108, 6 *sqq.*, 109 *sq.*, 136 *sq.*, 152, 19 *sqq.*, 180, 6 *sqq.*; x. 158 *sq.*; xi. 17—20, 10, 23, 10 *sqq.*, 46—48, 49—54 *passim*; al-Balādhuri, *Anṣab al-Ashraf*, ed. Ahlwardt, Greifswald 1883, vol. xi, p. 211 *sq.*, 235, 266, 1; Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 366; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2484 *sq.*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—1877, v. 176 *sq.*, 181 *sq.*, 455; vi. 426; do., *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishrāf*, B. G. A., viii, p. 310; Ibn Khalikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yan*, Cairo 1310, i. 433—435; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, see Index; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghādī, *Khiṣānat al-Adab*, Būlak 1299, ii. 377—383; Dj. Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughā al-'Arabiya*, Cairo 1924, i. 2, 291 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 48.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

KUTLUGH-KHĀN, i. a dynasty in Kirmān [q. v.] in the viith (xiith) century, descended from the heathen Qara-Khitai people [q. v.]. The dynasty, successively vassals of the Khwārizmshāh, the Great Mongol Khāns and the dynasty of Hūlāgū Khān (Ilkhāns), lasted from 619 (620?) to 706 and never had more than local importance. It entertained close relations with the neighbouring dynasties of the Atābegs of Yazd, the Salghurids of Fārs and the Muzaffarids [q. v.] and came into occasional contact with the Caliph and with India. The founder of the dynasty (from 619/620) was Naṣr al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Kutlugh Sulṭān Burāk-Ḥādīb. [q. v.], son of Kuldūz (?), d. in 632. His title Kutlugh Sulṭān was given him by the Caliph, although his Islām was of a very recent date. He had a son Rukn al-Dīn Khādjādjuḥ (or Mubārak-Khwādja) and four daughters, of whom Sawindj Turkān was married to Djaghatai Khān, Khān Turkān to her cousin Kuṭb al-Dīn and the two others to members of the family of the Atābegs of Yazd.

Burāk appointed as his successor his nephew and son-in-law Kuṭb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Khān whose father Khāmītūn Tāyanguḥ b. Kuldūz (variants: Khāmītūr, Khāntimūr, Tānikū) is perhaps identical with the Qara-Khitai chief captured by the Khwārizmians in 607 (1210); cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 391. Kuṭb al-Dīn at the end of a year had to retire into Mongolia on the approach of Rukn al-Dīn, son of Burāk and Ūkā-Khātūn, who after spending some time at the Mongol court received from Ügedei investiture for the fiefs of Kirmān and Narmashīr. He ruled for 16 years. He was not well disposed to the Tādjiks and men of letters (*Simṭ al-'ulā'*).

In 650 he had in turn to make way for Kuṭb al-Dīn who had in the interval been serving in China under Maḥmūd Valwādī and upon whom Mangu after his accession conferred the *yarlūḡ* over Kirmān. Kuṭb al-Dīn was authorised by the Kā'ān to put Rukn al-Dīn to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the Caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn. He severely punished the Kōč and the Balōč. His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife Kutlugh Turkān Khātūn whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin; according to the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* she had been the concubine (*surriya*) of Burāk (according to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, brother of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn) and would thus be a different person from Khān Turkān, daughter of Burāk; this fact might explain her feud with the sons of Kuṭb al-Dīn.

Kuṭb al-Dīn died in 655. His son Ḥādjdjādī being a minor, the notables asked the Kā'ān to entrust the government to the widow of Kuṭb al-Dīn Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Kutlugh Turkān, who ruled from 655—681 (in 662 her powers were confirmed by Hūlāgū; cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 403).

Ḥādjdjādī when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ügedei and acted with little regard for Kutlugh Turkān but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pādshā-Khātūn, married to Abakā-Khān, forced Ḥādjdjādī to retire to Dehli (in 666). Then the other son of Kuṭb al-Dīn Suyurghatmish successfully disputed Turkān's

power and she went to Tabrīz, where she died in 681. Her daughter Bibī Khātūn, who had married the amir 'Aḡud al-Dīn Ḥādjī removed her remains to Kirmān. Marco Polo went through Kirmān (about 1272) in the reign of Kutlugh Turkān.

Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Suyurghatmish (681—693) received his investiture from the Ilkhān Ahmad but could not agree with his sister Pādshā-Khātūn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Ḥasan Shāh (cf. MĪRKHWAND) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became however the wife first of Abakā and after his death of his son Kai-Khātū. The latter on coming to the throne in 690 gave Kirmān to Pādshā-Khātūn. The princess who was a poetess of talent was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first Suyurghatmish governed the province in name of the Pādshā but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife Khudāwand-zāde Kardudjīn, daughter of Mangu Timur b. Hūlāgū and the Salghurid [q. v.] princess Abish, ruler of Fārs, and by his daughter Shāh 'Ālam. Kai-Khātū however handed him over to Pādshā-Khātūn who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier who was captured by stratagem. In 694 Baidū, husband of 'Ālam Khātūn, became king. Pādshā was handed over to the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghatmish. In the reign of Pādshā Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, p. 23, 91) passed through Kirmān on his return journey (c. 1293).

In 695 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū 'l-Hārith Muḥammad Shāh Sulṭān b. Ḥādjīdādī succeeded his aunt by command of Ghāzān Khān but his brothers slew his vizier and rebelled in Kirmān. The troops of Fārs and 'Irāk besieged Kirmān for 18 months. Muẓaffar al-Dīn came from Tabrīz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ringleaders. His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who loved wine, died in 703 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sulṭān Kuṭb al-Dīn II Shāh Djāhān b. Suyurghatmish succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (to 706 = 1306). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Uljāitū deposed him and appointed a simple governor to Kirmān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān. Kuṭb al-Dīn II retired to Shirāz to Kardudjīn, wife of his father. His daughter Kutlugh Khān (*wālidat al-salāṭīn*) in 729 (1328/1329) married the wife of Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad, the real founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, who later took possession of Kirmān (in 741).

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kirmān *Qubba-yi-sabz* (remains of the Madrasa of Turkānābād) bearing the date 640 (1242) (i. e. contemporary with Rukn al-Dīn). This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 60—62, 194, 264). Turkān Khātūn founded the little towns of Sar-āsiyāb and Čatrūd to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghatmish built the madrasa of Darb-i Naw, where he was buried.

Bibliography: The particular history of Kutlugh Khān is the *Simṭ al-'ulwā li 'l-Haḡrat al-'ulyā*, written in 716; cf. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.* in the *B. M.*, p. 849, Add. 222, 695 and

the MS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, Persian N^o. 1377. The author Nāṣir al-Dīn was the son of Khwādja Muntadjab al-Dīn Yazdī, the trusted adviser of Kuṭb al-Dīn I (cf. the Paris MS., fol. 125). On Burāk, Rukn al-Dīn and Kuṭb al-Dīn, cf. Djuwainī, ed. Muḥammad Khān Kāzwinī, ii. 211—218. On the whole dynasty: *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, G. M. S., xiv/i., p. 527—535, 625; *Rawḡat al-Safā*, Bombay 1266, iv. 128—131; cf. E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's af-handling om Qarachitaiska dynastin i Kirman*, Helsingfors 1869; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay, Djuz² II, Djild III, p. 10—12; Münadjjim-bashī, *Stambul* 1285, ii. 587; Rieu also quotes Wassāf, iii., (to the year 694) and the *Geography of Ḥafīz Abrū*, part ii. of which seems to contain full references. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 5, 19, 32, 131—133, 396; iv. 90—93, 269, 485. 2. The title Kutlugh-khān was conferred in 629 (1231) by Ügedei on Abū Bakr b. Sa'ad, the Salghurid [q. v.], cf. d'Ohsson, iii. 398.

(V. MINORSKY)

KUTR, means in Arab geometry 1) the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; 2) the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; 3) in trigonometry, the hypotenuse of the so-called umbra triangle; as such it is either the secant or the cosecant of an angle, according as the side opposite it is the tangent or cotangent of this angle; in the first case it is called *kuṭr al-ḡill al-awwal* (hypotenuse of the first umbra), in the second case *kuṭr al-ḡill al-thānī* (hypotenuse of the second umbra).

(H. SUTER)

KUTRUB, surname of the famous grammarian and lexicographer Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. (AḤMAD) AL-MUSTANĪR, born at Baṣra and died in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn in 206 (821/822).

He studied grammar with Sibawaih [q. v.] and Mu'tazila doctrine with the celebrated al-Nazzām [q. v.]. He was tutor to the children of Abū Dulaf al-Kāsim b. 'Isā, who was vizier under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim and was thus allowed to preach in the mosque, where he taught his heterodox views and read the commentary on the Qur'ān which he had composed according to Mu'tazila teaching.

As regards language, his authority is rather disputed; nevertheless, as Ibn Khallikān observes, he was the first to compose a work on Arabic words of the same form, which change their meaning according as they are pronounced with one or other of the three vowels. Out of some twenty works attributed to him, we only know the following: 1. *Kit. al-Muthallath*, a collection in prose of thirty words which may be read in three different ways and change their meaning with each vocalisation, e. g. *kalām* "discourse", *kilām* "wounds", *kulām* "rocky", each group is followed by a philological commentary and examples taken from the Qur'ān and very often from pre-Islāmic poets (Paris Bibl. Nat., Nos. 825, iv.; Leyden, *Cat. Cod. Arab.*, i., N^o. 43; Berlin, N^o. 7071—7073; two copies belonging to the writer). The *Muthallath* was versified by several scholars, among them 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Ḥasan al-Muhallabī al-Bahnasī, whose poem has been published several times in Cairo and edited and translated with a Latin commentary by Ed. Vilmar (*Carmen*

de vocibus tergeminis arabicis ad Qutrubum auctorem relatum, Marburg 1857); 2. *Kit. al-Addād*, a collection of words with different meanings, Berlin N^o. 7091; 3. *Kit. mā khālafa fihi l-insān al-bahima*, ed. by R. Geyer in *Sitz.-Ber. der Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., 1888, cv.; 4. *Kit. al-Azmina*, Brit. Mus., *Cat.*, N^o. 536.

Bibliography: *al-Fihrist*, p. 52; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 494; al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-Ālibbā fī Ṭabaqāt al-Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1294, p. 119—120; al-Suyūfī, *Buḥyat al-Wuʾāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 104; do., *al-Muḥir*, Būlāḳ 1282, ii. 216; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 65; al-Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1313, ii. 212; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leyden 1886, p. 286; de Sacy, *Anthologie*, p. 44; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 103; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 140.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-KUTUBĪ, ṢALĀḤ (or FAKHR) AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. ṢHĀKIR AL-ḤALABĪ, Arab historian and biographer. The only known sketch of his life is in the *Kitāb al-Durar al-kāmina fī Aʿyān al-Miʾa al-thāmina* of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAskalānī [q.v.] still unpublished, but used by Brockelmann in *G.A.L.*, ii. 48. According to this, Kuṭubī studied in Ḥalab, Aleppo, and Damascus, and made a considerable fortune as a bookseller; he died in Ramaḍān 764 (June–July 1363), but the best known and the only one printed of his works, a continuation of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* with the title *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Būlāḳ 1283, 1299), contains a biography which gives the year of his death as 773, which caused the editor of the Būlāḳ edition to write a note on this doubtful point. The contradiction had already been satisfactorily explained in Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (repr. from *A. G. W. Gött.*, 1882, xxviii. sq., p. 178): in the biography the date should read 733.

Further works of his are: 1. *Rawḍat al-Adhkār wa-Ḥadīkat al-Ashʿār*, a collection of *ghazal*'s (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N^o. 6622); 2. *ʿUyūn al-Tawārikh* (cf. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*), the whole comprises 6 volumes according to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N^o. 8463.

(M. PLESSNER)

KUṬUZ AL-MALIK AL-MUẒAFFAR SAIF AL-DĪN AL-MUʾIZZĪ (so called after Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muʾizz Aibak), the third Bahrī Sulṭān (cf. BAḤRĪ) ascended the throne of Egypt towards the end of 657 (1259). He is said to have been a nephew of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh and to have been originally called Maḥmūd b. Mamdūd; he was captured in war with the Tatars, sold in Damascus and purchased and brought to Cairo by Sulṭān Muʾizz al-Dīn Aibak. In 650 (1252) Sulṭān Aibak appointed him his deputy (*Nāʾib al-Saltāna*). When the Sulṭān was murdered in 655 (1257) by his wife Shādjār al-Durr [q.v.], the Mamlūks placed his son Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī on the throne; Kuṭuz remained deputy and administrator of the kingdom and guardian of the young prince. These first Mamlūk sulṭāns were continually threatened by the danger of attack from the Aiyūbid Sulṭāns of Syria who regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of their relatives in Cairo. The Aiyūbid Sulṭān of Karak, al-Malik al-Mughith, tried to invade Egypt with the help of the Mamlūks of the late Egyptian Sulṭān Najm al-Dīn Aiyūb. Kuṭuz collected his forces and met the enemy at

Ṣālīhiya near Cairo. Although some of his amīrs went over to the representative of the old dynasty, he completely routed the king of Karak and forced him to retreat. Meanwhile, the great danger was threatening from the east, the advance of the Tatars under Hūlagū [q.v.]. In this difficult situation the ambitious Kuṭuz thought he had better assume the reins of government *de jure* which he already held *de facto*. He deposed the boy sulṭān and seized the throne without meeting with serious resistance. During his short reign he won great renown by breaking the power of the Tatars in Syria and saving Egypt from being laid desolate. Hūlagū had conquered Syria, installed his governors everywhere and demanded the submission of Egypt through his envoys in an arrogant letter which is preserved by the historians. Kuṭuz, determined to resist to the last, executed the envoys to make negotiations impossible. For the fear of the Tatars was so great that the amīrs only reluctantly obeyed him and were inclined to negotiate, although the example of the devastation of Syria was sufficient warning to them. In Shaʿbān 658 (1260) Kuṭuz led his troops to Ṣālīhiya and revived their failing courage. Baibars [q.v.] afterwards Sulṭān commanded the vanguard and met the Tatar outposts at Gaza. The main army marched on ʿAin Djalūt (Goliath's well), where they met the Tatars, commanded by Ketboḡhā, governor of Damascus. At the first onslaught the Egyptian left wing was driven back. In this critical moment the Sulṭān himself took command; inspired by the splendid example of his bravery, the Egyptian forces rallied for a tremendous attack and put the Tatars to flight. The defeat was decisive. Ketboḡhā and other Tatar princes fell in the battle; defeated in further fighting as they retreated, the Tatars were forced to leave Syria. The whole country was occupied by the Egyptians and the separate principalities given back to their owners as fiefs. Aleppo alone, the ruler of which remained in Hūlagū's camp, was given to Malik al-Saʿīd, son of Badr al-Dīn Luṭʾ of Mōṣul one of the few princes who had preferred leaving his country to acknowledging the suzerainty of Hūlagū. But this gift proved the ruin of Kuṭuz. His tried general Baibars had hoped to get Aleppo himself and now disappointed, planned vengeance. On the homeward journey through Syria, while hunting, he murdered Kuṭuz with the help of a few fellow-conspirators. He was then elected Sulṭān. In spite of his bravery Sulṭān Kuṭuz was not popular. The needs of his army led to great expenditure and he had to raise the money by harsh taxation and levies. Therefore, according to Maḳrīzī, there was neither indignation nor mourning at his assassination. Ibn Taghribirdī tells a different story. He says that the corpse of Kuṭuz lay unburied for three days and then was interred in Qūzair by his Mamlūks. The tomb was visited like a place of pilgrimage and his assassination deeply lamented. Sulṭān Baibars therefore had the body dug up and buried secretly in another place, which was not made known. Thus he became gradually forgotten.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv. 8 sqq.; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, ia. 86 sqq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manḥai al-ṣafī*, MS. Ar. Vienna, Mixt. 329b, ii. vol. fol. 183a and b. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-KUWAIT, a seaport on the Arabian, coast of the Persian Gulf, capital of the

amirate of the same name, which lies along the coast from *Khōr Zubair*; it is bounded on the north by the former Turkish province of *ʿIrāq* and on the south by *al-Ḥaṣa*² and stretches for 120 miles. The greatest breadth is nominally 160 miles but the authority of the *amīr* does not extend much more than a day's journey into the interior. The soil north of the Gulf of *al-Kuwait* is sandy, farther south, partly sand and partly loam; only a small strip is fertile on which the chief vegetation is date-palms and a few fruit-trees of different kinds. The only perennial water-course, a small river, affords the necessary irrigation to the impoverished soil. The coast is low; reefs and shallows are found up to 30—50 miles out and make it difficult for ships of any size to approach. *Al-Kuwait* and *al-Bahrain* are however the only good harbours in this part of the Persian Gulf and *al-Kuwait* is a harbour capable of taking large steamers. The bay has a broad entrance, leading from the north-west corner of the Persian Gulf; it is 20 miles long and half as broad and there is good anchorage in most of it. The depth of the water in the harbour varies from 16 to 4½ fathoms and varies at the top of the Gulf from shallow to a depth of 4 fathoms. Ships of over 20 feet draught have to anchor 2 miles from the town. The town covers a wide area; the streets are clean. Since 1921 the town has been enclosed by a wall over 2 miles long and 12 feet high, which was built out of fear of *Ibn Saʿūd* and is defended by 5 large and 57 small towers. The climate is hot but not unhealthy; the supply of drinking-water alone leaves something to be desired. It has to be brought by ship from *Baṣra*, 3 days' journey distant, and is an article of trade. Corn also is imported. Wool, mutton-tallow and hides are exported.

Al-Kuwait is also an important emporium for the coffee caravans which come via *Nadīrān* from *Yemen* and the port from which the fine horses from *Nadīd* (*Hāyel*) are exported to *India*. The town is therefore of great importance for the country of *Djebel Shammar* and the ruling house of *Ibn Rashīd* as a port for imports and exports and it is natural that the ruler of this extensive hinterland has always endeavoured to be on good terms with the ruler of *al-Kuwait*. The number of inhabitants is not certainly known. The estimates vary between 18,000 and 35,000; the latter must be too high when we reflect that the whole amirate of *Kuwait* only contains 37,000 settled inhabitants and 13,000 *Beduins*. The former include about 1,000 *Persians*, who were domiciled here before the conquest of *Sawād* by the *Arabs*. The harbour is not only frequented by several hundred smaller ships of its own but has a regular steamship connection with *India*. *Manāma*, the harbour of *al-Bahrain*, offers strong competition with *al-Kuwait* for the trade with the interior, but the latter has undoubtedly a great future, especially when it has been connected by railway with *al-Baṣra*, as with *al-Bahrain* it is the only important point for the export trade of the *Wahhābī* kingdom.

We know nothing definite about the foundation of the town, although we are on historic ground; for in the Gulf of *Kāzima* where little sailing boats now lie to shelter from the winds, terminated the great ditch which *Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf* of *Hit* dug through the territory west of the *Euphrates* to protect the *Sawād* from *Arab* raids.

In 12 (633) there was a battle here between the *Arabs* under *Khālīd b. al-Walīd* and the *Persians* under *Hurmuz*, in which the latter were defeated. In the xvth century the *Portuguese* established themselves on the coast here and the remains of a castle built by them can still be seen, but they never mention the name *al-Kuwait*. Whether the name of the place — *al-Kuwait* means "the little castle" — owes its origin to this building seems doubtful. It is in any case interesting that the *Persians* call the place *al-Krēn*, as *Niebuhr* tells us. *Al-Kuwait* was therefore presumably only founded at the beginning of the xviiith century, whether by members of a central *Arabian* tribe or by *Umm Kaṣr* of *Khōr ʿAbd Allāh* is not certain. The former version, which has much in its favour, is found in the records of the *Bombay* government and the plans of the *Turkish* general *Midḥat Pasha*.

In any case the town grew very rapidly. In the beginning of the sixties of the xviiith century, according to *Niebuhr*, it had 800 ships and 10,000 inhabitants, who were mainly engaged in pearl-fishery and fishing. It grew rapidly and became prosperous, especially as after the conquest of *al-Baṣra* by the *Persians* in 1776, *Indian* trade with *Baghdād*, *Aleppo*, *Smyrna* and *Constantinople* no longer went by *Baṣra* but by *al-Kuwait*. In 1793 the *English* transferred their factory from *al-Baṣra* to *al-Kuwait* and the at first very modest port at once attained considerable importance for *England's* position and policy in the *Persian Gulf*. As early as 1805 *Great Britain* was to take the *Shaikh* or *al-Kuwait* under her protection to defend him from aggression by the *Wahhābīs*, but the plan came to nothing. In 1821 the *British* resident in *al-Baṣra* moved to *Failaka* which belonged to *al-Kuwait*. Even then we find *al-Kuwait* adopting a hostile attitude to the *Porte* and it seems to have been fairly independent. In 1829 the lord of *al-Kuwait* had to recognise the suzerainty of *Turkey* and to pay tribute, a circumstance which later led to a closer association with the wilāyet of *Baghdād*. The mutual confidence and good relations between the *Porte* and the *Shaikh* of *al-Kuwait* found expression in the latter's flying the *Turkish* flag and undertaking the defence of the harbour of *al-Baṣra* in return for a subsidy (1845) and in 1853 placing himself directly under the protection of *Turkey* and in 1863 and 1865 *al-Kuwait* undertook the defence of the mouth of the *Shatt al-ʿArab*. In 1869/1870 the able and energetic *Midḥat Pasha* succeeded in getting the then lord of *al-Kuwait*, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Šabbāh*, to join him with *Nāšir*, the chief of the *Muntaṣīk*, in his expedition against *al-Ḥaṣa*² in which the young *Mubārak b. Šabbāh* took part as leader of the land forces. The result of this joint enterprise was the conquest of the territory of *al-Ḥaṣa*² which became a *Turkish* administrative area under the name *Nadīd*. But soon the position of the *Porte* changed when *al-Kuwait* was drawn into the new developments of central *Arabian* politics.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿūd, the ruler of *al-Riyāḍ*, defeated by *Muḥammad b. Rashīd*, had taken refuge in 1891 in *al-Hufhūf*, where he placed himself under *Turkish* protection and later went to *Baghdād* and *Constantinople*. He returned laden with gifts to *al-Baṣra* but had soon to recognise that his hope that the *Turks* would restore him to his throne would not be realised. He therefore decided to settle at the court of *Mubārak b. Šabbāh*,

lord of al-Kuwait. His enemy Muḥammad b. Rashīd, whose kingdom in 1892 comprised over two-thirds of Arabia, but nowhere touched the coast and had therefore no harbour, had hitherto been dependent on the favour of the lord of the various coast-towns, and of the Turkish officials in al-Ḥasa', Mesopotamia and Syria. Most of his arms came from al-Kuwait and from the little Turkish harbour of al-ʿAẓār (al-ʿUkair) in the district of al-Ḥasa'. But since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿūd had been in Constantinople, and had settled in al-Kuwait, great difficulties were put in Muḥammad's way in both harbours so that he decided he must possess a harbour of his own. As he did not wish to irritate the Turks, on whose goodwill he was dependent for trade with Mesopotamia, he decided to attack al-Kuwait, which suited his purpose better from its geographical position and the fact that from the end of the sixth century it had been the terminus and starting-point for the trading-caravans of al-Riyāḍ. In addition the Shaikh of al-Kuwait had recently shown himself insubordinate to the Porte on several occasions, so that it was hardly to be expected that Turkey would interfere seriously on his behalf. In 1895 war broke out between Muḥammad b. Rashīd and Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ which was to prove fatal to the dynasty of the former and make the Shaikh of al-Kuwait an ally of England. In 1897 Muḥammad b. Rashīd was poisoned, but the war with al-Kuwait did not cease but continued under his successor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, especially as the banished prince of al-Riyāḍ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿūd, was working against him in al-Kuwait. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz found support for his campaign against al-Kuwait in the Turkish government, which would have liked to depose the untrustworthy Shaikh Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ, who although appointed Turkish Kā'im-makām in 1897, paid no attention to his superior officer, the governor of al-Baṣra, but under pressure of circumstances asked England to assume a protectorate over his territory, from which he also hoped to gain material advantages. His request was refused at the time. But when in connection with the proposed Baghdād railway the proposal was made to link up a branch line to the Persian Gulf from Zubair with that via Baghdād, Kerbalā', Najaf and Zubair to Baṣra, and thus give Germany and Turkey an outlet by land on the Persian Gulf, England, who, in view of her interests in India was attentively watching the development of the Baghdād railway problems, took measures to meet eventualities. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, who pursued with all his influence and energy the policy of allowing no other power than England to gain influence on the Persian Gulf, gave the English resident in Būshīr, Colonel Meade, authority to contract a treaty with the Shaikh of al-Kuwait, the contents of which were at first secret, but it contained the important clause that the lord of al-Kuwait bound himself not to let or otherwise cede any part of his territory to other governments or subjects of other governments than England, and to receive no representatives of foreign powers without being authorised to do so; for this concession he received a subsidy and was assured of the good offices of the British government, which soon found expression in considerably increased imports of arms and munitions from England and France. The treaty was concluded on Jan. 23, 1899. When at the beginning of 1900

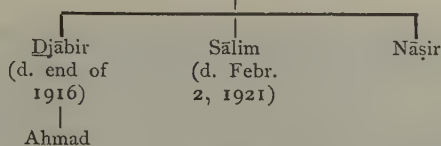
the German Consul-General Stemrich arrived from Constantinople to negotiate, as head of the surveying commission of the Baghdād railway, with the Shaikh of al-Kuwait about the terminus and to obtain a concession at Rās Kāzima (Kāḍhamah on English maps) on the Gulf, the Sulṭān had to refuse to enter into negotiations in view of the treaty concluded with England.

In the spring of 1900 the war between Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ and Ibn Rashīd flared up again. The former fell upon a large caravan of the Shammar and captured several thousand camels. In the autumn of the same year this game was to be repeated on a large caravan, which the prince of the Shammar was sending to Mesopotamia to secure from al-Samāwa food, clothing, and munitions for the whole winter. Mubārak's plan failed however, Turkish troops defended the caravan until ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd came up with reinforcements and brought the caravan without any loss to Ḥāyil. In January 1901, Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ took the offensive again, having been joined by a number of places in the south of Ibn Rashīd's kingdom as well as by several tribes who wished to shake off the yoke of the prince of the Shammar. But when a body of the rebels was defeated at the end of February 1901 at al-Bkeriye and the rebellious villages had again returned to their allegiance and left Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ's main force in the lurch, the latter was wiped out at al-Ṣarīṭ on March 17, 1901 by the warriors of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz thereupon advanced on al-Kuwait with a large force but halted at al-Ḥafar on the caravan road from al-Nbāḍj to al-Kuwait, when the news reached him of a general rising in the south of his kingdom from which the garrisons had been withdrawn for the war with al-Kuwait. He was therefore forced to return. A Turkish corvette, which had already appeared in the roadstead of al-Kuwait with Turkish soldiers to join in the fighting had to return without doing anything, as the Indian government sent a warship to protect the lord of al-Kuwait and its commander forbade the landing of Turkish troops. Besides the news of the rising in his rear, another circumstance contributed to the collapse of the campaign and the retreat of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd; this was the fact that there were English ships in the harbour of al-Kuwait and English troops occupying a post 18 miles inland. No further advance could be made without an open breach with England, especially as Turkey in Sept. 1901 had agreed to the status quo and promised not to send troops to al-Kuwait so long as England did not occupy the place or declare it a British protectorate. But, when in the following year (1902) Turkey instituted military posts in Umm Qaşr, Safwān and on the island of Bubia, the result was a diplomatic and military intervention by England, as the Shaikh of al-Kuwait claimed the territory, which was of importance for the development of the Baghdād railway as well as the country up to a point 20 miles N. E. of Khōr ʿAbd Allāh. In 1907 another treaty with England was concluded by Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ, and in 1913 an agreement was come to between England and Turkey, articles 1—10 of which declared the territory of al-Kuwait, more minutely defined in articles 5 and 7, an autonomous qaḍā' of the Turkish empire and the validity of the treaties concluded with England by the Shaikh of al-Kuwait was

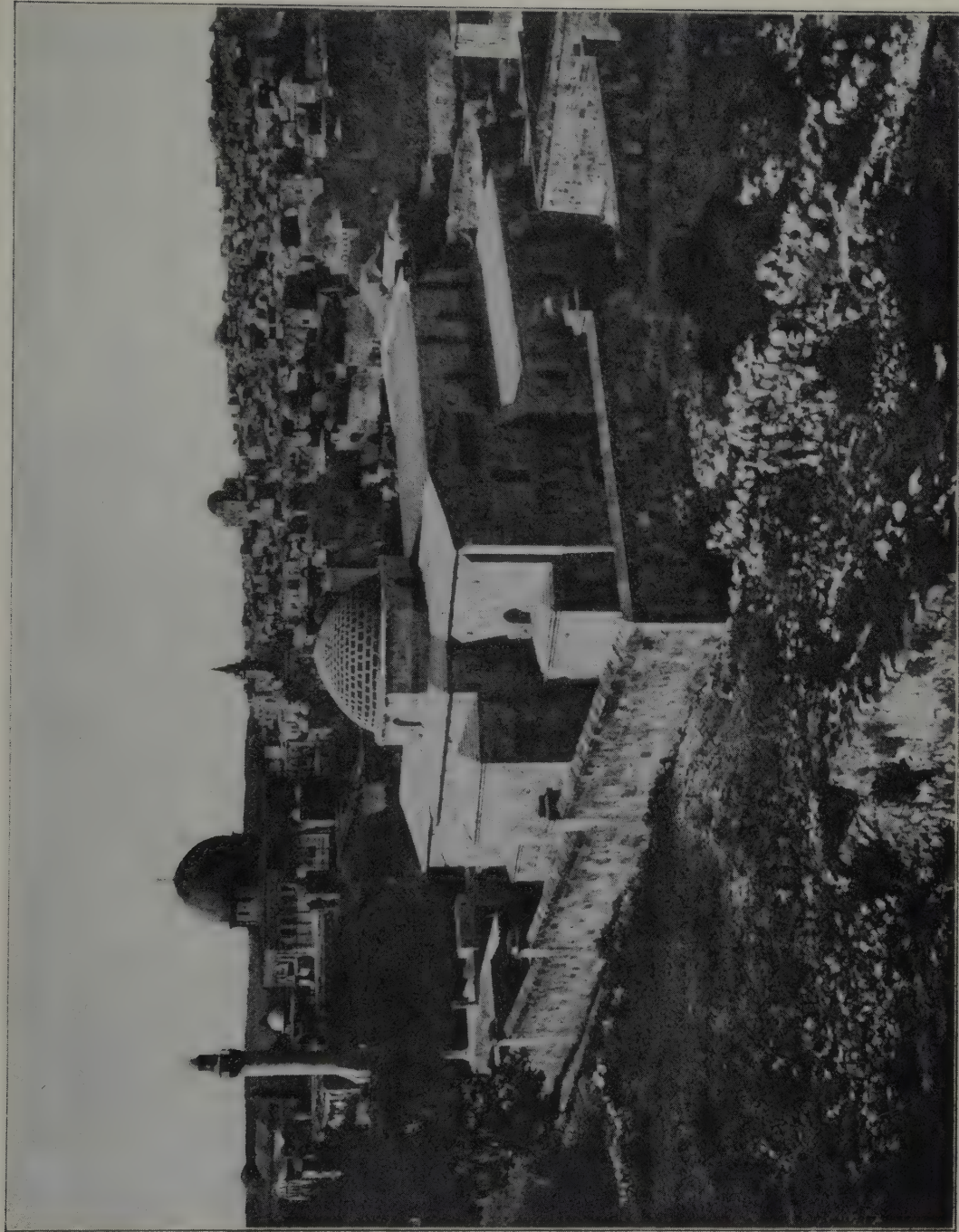
confirmed. Turkey was permitted to have a representative at the court of the Shaiḡh. At the same time the question of the continuation of the Baghdad railway was discussed and it was agreed that the Baghdad Railway Company should take over the stretch from Baghdad to al-Baṣra, but that the branch line to al-Kuwait should be built by an English company. The outbreak of the World War prevented the ratification of this treaty as well as that of another on the Baghdad railway, Mesopotamia and other questions. On the outbreak of war England declared al-Kuwait an independent kingdom under British protection. The points in dispute with ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Sa‘ūd, who as lord of Central Arabia had no less interest in al-Kuwait than the Shammar prince ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Rashīd whom he had conquered, were settled in a treaty concluded between Mubārak and Ibn Sa‘ūd on Dec. 26, 1915. Ibn Sa‘ūd withdrew any claim to al-Kuwait and the surrounding country for a breadth of 70 miles and this region was recognised as belonging to the amīr of al-Kuwait. Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḡ died on Jan. 3, 1916 and left three sons, Djābir, Sālīm and Nāṣir who began to fight about the succession. Nāṣir gained the support of the settled people of al-Kuwait, Sālīm of the nomad tribes and with their help fought his brothers and their followers. Djābir was however regarded as the real successor of his father. After his death at the end of 1916, Sālīm was recognised as his successor, although his brother Nāṣir had the support of England. In the Great War, Sālīm was a Turcophil and showed this by facilitating the caravan traffic of the prince of Shammar who was an ally of the Turks. In September, 1917, a caravan of 3,000 camels succeeded in getting through from al-Kuwait to Ḥayil in spite of the English blockade. Sālīm died on Feb. 2, 1921. He was succeeded by Djābir’s son Aḥmad, who had represented al-Kuwait on Oct. 31, 1919 when the Arab kings were received at the English court.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE AMĪRS
OF AL-KUWAIT

Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḡ
(d. January 3, 1916)



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KWATṬA. [See QUETTA.]



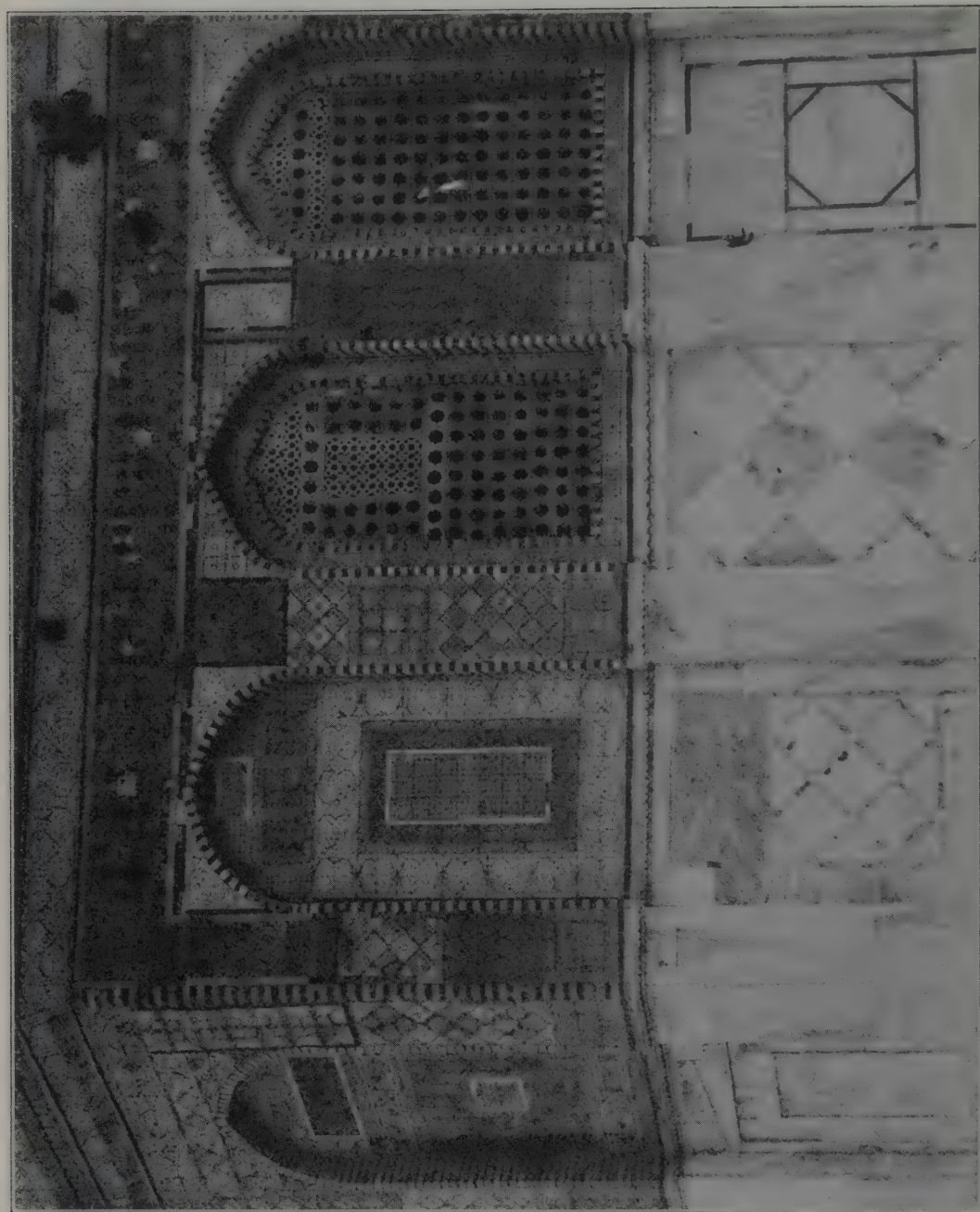
View of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives



The Temple area with the Dome of the Rock



The Rock in the Dome of the Rock



Details of the Faïence covering the Dome of the Rock



Façade of the Akşa-Mosque



Main Entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre



The Pool of Hezekiah



QUTB MINAR



QUTB MINAR — DÉTAIL



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